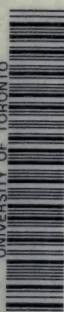


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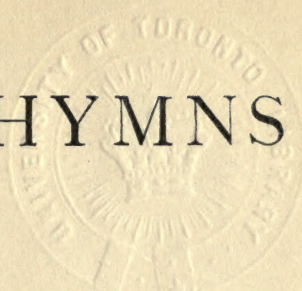






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# THE HOMERIC HYMNS



EDITED, WITH PREFACE, APPARATUS CRITICUS,  
NOTES, AND APPENDICES

BY

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## EDITORIAL NOTE

THE Editors are under great obligation to Dr. J. P. Postgate and Mr. P. Giles for reading the section on Language in the Preface, and for criticising many of the philological notes; to MM. Omont, Vitelli, and Olivieri for information about several mss. (p. xiii); and to Dr. Sandys, who read some of the explanatory notes at an early stage, and has given kindly help throughout the preparation of this book.

The Bibliographies prefixed to the Introductions of the longer Hymns are not intended to be exhaustive, but include the principal works bearing on the Hymns which have been published since 1886. The literature previous to that year is quoted by Gemoll. In a few cases reference has been made to works older than 1886, which were neglected by Gemoll.







## ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS EDITION

### MANUSCRIPTS

A=cod. Par. 2763.  
 At=Athous, Vatopedi 587.  
 B=Par. 2765.  
 Γ=Bruxell. 11377-11380.  
 C=Par. 2833.  
 D=Ambr. B 98 sup.  
 E=Estensis iii. E 11.  
 G=Vat. Reg. 91.  
 H=Harl. 1752.  
 J=Estensis ii. B 14.  
 K=Laur. 31, 32.  
 L=Laur. 32, 45.  
 L<sub>2</sub>=Laur. 70, 35.  
 L<sub>3</sub>=Laur. 32, 4.  
 L<sub>4</sub>=Aedil. 220  
 M=Leid. 33 H (Moscoviensis).

Mon.=Monacensis 333.  
 N=Leid. 74 C.  
 O=Ambr. C 10 inf.  
 P=Vat. Pal. 179.  
 Π=Par. 1095.  
 Q=Ambr. S 31 sup.  
 R<sub>1</sub>=Riccardianus, 53.  
 R<sub>2</sub>=Ricc. 52.  
 R<sub>3</sub>=Ricc. 3195.  
 S=Vat. 1880.  
 T=Matritensis xxiv.  
 V=Ven. 456.  
 m=M man. 2.  
 x=codd. ELIIT consensus.  
 y=marginalia codd. ELIIT.  
 z=codd. HJK consensus.

### PRINCIPAL WORKS QUOTED WITH ABBREVIATIONS

A. J. P. = *American Journal of Philology*, 1880 f.  
 B. B. = *Beiträge zur Kunde der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, herausgegeben  
           von Dr. Adalbert Bezzenberger, 1877 f.  
 B. C. H. = *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 1887 f.  
 C. I. A. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, 1873 f.  
 C. I. G. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 1825-1877.  
 C. R. = *Classical Review*, 1887 f.  
 Danielsson = *Zur metrischen Dehnung im älteren griechischen Epos*, von O. A.  
           Danielsson, 1897.  
 Ebeling = *Lexicon Homericum*, ed. H. Ebeling, 1885.  
 Farnell = *Cults of the Greek States*, by L. R. Farnell, Oxford, 1896.  
 Frazer, G. B. = *The Golden Bough*, by J. G. Frazer, second ed. 1900.  
 H. G. = *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect* by D. B. Monro, ed. 2, Oxford,  
           1891.



- Harrison, *M. M. A. A.* = *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*. By J. E. Harrison and M. de G. Verrall, 1890.
- Harrison, *Prolegomena* = *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*. By J. E. Harrison, 1903.
- Hoffmann = *Die griechischen Dialekte* . . . 3. Band, Der ionische Dialekt, 1898.
- I. F.* = *Indogermanische Forschungen* . . . herausgegeben von H. Brugmann und W. Streitberg, 1891 f.
- I. G. A.* = *Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae*, 1882-1892.
- J. H. S.* = *Journal of the Society of Hellenic Studies*, 1877 f.
- J. P.* = *Journal of Philology*, 1868 f.
- K.-B.* or Kühner-Blass = *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, von Dr. Raphael Kühner. In neuer Bearbeitung besorgt von Dr. Friedrich Blass. 1892.
- K. Z.* = *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* . . . begründet von A. Kuhn, 1851 f.
- M. and R.* = *Homer's Odyssey*, edited by W. Walter Merry and the late James Riddell, vol. i. 1876.
- Mannhardt, *A. W. F.* = *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, von W. Mannhardt, 1877.
- Mannhardt, *B. K.* = *Die Baumkultus der Germanen*, 1875.
- P.-W.* or Pauly-  
Wissowa } = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie*, neue Bearbeitung von G. Wissowa, 1893 f.
- Preller-Robert = *Griechische Mythologie*, von L. Preller. Vierte Auflage von C. Robert, 1894.
- Roscher = *Ausführliches Lexicon gr. u. röm. Myth.*, 1884 f.
- Schulze, *Q. E.* = *Quaestiones Epicae* scripsit Guilelmus Schulze, 1892.
- Smyth = *The Sounds and Inflections of the Greek Dialects*. Ionic. By Herbert Weir Smyth. Oxford, 1894.
- Solmsen = *Untersuchungen zur griechischen Laut- und Verslehre*, von Felix Solmsen, 1901.

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Titles of other works quoted in abbreviation will be found in the Bibliographies of the several hymns.



# INTRODUCTION

## I.—THE MANUSCRIPTS

THE *Homeric Hymns* are contained, as far as is known, in the following twenty-eight manuscripts. They are arranged according to the libraries in which they are found.

### LEIDEN,<sup>1</sup> UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

1. xviii. 33 H (= 22); paper, 293 × 210 mm., 50 ff., s. xiv. [Mosquensis, or M.] Contains (ff. 1–30) *Iliad* Θ 435–N 134, (31–50) *Hom. Hymns* (i. 10–xviii. 4).

2. 74 C; vellum, 230 × 168 mm., 111 ff., s. xv. Contains Orpheus' *Argonautica* and *Hymns*, (53–104) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.–xxxiii.), Proclus' *Hymns*, Moschus' *Ἔπος δραπετήης*, Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*. [Known as N.]

### PARIS,<sup>2</sup> BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE.

3. Grec 2763; paper, 220 × 146 mm., 244 ff., s. xv. Contains the Orphic *Argonautica* and *Hymns*, Proclus' and Callimachus' *Hymns*, (ff. 91–129) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.–xxxiii.), Moschus' *Ἔπος δραπετήης*, Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*, Hesiod *Works and Days*, *Shield of Hercules*, *Theogony*, Theocritus. [Known as A.]

4. Grec 2765; paper, 192 × 139 mm., ff. 58, s. xv. Contains Orpheus' and Proclus' *Hymns*, (ff. 23–58) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.–xxxiii.), Moschus' *Ἔπος δραπετήης*. [Known as B.]

5. Grec 2833; vellum, 243 × 147 mm., ff. 214, s. xv. Contains Theocritus, (ff. 44–85) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.–xxxiii.), Moschus' *Ἔπος δραπετήης*, Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*, Hesiod, Dionysius' *Cosmography*, Theognis, Phocylides. [Known as C.]

6. Supplément grec 1095; paper, 335 × 228 mm., ff. 280, s. xv. Contains the *Iliad*, (ff. 225–245) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.–xxxiii.), Callimachus',

<sup>1</sup> See Geel *Cat. librorum mstorum qui inde ab anno 1741 bibliothecae Lugduno-Batavae accesserunt*, 1852, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> See H. Omont *Inventaire Sommaire des Manuscrits grecs de la B.N.*, 1888, pp. 37, 47, 339.



Orpheus', Proclus' *Hymns*, the *Batrachomyomachia*. [Known as II.] At the end is the inscription *Est Sancti Petri de Perusio*.<sup>1</sup>

## MILAN, BIBLIOTECA AMBROSIANA.

7. B 98 sup.; vellum, 255 × 180 mm., ff. 227, s. xv. Contains Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, the *Batrachomyomachia*, Herodotus' *Life of Homer*, Maximus of Tyre's *Opuscula*, (ff. 178–209) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.–xxxiii.), Callimachus. [Known as D.]

8. C 10 inf.; paper, 216 × 128 mm., ff. 143, s. xv.–xvi. Contains Plato's *Cratylus*, Orpheus' *Argonautica* and *Hymns*, Proclus' *Hymns*, (ff. 127–143) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.–iv. 80). [Known as O.] At the beginning has this inscription: *codex non admodum ille quidem antiquus sed valde bonus. sternathiae in iapygia emptus 1606*.

9. S 31 sup.; paper, 230 × 158 mm., ff. 320, s. xv. Contains Orpheus' and Proclus' *Hymns*, (ff. 39–89) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.–xxxiii.), Moschus' *Ἔρως δραπέτης*, Callimachus, Pindar's *Olympian* and *Pythian Odes*. [Known as Q.] At the beginning these inscriptions: *liber iste est mei marci de passiris januens* [in the margin *pativini* is added] *et amicorum*, and *J. V. P<sup>ui</sup>* (i.e. Pinelli).

MODENA, BIBLIOTECA ESTENSE.<sup>2</sup>

10. iii. E 11 (=164); paper, 292 × 203 mm., ff. 93, s. xv. Contains Orpheus' and Callimachus' *Hymns*, (ff. 50–84) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.–xxxiii.). At the end this inscription: *γεώργιος ὁ οὐάλλα* (corr. to *βάλλας*) *πλακεντίνος ἔγραψε*; f. 12 v. this: *ἀλβέρτου πίου καρπαίων ἄρχοντος κτῆμα*. [Known as E.]

11. ii. B 14; paper, 216 × 152 mm., ff. 264, s. xv. Contains Aratus' *Phaenomena*, Tzetzes' *περὶ ποιητῶν*, (ff. 55–64) *Hom. Hymns* (viii.–xviii.), *h. Apoll.* 1–185 omitting 184), Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Shield of Hercules*, Lycophron's *Alexandra*, Pindar's *Pythian Odes*. At the beginning and the end a pair of inscriptions, of which the former is crossed out: *γεωργίου τοῦ βάλλα ἐστι τὸ βιβλίον*, and *ἀλβέρτου τοῦ πίου καρπαίων ἄρχοντος κτῆμα*. [Known as J.]

FLORENCE, BIBLIOTECA MEDICEO-LAURENZIANA.<sup>3</sup>

12. Plut. 32 cod. 45; vellum, 267 × 178 mm., ff. 170, s. xv. Contains Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*, Orpheus' *Hymns*, (ff. 144–170) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.–vii. 33). [Known as L.]

13. Plut. 70 cod. 35; vellum, 252 × 178 mm., ff. 109, s. xv. Contains Herodotus' *Life of Homer*, Gorgias' *Encomium Helenae*, Orpheus' *Argonautica* and *Hymns*, Proclus' *Hymns*, (ff. 68–103), *Hom. Hymns*

<sup>1</sup> See Léopold Delisle *Catalogue des mss. des fonds Libri et Barrois*, Paris, 1888, f. 125, and for other mss. from this convent now in the Perugia library, *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* x. p. 470 f.

<sup>2</sup> See V. Puntoni *Indice dei codici greci della b. Estense di Modena*, 1896, pp. 487, 416.

<sup>3</sup> See Bandini *Cat. codd. graec. Bibl. Laur.* 1768, ii. pp. 105, 126, 205.



(iii.-xxxiii.), Moschus' Ἑρως δραπέτης, Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*. Written by Joannes Scutariota. [Known as L<sub>2</sub>.]

14. Plut. 32 cod. 4; paper, 407 × 229 mm., ff. 476, s. xv. Contains the *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, (ff. 450-476) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.-xxxiii.). Written by Joannes Rhosus. [Known as L<sub>3</sub>.]

15. Plut. 31 cod. 32. Vellum, 269 × 185 mm., ff. 55. Contains Hesiod's *Shield of Hercules*, *Theogony* 1-577, (ff. 25-30) *Hom. Hymns* (viii.-xviii.), *h. Apoll.* 1-185, omitting 184), Aratus' *Phaenomena*. [Known as K.]

15. *Aedil.* 220; vellum, 256 × 175 mm., ff. 90, s. xv. Contains Orpheus' *Argonautica* and *Hymns*, Proclus' *Hymns*, *Hom. Hymns* (iii.-xxxiii.), Moschus' Ἑρως δραπέτης, Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*. Written by Scutariota. [Known as L<sub>4</sub>.]<sup>1</sup>

BIBLIOTECA RICCARDIANA.<sup>2</sup>

17. 53 K II. 13; vellum, 223 × 143 mm., ff. 106, s. xv. Contains Orpheus' *Argonautica* and *Hymns*, Proclus' *Hymns*, (ff. 61-99) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.-xxxiii.), Moschus' Ἑρως δραπέτης, Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*. [Known as R<sub>1</sub>.] Written by Joannes Rhosus. At the beginning is written the name *Rinaldi*.

18. 52 K II. 14; vellum, 214 × 144 mm., ff. 73, s. xv. Contains Orpheus' and Proclus' *Hymns*, (ff. 31-72) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.-xxxiii.), Moschus' Ἑρως δραπέτης. [Known as R<sub>2</sub>.] On f. 73 r. is found the signature ἐγράφη διὰ χειρὸς ἰωάννου τοῦ σκωταριώτου.

19. 3195 (nunc 3020); paper, mm. 198 × 140, ff. 85, a. 1494, written by Bartolommeo Comparini. Contains the *Batrachomyomachia*, ff. 6, 7) *Hymns* ix., xii., xiii., and misc. (Vitelli *l.c.* p. 541, 2). [R<sub>3</sub>.]

## ROME, BIBLIOTECA APOSTOLICA VATICANA.

20. *Vaticani greci* 1880; paper, 230 × 165 mm., ff. 266, s. xv. and xvi.; ff. 1-8 are s. xv., and contain *h. Apoll.* 1-357; the remainder are sixteenth-century notes. At the end is the inscription *Collectanea septem sophoclis tragediar. pertinent. interpretat. finiunt'. ult. Julij. M.D.III. mediol.* [Known as S.]

21. *Regina* 91<sup>3</sup>; paper, 292 × 202, ff. 350, s. xvi. Contains the *Odyssey*, *Batrachomyomachia*, (ff. 306-350) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.-xxxiii.). [Known as G.]

22. *Palatino* 179; vellum, 255 × 165 mm., ff. 140, s. xv. Contains Herodotus' *Life of Homer*, Gorgias' *Encomium Helenae*, Orpheus' *Argonautica* and *Hymns*, Proclus' *Hymns*, (ff. 86-129) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.-xxxiii.), Moschus' Ἑρως δραπέτης, Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*. [Known as P.] At the beginning the inscription *Jannozii Manetti*.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Rostagno *Indicis cod. graec. bibl. Laur. supplementum: Studi italiani di filologia classica* vi. p. 129 f.

<sup>2</sup> G. Vitelli *Indice de' codici greci Riccardiani, Magliabecchiani e Marucelliani: Studi di fil. cl.* ii. 471 f.

<sup>3</sup> See *Codices mssti graeci Reginae Suecorum et Pii PP. II. rec. et disp.* Henricus Stevenson, senior, 1888, p. 66.

<sup>4</sup> *Codices mssti Palatini rec. et disp.* Henricus Stevenson, senior, 1885, p. 93.



VENICE, BIBLIOTECA DI S. MARCO.<sup>1</sup>

23. MS. 456; vellum, 311 × 252 mm., ff. 541, s. xv. Contains the *Iliad*, Quintus Smyrnaeus, the *Odyssey*, (ff. 509–538) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.–xxxiii.), Moschus' Ἑρως δραπέτης, *Batrachomyomachia*. [Known as V.] At the beginning the inscription: κτῆμα βησσαρίωνος καρδινάλεως τοῦ τῶν τούσκλων. ἀριθμῷ αὐτῷ liber meus b. Car' niceni numero 1. locus 81, and a monogram of the letters A L F R.

MUNICH, ROYAL LIBRARY.<sup>2</sup>

24. MS. 333; paper, 230 × 155 mm., ff. 110, s. xv. Contains Orpheus' *Argonautica* and *Hymns*, Proclus' *Hymns*, (ff. 72–90) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.–iv. 192), Herodotus' *Life of Homer*. [Known as Mon.]

BRUSSELS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE ROYALE.<sup>3</sup>

25. MS. 11377–11380; paper, 202 × 145 mm., ff. 94, s. xv. Contains Theognis, (ff. 27–63) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.–xxxiii.), Moschus' Ἑρως δραπέτης, Orpheus' and Proclus' *Hymns*. [Known as Γ.] F. 91 is found the signature:

ἀριστοβούλου χειρὸς ἐκ διακόνου  
ὕμνοι ὁμήρου λάβον, ἄξιον ὕμνου πέρας.

## MADRID, ROYAL LIBRARY.

26. MS. 24; "chartaceus in folii modum, foliis constans 136 . . . totus Constantini Lascaris manu descriptus . . . idque Mediolani anno MCDLXIV," Iriarte *Reginae bibl. Matritensis codd. graeci*, 1769, p. 86. Contains Musaeus' *Hero and Leander*, Orpheus' *Argonautica* and *Hymns*, (ff. 56–83) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.–xxxiii.), Callimachus' *Epigrams*. [Known as T.]

## LONDON, BRITISH MUSEUM.

27. Harley 1752; paper, 230 × 160 mm., ff. 191, s. xv. Contains (ff. 2–5) *Hom. Hymns* (viii.–xviii., *h. Apoll.* 1–55), Orpheus' *Hymns* and *Argonautica*, Lycophron's *Alexandra*, Pindar's *Ol.*, *Pyth.* and *Nemean Odes*.

## ATHOS, VATOPEDI.

28. MS. 587; paper, "folio," s. xv. Contains Sophocles' *Ajax*, *Electra*, *Oed. Tyr.*, Euripides' *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, *Phoenissae*, (ff. 191–218) *Hom. Hymns* (iii.–xxxiii.), Callimachus. See Mahaffy *Athenaeum* 1889, p. 631, Constantinides *Classical Review* 1894, p. 341.

<sup>1</sup> See *Graeca D. Marci Bibliotheca cod. manu scriptorum*, 1740, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> *Cat. cod. mstorum graecorum bibl. regiae Bavaricae*, auctore Ignatio Hardt, 1806, iii. p. 322 f.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Henri Omont *Cat. des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles*, 1885, no. 74, p. 25.



These MSS., with the exception of the Athous, L<sub>4</sub>, the Matritensis, and R<sub>3</sub>, were collated for the edition of Alfred Goodwin, Oxford, 1893; the collation there used of the Brussels ms. (Γ) was due to Monsieur E. Ouverleaux, that of the Munich ms. to Herr S. Riezler. Since the publication of Goodwin's edition, the Madrid ms. has been partially collated by E. Bothe (*Hermes*, 1893, p. 552 f.), the Athos ms. by Professor M. Constantinides (*Classical Review*, 1894, p. 341), R<sub>3</sub>, at our request and on the kind intervention of Professor Girolamo Vitelli, by Signor Alessandro Olivieri, and L<sub>4</sub> by Prof. Vitelli himself. M. Henri Omont has kindly answered a few questions about II. We leave the account of the very gradual process by which this material was utilised by the earlier editors till p. lxxvii f.

G, as was noticed by Hollander *die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der h. H.* p. 6, contains exactly the same matter as the second volume of the editio princeps, including the colophon; and, as the hand is fairly 1500 or later, may be taken to be a copy of the printed book, and therefore dismissed from consideration.

## II.—THE RELATION OF THE MANUSCRIPTS TO EACH OTHER

The text of the *Hymns*, so far as it depends upon the MSS., may be said to be fairly settled; at least the account given *J. H. S.* 1895, xv. 138 f., which is followed here, has not been impugned. That account was based upon the treatise of Dr. H. Hollander *die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der homerischen Hymnen*, Leipzig 1886, which established the main lines of the question.<sup>1</sup>

### M

The celebrated book known as the Mosquensis evidently stands apart from the other MSS. on account of the fragment to

<sup>1</sup> Other literature on the subject is: the same writer, "Zur Ueberlieferung der hom. Hymnen," *Hermes*, 1891, ff. 170, 636; "Ueber den Codex Estensis der hom. Hymnen," *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie*, 1892, p. 544; "Ueber die

neu bekannt gewordenen Handschriften der hom. Hymnen," Osnabrück, 1895; A. Gemoll *Homerische Blätter*, Striegau, 1895, p. 12 f.; E. Abel, preface to his edition, Prag 1886.



Dionysus and the entire hymn to Demeter with which it opens; all other mss. begin with the hymn to Apollo. This external singularity is confirmed by the character of its readings. Before we discuss these, it may be well to complete the description of the book itself.

It was found as early as 1777 by Christian Friedrich Matthaei, at that time Professor of Greek in Russia, in the library of the Synod at Moscow.<sup>1</sup> Matthaei acquired it together with other mss., and sold it to the library at Leiden. It is a book of 50 pages, written in two columns with about 25 lines in a column; the hand is clear and regular, and belongs, according to the general opinion, to the fourteenth century. The sheets are arranged in quires of 5, or quinions, and the book runs at present:—

Quire 1. ff. 1–10; the signatures have perished, inc. Θ 435.

Quire 2. ff. 11–20; the signature ια' at the beginning and the end.

Quire 3. ff. 21–30; the signature ιβ' at either end: f. 30 v. expl. N 134.

Quire 4. ff. 31–39; no signature at the beginning; at the end ιδ'.

This quire consists of 9 leaves instead of 10; the last leaf, 39, is only half a sheet and is glued to the back of the quire. The former half, therefore, of the first sheet has perished, carrying with it the signature: f. 31 r. inc. *καί οἱ ἀναστήσουσιν ἀγάλματα πόλλ' ἐνὶ νηοῖς* (*h. Dion.* 10).

Quire 5. ff. 40–49; at the beginning the signature ιε together with another symbol .s., the meaning of which is obscure. The signature at the end has perished.

Quire 6. fol. 50; signature wanting. This is a single leaf glued at the back. The recto ceases with *h. Herm.* xviii. 4: the verso is blank.

On grounds both of palaeography and of contents the book is evidently fragmentary. The first quire must have been the tenth of the original book, and if the tenth began with Θ 435, it is natural to suppose that quires 1–9 contained the *Iliad* A–Θ 434. Heyne (*Iliad*, vol. I. xiii, xiv., vol. III. xc.) was informed by Matthaei (see v. Gebhardt *l.c.* p. 451 f.) that a book containing exactly this amount of Homer existed in the

<sup>1</sup> See v. Gebhardt, "C. F. Matthäi und seine Sammlung griechischen Handschriften," *Centralblatt für Bibliotheks-*

*wesen* xv. pp. 345 f., 393 f., 441 f., 537 f., esp. 442–462.



Imperial Library at Moscow. Evidently the Hymn MS. once made one with this.<sup>1</sup>

Next, by the evidence of the signatures, one quire ( $\nu\gamma'$ ) has fallen out between f. 30 and f. 31, and one leaf, the first of  $\iota\delta'$ . What was contained on these eleven leaves it is impossible to divine. Somewhere within them the *Iliad* must have stopped and the *Hymns* have begun. The *Iliad* certainly was fragmentary, the *Hymns*, perhaps, fragmentary too. From the fact that f. 31 opens abruptly without a title we may assume that some more of the hymn to Dionysus stood in the gap, but how much cannot be guessed. The only certain conclusion that can be drawn is that the original of the Mosquensis must have been mutilated at this place. The succession of the signatures  $\iota\beta'$ ,  $\iota\delta'$  makes this quite certain. The scribe of the Mosquensis must have lighted on a book once perhaps (like V), containing the Homeric corpus, but which had lost many quires. He copied the surviving fragment continuously.<sup>2</sup> Of the origin of M nothing is known beyond Matthaei's conjecture, printed by v. Gebhardt p. 450, that it came from Athos.

The archetype was deficient at the end also, or we should not find the verso of the last leaf of M vacant. The original of M then was a MS. which contained the *Iliad*, perhaps the *Odyssey* also, and a complete hymn to Dionysus followed by the other hymns as we have them.

It was no doubt a minuscule MS. not very much older than M. This is probable both on general grounds and because some of M's corruptions seem to imply a minuscule origin: *Apoll.* 88  $\kappa\omega\mu\eta$  for  $\beta\omega\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ , 367  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon'$  for  $\delta\upsilon\sigma\eta\lambda\epsilon\gamma\acute{\epsilon}'$ , 457  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\ \mu\grave{\eta}\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}$  for  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\grave{\eta}\tau'$  οὐδέ, *Dion.* vii. 17  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\grave{\alpha}\ \acute{\epsilon}\theta\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  for  $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\epsilon\upsilon\epsilon\theta'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ . Two omissions, *Apoll.* 22-74 and *Aphr.* 68-122, of nearly the same length, which have no obvious cause to explain them, have been supposed due to the loss of a single leaf in the archetype, which therefore contained 25-26 lines to the page. The class of argument is far from conclusive, but may stand for what it is worth.

The MS. is correctly written (its itacistic and other similar

<sup>1</sup> The portion of the *Iliad* contained in M has been collated by Ludwich (*Index lect. Regimont.* 1891) and by ourselves. The readings do not point to any definite family of Homeric mss. On the catalogue of the library of the Imperial Russian Archives, at present

incomplete, see v. Gebhardt *l.c.* p. 393, 441.

<sup>2</sup> A mistaken attempt to compute the size of the Dionysus hymn was made by R. Thiele *Philologus* xxxiv. p. 193 f.; Bücheler's conclusions (preface to his edition, p. 2) are less improbable.



errors, without importance for the text, are collected by Dittmann, *Prolegomenon ad hymnum in Cererem homericum specimen* Halis Sax. 1882) and seldom corrected. Corrections of any weight in

the first hand are *Dem.* 464 <sup>ι</sup>ερόεντα, *Apoll.* 391 ὕσως λείπει στίχος εἰς, *Herm.* 42 γρ. ὥς δοκεῖ μοι ἀγών' ἐξετό, 88, where γρ. <sup>η</sup> is superscribed, *Dem.* xiii. title.

A reader, perhaps coeval with the time of composition of the book, has affixed a sign consisting of a row of dots for several lines: *Dem.* 369, *Apoll.* 308 (ἦνεκ'), 384 (ποιήσατο), 460 (ἀδικότες), 502, *Herm.* 150, 260, 338 (τέρτομον), 411 (? ἀμβολάδην), 457 (? ἐπαίνει), 477, *Aphr.* 38, 113, 150, 188, *Dem.* xiii. 1 (this case seems to show the reviser was contemporary). Like similar marks in other mss., these dots doubtless imply a perception or a suspicion of some error in the line as written, though in many cases the fault to which they point escapes us. (Plain references are given above in brackets.)

A hand later than M may be seen at work *Apoll.* 22, where he notices the lacuna λείπουσι στίχοι να; 391 where he crosses out the note of m. 1; *Herm.* 518, κατὰ in place of μέγαν or <sup>τ</sup> <sup>αν</sup> κ <sup>τ</sup> μεγ'; 522, ἐκτεάτισται; *Aphr.* x. 3; *Asclep.* xvi. 2. His principal field of activity, however, is on f. 35 (*Dem.* 388–487). At some unknown time between the fourteenth and the sixteenth century, a V-shaped rent was made in the part of this leaf which contained the first column of the recto, the second column of the verso; and the greater part of 15 lines torn away. This loss is materially lightened by the circumstance that the original scribe repeated after 465 the vv. 448–453, and that these superfluous five lines are included in the lacuna on the verso. This gaping wound was repaired by this sixteenth-century scribe, who filled the space with a piece of thick paper, roughly cut to shape, the edge of which he pasted over the extremities of the original page. He then added the missing words by writing across the piece he had inserted.

The source from which he drew these supplements was evidently his own conjecture, for in the wide gap on the recto (388–395), he merely repeats the letters of the original which he has covered; the corresponding lines of the verso he does fill, but of these 463–465 are restored (rightly) after the model of 445–447, and 466–471 were wrongly repeated in the original; the shorter lines it was not difficult for a moderate scholar to



complete. We are therefore relieved from the necessity of supposing another MS. of the hymn to *Demeter* extant in the sixteenth century. The scribe's supplements are in most places correct: 400 his *μοῖραν* is a curious and unmetrical error for *μέρος*, 407 *ἐρῶ* for *ἐρέω*, 412 *ἐνωροῦσ'* for *ἐνοροῦσ'* are trivial, 472 *δύο δὲ πὰρ σοὶ ἔσ-* is a curious error, based evidently on 448; 480 it is hardly possible to decide if *εἶπε* was the original or not; the supplements of 473, 474, 475, which have perished in the original, are to be put to *m*'s credit, 476 admitted of easy restoration according to epic formula. The piece of paper inserted by *m* was removed during the librarianship of Pluygers; the state of the page generally may be studied in the facsimile in Goodwin's edition.

*M* distinguishes itself as to its contents by (i.) some remarkable corruptions, (ii.) a number of peculiar readings.

The corruptions may be classified as follows:

i. Permutation of letters:

Dem.	421	ὠκύρθη	= ὠκυρόη Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 354.
	424	ταλαξαύρη	= γαλαξαύρη <i>ib.</i> 353.
	482	χρησμοσύνην	= δρησμοσύνην Paus. ii. 14. 3.
Apoll.	119	πρὸς	= πρὸ cet.
	125	ἐπώρξατο	= ἐπήρξατο cet.
	156	θ' οὖδ	= οὐο cet.
	213	ἐλέλιψεν	= ἐνέλιπεν cet.
	216	πετρίην	= πιερίην cet.
	234	κείνον	= κείν' cet.
	326	ἔγωγ' ἐκθήσομαι	= ἐγὼ τεχνήσομαι cet.
Herm.	56	ἦντε	= ἦύτε cet.
	79	σάλδαλα	= σάνδαλα cet.
	137	οὐλοκάρηβα	= οὐλοκάρηνα cet.
	138	ἦννησε	= ἦνυσε cet.
	373	ἀνάγκης	= ἀναγκαίης cet.
	543	μῆ	= μὲν cet.
Aphr.	158	δίνησι	= χλαίνησι cet.
	159	ἐκ τῶν	= ἄρκτων cet.
Ares viii.	10	πρὶν	= πρην cet.

to which must be added the definitely minuscular corruptions noticed above.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Some explanation of these graphical changes may be in place. *ὠκύρθη*, *ταλαξαύρη*, *χρησμοσύνην*, *θ' οὖδ*, *πετρίην*, *δίνησι* and perhaps *ἔγωγ' ἐκθήσομαι* (Herod. ii. 42 *προεκθέσθαι προσχέσθαι*) seem to point to a confusion between uncials;

<sup>δ</sup>  
*πρὸς* is a misinterpretation of *πρ*, *κεινὸν* of *κειν'*, *ἦν τε* and *πρὶν* seem due to the similarity of *ην* written together to the ligature *ην*, *ἀνάγκης* is due to the omission of the symbol for *αι* ( $\kappa=\kappa_s$ ), *ἐκ τῶν* comes from *ἄκτων*, *ρ* falling out.



## ii. Omission or insertion of syllables or letters :

Dem.	122	δῶς (unmetrical).	
	228	ἐπηλυσίσι	= (ἐπηλυσίη Ruhnken).
	267	συναυξήσουσ' (unmetrical).	
	420	ρόεια	= ῥοδεία Hesiod <i>Theog.</i> 351.
	422	ἀκατάσθη	= ἀκάστη Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 356.
	430	δρεπομένη (unmetrical).	
Apoll.	220	τῶ τ' οὐχ' ἄδε	= τό τοι οὐχ' ἄδε cet.
	540	ἦέτ' ἐτήσιον	= ἦύτε τησίσιον cet.
Herm.	28	σκύλα	= σαῦλα cet.
	522	μήτ'	= μή ποτ' cet.
Aphr.	42	τέκε	= τέκετο cet.
	49	γελάσασα	= γελοίησασα cet.
	66	κῆπον	= κύπρον cet.

## iii. Mis-division :

Apoll.	272	προσάγοι ἐνηεῖ παιήονι	= προσάγοιεν ἡπαιήονι cet.
	439	λιμένος δ' ἀμάθοισιν	= λιμέν' ἡ δ' ἀμάθοισι cet.
Herm.	38	ζώουσι δὲ	= ζώουσ', ἦν δὲ cet.
	82	νεοθηλέαν ἀγκαλωρῆν	= νεοθηλέος ἀγκαλον ὕλης cet.
	238	ὄλοσποδδς	= ὕλης σποδδς cet.
	308	ἐέχων δὲ	= ἔνεχ' ὦδε cet.
	406	νεογνοίων	= νεογνὸς ἐὼν cet.
	556	διδασκαλίαν	= διδάσκαλοι ἦν cet.

## iv. Mistakes that do not fall under any particular head :

Dem.	13	κῶδις τ' ὀδμη (unmetrical)	
	28	πολυκλίστω (the same mistake Apoll. 347 where the other MSS. have πολυλλίστω).	
	51	φαινόλη (vox nihili)	
	362	θυοθύμαινε (vox nihili)	
	421	μηλοβόστη	= μηλόβοσις Hes. <i>Theog.</i> 354.
Apoll.	76	αἰδῆς	= ἀδῆ οἱ cet.
	475	κείνοι	= ξείνοι cet.
	543	ῥμματα	= ἥματα cet.
Herm.	108	τύνη	= τέχνη cet.
	151	δύσαχ'	= ἦ τάχ' cet.
	338	τέρτομον	= κέρτομον cet.
	400	ὄχου	= ἦχ' οὐ cet.
	417	ἔθετ'	= ἔθελ' cet.
	493	θ' ἔξουσι	= τέξουσι cet.
	504	δραπέτην	= ἐτραπέτην
	565	ἄνδρ' ἀδαῆ	= ἄνδρα δαείης
	576	νομίζων	= -ν ὀμιλεῖ
Aphr.	135	δοιῶ τε κασιγνήτω	= σοῖς τε κασιγνήτοις cet.
	157	αὐτῇ	= ἀνακτι cet.



The number and character of these errors is remarkable; the majority of them are *voces nihili*, and clearly show that the text of the MS. has not undergone anything that can be called regular correction.

Beside these obvious and unhealed blunders, M offers a considerable number of peculiar readings. An attempt was made, *J. H. S.* xv. 271 f., to prove the superiority of these lections; it is unnecessary to repeat the argument in detail here. A list however, of the more important of them is subjoined:

		cet.
Apoll.	82 ἔσται	ἐστίν.
	99 φραδμοσύνης	φραδμοσύνη.
	110 ἀπὸ	ἀπὲκ.
	114 ἴθμαθ'	ἴσμαθ', ἴδμαθ', ἴσθμαθ'.
	151 ἀθάνατος	ἀθανάτους.
	192 ἀφραδέες	ἀμφαδέες.
	198 ἀγανή	ἀγητή.
	200 ἐνδ'	ἐνθ'.
	209 ὀππότεν ἰέμενος	ὀπποσ' ἀνωόμενος.
	211 ἀμ' ἐρεχθεῖ	ἀμ' ἐρευθεῖ, ἀμαρύνθω.
	216 πετρίην	πιερίης, πιερίη.
	217 ἀγνίνας	μαγνηίδας.
	224 τέμμισον	τευμησσὸν and τελμησσὸν.
	249 πολλοὶ	ἐνθάδ'.
	295 καλὰ	μακρὰ.
ιβ.	διηνεκές	διαμπερές.
308 ἦνεκ'		εὐτ'.
322 μητίσσαι		μήσαι, ἔτι μήσαι.
339 ἔστιν. ὅσον		ἢ πόσον, ἢ παρόσον.
341 δὲ ἰδοῦσα		δ' ἐσιδοῦσα.
349 μῆνες		νύκτες.
350 ἐπιτελλομένου		περιτελλομένου.
352 θεοῖσι		βροτοῖσι.
402 οὔτις		ὅστις.
407 πρῶτιστα		πρῶτα.
423 ἐύκτιτον		εὐκτίμενον.
447 ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστω		εἶλεν ἕκαστον.
459 ἐπὶ		ποτὶ.
501 εἰς ὅτε		εἰς ὅκε.
515 ἔρατὸν		. . ἀτὸν, χρυσῆν, χαρίεν.
516 ῥήσσοντες		φρίσσοντες.
Herm.	45 ἢ ὅτε	αἰ ὅτε, ἀς ὅτε.
	59 ἐξονομάζων	ὀνομάζων.
	65 ἄλτο	ῶρτο.
	87 δέμων ἀνθοῦσαν	δόμων αἰθουσαν.
	90 ἐπικάμπυλα ξύλα	ἐπικάμπυλος ὤμους.
	91 πολὺν οἰνήσεις	πολυοιμήσεις.



			est.
Herm.	109	ἐνίαλλε	ἐπέλεψε.
	110	ἄμπνυτο δὲ	ἀνὰ δ' ἄμπνυτο.
	<i>ib.</i>	θυμὸς ἀντμῇ	θερμὸς ἀντμή.
	119	ἐκκρίνας	ἐγκλίνων.
	120	πίονα	πίονι.
	132	ἐπεπείθετο	οἱ ἐπείθετο.
	148	ἰθύσας	ἰθύνας.
	159	φέροντα	λαβόντα.
	164	πολλὰ—ἄρμενα	παῦρα—αἴσυλα.
	248	ἐμπλείους	ἐκπλείους.
	259	μετ'	ἐν.
	306	ἐελμένος	ἐλιγμένος.
	342	εὐθύπυλονδ'	εὐθύπόρονδ'.
	352	πολὸν	μέγαν.
	357	παλάμῃσεν	μάλ' ἄμῃσεν.
	361	ἀλεγίζων	ἀλεγύνων, ἀλεείνων.
	368	ἀγορεύσω	καταλέξω.
	385	φωρὴν	φωνήν.
	401	ἔς	παρὰ.
	402	ἐξήλαυνε	ἤλαυνε.
	403	ἀπάνευθεν	ἀπάτερθεν.
	422	hab.	om.
	431	ἅπαντες	ἕκαστος.
	440	γενετῆς	γενεῆς.
	457, 8	hab.	om.
	471	δὲ	γε.
	486	φεύγουσα	φθέγγουσα.
	501	νέρθεν	καλόν.
	502	σμερδαλόεν	ἱμερόεν.
	503	καί ῥα	ἔνθα.
	<i>ib.</i>	βόας	βόες.
	<i>ib.</i>	κατὰ	ποτὶ.
	507	τὰ μὲν	τὸ μὲν.
	515	ἅμα κλέψης	ἀνακλέψης.
	544	φωνή τ' ἡδὲ πότῃσι	φωνῇ καὶ πετερύγεσσι.
	552	σεμναὶ	μοῖραι.
	560	θυῖωσι	θυίσωσι, θύσωσι.
Aphr.	8	γλαυκῶπιν	γλαυκῶπιδ'.
	18	πουλύχρυσα	καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἄδε.
	67	ρίμφα	θοῶς.
	114	τρῶας	τρῶδς.
	118	χρῦσηλακάτου	χρῦσηλάτου.
	132	μὲν	om.
	175	ἰοστεφάνου	εὖστεφάνου.
	205	τετιμένον	τετιμένος.
	247	ἐν	μετ'.
Artem. ix.	3	μέλητος	μελήτης, μιλήτης.
Aphr. x.	3	θέει	φέρει.
	4	μάκαιρα κυθήρης	θεὰ σαλαμῖνος.



			cet.
Dem. xiii.	2	περσεφόνειαν	φερσεφόνειαν.
Mat. De. xiv.	6	θ'	δ'.
Heracl. xv.	4	ῥα ἡμὲν	πρὶν μὲν.
	5	πημαίνεται' ἀεθ- λεύων κραταιῶς	πομπῆσιν ὑπ' εὐρυσθῆος ἀνακτος.
	6	ἔξοχα ἔργα	πολλὰ δ' ἀνέτλη.

The conclusion arrived at (*l.c.* p. 300) was that out of 150 peculiar readings in M, 6 appeared to be deliberate conjectures (*Apoll.* 198, 209, *Herm.* 306, 349, 361, 418), 34 to be semi-conscious corrections (*Apoll.* 125, 181, 284, 295, 350, 352, 367, 459, 496, 501, 505, *Herm.* 78, 82, 132, 141, 148, 208, 265, 287, 303, 383, 400, 401, 411, 431, 456, 468, 503, 524, 542, *Aphr.* 25, 135, 189, *Dion.* vii. 29), 77 to be substantive, and of these 34 independent though not necessarily preferable to their opposites (*Apoll.* 181, 308, 321, 326, 339, 436, 447, *Herm.* 45, 65, 90, 119, 159, 164, 200, 202, 259, 368, 403, 502, 503, 515, 518, 552, *Aphr.* 8, 18, 66, 67, 204, *Aphr.* x. 3, 4, 5, *Heracl.* xv. 4, 5, 6), 45 original (*Apoll.* 82, 99, 110, 114, 157, 192, 200, 272, 292, 293, 318, 322, 341, 349, 402, 407, 420, 423, 431, 516, *Herm.* 59, 87, 91, 110, 138, 148, 246, 248, 339, 342, 385, 440, 453, 486, 501, 503, 516, 544, 560, *Aphr.* 114, 118, 125, 174, 229, *Artemis* ix. 3). The remainder (26) were graphical or phonetic corruptions.

These considerations, combined with the fact of the gross corruptions collected above, seem to put the claims of M to be considered the best ms. of the *Hymns* beyond doubt.<sup>1</sup> No stronger position can be held by a ms. than that it should combine a number of original readings with a number of palpable corruptions. The existence of the latter makes it all but impossible that the former are the work of revision or conjecture. The position given to M is of course merely relative; good readings and original readings are found in the other mss. of the *Hymns* but in less proportion.

<sup>1</sup> Ruhnken, naturally, believed in the excellence of M, but he has hardly been followed by any one except Hollander. The gradual discovery of E and L turned the tide in favour of that family, and

current opinion down to Gemoll's edition looked upon M as a recension: some of the hottest denunciation of it came from Cobet *Mnemosyne* x. 310 f.



$x = \text{ELIIT}$ 

The relationship of E and L has long been recognised ;  $\Pi$  was added to them in Goodwin's edition. T's connexion, suspected by Hollander (*Hermes*, 1891, p. 170 f.), was made manifest by the publication of Bethe's partial collation (*ib.* 1893, p. 522 f.). The four mss. constitute a very close and well-defined family. The passages in which they all agree against the remainder are these :

	$x$	cet.
Apoll.	17 <i>κύνθειον</i>	= <i>κύνθιον, κύνιον.</i>
	35 <i>αὐτοκανῆς</i>	= <i>αὐτοκάνης.</i>
	46 <i>σοι</i>	om.
	<i>ιβ.</i> <i>γαίεων</i>	= <i>γαιάων.</i>
	59 full line	half line.
	65 <i>γ' ἐροίμην</i>	<i>γενοίμην.</i>
	71 <i>ἴδης</i>	<i>ἴδη.</i>
	73 <i>ῶσει</i>	<i>ῶση.</i>
	74 <i>κράτος</i> (? T)	<i>κρατὺς.</i>
	174 <i>ἡμέτερον</i> (? T)	<i>ἡμέτερον.</i>
	216 <i>πιερίης</i>	<i>πετρίην, πεερίη.</i>
	224 <i>τεμμησσὸν</i>	<i>τελμησσὸν, τέμμισον.</i>
	272 <i>προάγοιεν</i> (desunt ET)	<i>προσάγοιεν.</i>
	284 <i>ὑποκρέμαται</i> (desunt ET)	<i>ἐπικρέμαται.</i>
	322 <i>μήσεται</i>	<i>μητίσεται, ἔτι μήσεται.</i>
	339 <i>ἦ πόσσον</i>	<i>ἦ παρόσον, ἔστιν ὅσον.</i>
	346 <i>φραζάσκετο</i>	<i>φραζέσκετο.</i>
	538 hab.	om.
Herm.	36 τὸ om. (? T)	hab.
	45 <i>αἶ ὅτε</i> (? T)	<i>ἄς ὅτε, ἦ ὅτε.</i>
	59 <i>ὄνομα κλυτὸν</i> (? T)	<i>ὄνομακλυτὸν, ὄνομακλυτὴν.</i>
	72 <i>ἀκειρασίους</i> (? T)	<i>ἀκηρασίους.</i>
	286 <i>δραῦλους</i>	<i>δ' ἀγραύλους.</i>
	303 <i>οἶωνοῖσιν εὖ</i> (? T)	<i>οἶωνοῖσι σὺν.</i>
	361 <i>ἀλεγύνων</i> (? T)	<i>ἀλεείνων, ἀλεγίζων.</i>
	397 <i>σπεύδοντο</i> (? T)	<i>σπεύδοντε.</i>
	398 <i>δ' ἐπ'</i> (? T)	<i>ἐπ'.</i>
	560 <i>θύσσωσι</i> (? T, deest II)	<i>θύσσωσι, θυνίσων.</i>
Aphr.	16 <i>χρυσήλατον</i> (deest II)	<i>χρυσηλάκατον.</i>
	20 <i>πόλις</i> (deest II)	<i>πόλεις, πόνος.</i>
	267 <i>ἔστασ'</i>	<i>ἔσταῶς.</i>
vi.	12 <i>κοσμίσθην</i>	<i>κοσμείσθην, -ήσθην.</i>
vii.	39 <i>κατεκριμῶντο</i> (deest L)	<i>κατεκρημνῶντο.</i>
xiv.	2 <i>ὑμνεῖ</i> (deest L ? T)	<i>ὑμνει.</i>
	3 <i>τρόμος</i>	<i>βρόμος.</i>
xix.	26 <i>θαλέων</i>	<i>θαλέθων.</i>
	32 <i>ψαφερότριχα</i>	<i>ψαφαρότριχα.</i>
xxvii.	13 <i>μετὰ κασιγνήτοιο</i>	<i>μετὰ om.</i>
xxviii.	10 <i>ὀμβρίμης</i>	<i>ὀβρίμης.</i>



		<i>a</i>	<i>cet.</i>
xxix.	3	ἔλαχε	ἐλαχες.
xxx.	14	περεσανθέσιν	παρ' εὐανθέσιν.
	16	καὶ (? T)	κε.
xxxii.	6	χρυσέου	χρυσοῦ.
	<i>ib.</i>	ἄκτῆρες	ἄκτίνες.
	11	πλήθει	πλήθη.
xxxiii.	11	με	μέγας.

It has further been recognised that E and T and L and Π are more closely connected together; this results clearly from the following table. We call ET *a*, LΠ *b*.

		<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>
Apoll.	4	φαίδιμος	φαίδιμα.
	38	νήσος	νήσων.
	<i>ib.</i>	λιπαροτάτη	λιπαρωτάτη.
	44	πετρήεσσα	πετρήδε(σ)σα.
	51	κε θέλεις	κε(θέ)λης.
	<i>θ</i>		
	59	περίτας	om.
	60	πέϊας	πέϊαρ.
	75	οἶ	οἶ.
	78	ἄχη τεϊλάων	-α χήτει λάων.
	86	τε om.	hab.
	88	σ' ἔξοχα	σέ γ' ἔξοχα.
	96	om.	hab.
	102	ἐϋκτισμένης	ἐνκτιμένης.
	128	ἀσπαίροντες	ἀσπαίροντα.
	136	ση. in marg.	ση. om.
	162	βαμβαλιαστὺν	<i>βαμ</i> κρεμβαλιαστὺν.
	171	ὑμέων	ἡμέων.
	176	ἐπειδὴ	ἐπιδὴ.
	180	μήλιτον	μίλητον.
	217	μαγνήνας	μαγνηidas, in marg. μαγνήνας.
	260	τελείεσσας	τεληέσσας.
261-89	om.		hab.
	325	ἦρ'	ἦρ'.
	348	ἱεροῖς	ἱεροῖσι.
	423	ἐϋκτισμένον	ἐϋκτιμένον.
	414	ἦθελον	ἔθελον.
	466	γάρ	δέ.
	479	καλλοῖσι	λλοῖσι L } πολλοῖσι Π }
	506-8	om.	hab.
	523	<i>ζάθεον</i> ἄδυτον ζάθεον E } ἄδυτον ζάθεον T }	αὐτοῦ δάπεδον, in marg. ἄδυτον ζάθεον.
Herm.	45	ἀμαλδύναι	ἀμαρναί, in marg. ἀμαλδύναι.
	81	συμμίσγων	συμμίσγ(τ L)ων.



		<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>
Herm.	86	αὐτοτροπήσας ὥς αὐτοπρεπῆς ὥς, in marg. αὐτοτροπήσας.	
	100	μεγαμειδείοιο, the first ει corrected out of η	μεγαμηδεῖδ(ο)ιο
	168	ἄλιστοι	ἄπαστοι. <sup>λι</sup>
	288	ἀντήσεις	ἀντήσης.
	296	τλήμονα μετὰ	τλήμονα.
	400	ἀντιβάλλετο } ἀντιτάλλετο }	ἀπιτάλλετο.
Aphr.	10, 11	in one	in two.
	68	θεῶν, in marg. γρ. θηρῶν	θηρῶν.
	97	om.	hab.
	113	ἡμετέρην	ὑμετέρην.
	123	ἄκτιστον	ἄκτιτον.
	156	μεταστραφθεῖσα	μεταστρεφθεῖσα.
	174	βυρε	ηυρε.
	186	ἔειπας	ἔειπες.
	207	τρώς E } τρώς T }	τρώα.
	214	ἴσα θεοῖσι	ἡματα πάντα, in marg. γρ. ἴσα θεοῖσι.
	256	ἦδη	ἴδη.
	262	σεληνοὶ	σιληνοὶ.
	265	ἔφυγαν <sup>σ</sup>	ἔφυσαν.
Dion. vii.	3	νεηνίη <sup>α</sup>	νεηνίη.
	29	ἐκατέρω	ἐκαστέρω.
Here L breaks off.			
	37	φόβος	τάφος, in marg. φόβος Π.
Ares viii.	9	εὐθαλέος	εὐθαλέσεος Π.
Pan xix.	7	κέλευθα	κάρηνα, in marg. γρ. κέλευθα Π.
	48	ἰλάσσομαι	ἰλα <sup>λα</sup> λίσσομαι, in marg. ἱλαμαι, Π.
Apoll. xxi.	5	ἱλασμαι	ἱλαμαι Π.
Heph. xx.	8	om.	hab. Π.
Dion. xxvi.	13	ὥράων	ὠράων Π.
Ge xxx.	3	ἐπέρχεται	ἀπέρχεται Π.
Diosc. xxxiii.	14	ἀνέμους, in marg. γρ. ἀέλλας	ἀέλλας Π.

E and T are somewhat more nearly connected than L and Π, but all four are remarkably close, and give a very clear representation of their archetype *α*. The readings of the original were elicited in detail *J. H. S.* xv. 164–174, and in most cases do not admit of doubt. One interesting point remains, and on it turns the decision of the respective value of *a* and *b*, and the assignment of a number of readings to another family. The reader will have noticed in the last table a certain number of



marginal variants, sometimes introduced by γρ., and of variants superscribed. Their full list is as follows:

1. *Apoll.* 55. οὐδὲ τρύγην οὔσεις, οὐτ' ἄρ φυτὰ μυρία φύσεις.  
οἰσεῖς πολλὸν E: οἰστεῖς T: οἰσεῖς L: οἰσεῖς, in marg. πολλὴν Π.<sup>πολλὴν</sup>
2. *ib.* 59. δηρὸν ἄναξ εἰ βόσκοις περίτας σ' ἔχωσιν, in marg. γρ. εἰ  
βοσκοιθε οἷ κε σ' ἔχωσιν E:  
δηρὸν ἄναξ εἰ βόσκοις περίτας σ' ἔχωσιν T:  
δηρὸν ἄναξ εἰ βόσκοις σ' ἔχωσιν L:  
δηρὸν ἄναξ εἰ βόσκοις θεοὶ κέ σ' ἔχωσιν Π.<sup>θ</sup>
3. *ib.* 136–38 om. in text ETL: hab. in marg. ELIPT with the  
words σῆ. ἐν ἐτέρῳ κείνται καὶ οἶτοι οἱ στίχοι (ET): ἐν ἐτέρῳ καὶ οἶτοι  
οἱ στίχοι κείνται (LΠ). Π has the verses in the text, evidently by  
error.
4. *ib.* 151. ἀνὴρ, in marg. αἰεί ETΠ: ἀνὴρ αἰεί L.
5. *ib.* 162. βαμβαλιαστὸν ET: κρεμβαλιαστὸν LΠ.<sup>βαμ</sup>
6. *ib.* 202. ἀμφὶ φαείνει E: ἀμφιφαείνει T: ἀμφι φαείνει L: ἀμφί  
φαείνει Π.<sup>η</sup>
7. *ib.* 211. ἡ ἄμ' ἐρευθεῖ in text ELIPT: in marg. γρ. ἡ ἄμα φόρβαντι  
τριοπόω ἡ ἀμαρύνθω LΠ.
8. *ib.* 217. ἡ μαγνυῖνας ET: ἡ μαγνηίδας LΠ: in marg. γρ. μαγνυῖνας.
9. *ib.* 325<sup>a</sup> om. in text ELIPT: add. in marg. with the words γρ.  
(καὶ οὕτως L) ELIPT.
10. *ib.* 523. ἄδντον ζάθεον ET: αὐτοῦ δάπεδον, in marg. γρ'. ἄδντον  
ζάθεον LΠ.
11. *Herm.* 45. ἀμαλδύναι ET: ἀμαρυγαί, in marg. γρ. ἀμαλδύναι LΠ.
12. *ib.* 86. αὐτοτροπήσας ὥς ET: αὐτοπρεπὴς ὥς, in marg. γρ. αὐτο-  
τροπήσας (αὐτοτεοπήσας L) LΠ.
13. *ib.* 168. ἄλιστοι ET: ἄπαστοι LΠ.<sup>λ</sup>
14. *ib.* 212. φοῖβος ἀπόλλων: in marg. γρ. μῦθον ἀκούσας ELIPT.
15. *ib.* 224. ἔλπομαι εἶναι E(?T): ἤστην (-ιν Π) ὁμοῖα, in marg. γρ.  
ἔλπομαι εἶναι LΠ.
16. *ib.* 241. δὴ ῥα νεόλλοντος προκαλούμενος ἡδυμον ὕπνον: in marg.  
ἐν ἄλλω οὕτως· θῆρα νέον λοχάων προκαλούμενος ἡδύ ELΠ (λοχεύων)  
(?T).
17. *ib.* 254. λίκνω E(?T): κλίνη LΠ: in marg. γρ. ἐν λίκνω.
18. *ib.* 280. τὸν E(?T): ὥς L: τὸν ὥς Π.<sup>τὸν</sup>
19. *ib.* 288. ἀντήσεις ἀγέλησι βοῶν καὶ πώεσι μῆλων: in marg. γρ'.  
ἀντην βουκολίωσι καὶ εἰροπόκοις οἰέσσιν ELIPT (ἀντήσης in text LΠ).
20. *ib.* 322. δ' ἔκοντο κάρηνα E(?T): δὲ τέρθρον ἔκοντο, in marg. γρ'.  
δ' ἔκοντο κάρηνα LΠ.
21. *ib.* 326. μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἡῶ E(?T): ποτὶ πτύχος οὐλύμποι, in  
marg. γρ'. μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἡῶ LΠ.



22. *ib.* 366. ἐρμῆς δ' ἄλλον μῦθον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔειπεν E(?T): ἐρμῆς δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθεν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπος ἡῶδα LII, in marg. ἐρμῆς δ' ἄλλον μῦθον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔειπεν.
23. *ib.* 451. οἶμος, in marg. γρ. καὶ ὕμνος ELII(?T).
24. *ib.* 473. τῶν E(?T): καὶ LII, in marg. γρ. τῶν.
25. *ib.* 563. πειρώνται δ' ἥπειτα πάρεξ ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύειν: in marg. γρ. ψεύδονται δ' ἥπειτα δι' ἀλλήλων δονέουσαι EL (def. II, ?T).
26. *Aphe.* 99. βήσσεια ET: <sup>βῃ</sup>πίσεια L (def. II).
27. *ib.* 205. τετιμένονος ELIII.
28. *ib.* 214. ἴσα θεοῖσι ET: ἥματα πάντα LII, in marg. γρ. ἴσα θεοῖσι.
29. *ib.* 244. τάχα ET: <sup>τάχα</sup>κατά LII.
30. *Dion.* vii. 37. φόβος ET: τάφος, in marg. φόβος II (def. L).
31. *Ares* viii. 9. εὐθαλέος ET: εὐθαρλέσεος II (def. L).
32. *Pan* xix. 7. κέλευθα ET: <sup>ἰλα</sup>κάρηνα, in marg. γρ. κέλευθα II (def. L).
33. *ib.* 48. ἰλάσσομαι ET: <sup>ἰλα</sup>λίσσομαι, in marg. ἰλαμαι II (def. L).

In six passages (3, 9, 16, 19, 23, 25) it is explicitly said that there was a marginal variant in the joint archetype of the four MSS.; in three (1, 4, 27) the same is evident, the variant in one or another MS. having been absorbed into the text in such a way as to betray its origin; in one (7) the four MSS. agree in the text, but two of them (LII) mention a variant which does not appear in ET; in eighteen (5, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 17, 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32) ET show in their text a reading which is marginal or superscribed in LII. The conclusion can only be that the scribe of *a*, the immediate archetype of ET, was careless compared to the scribe of *b*. He treated the marginalia of *x* differently in different passages, occasionally reproducing them as marginalia, occasionally simply ignoring them, but far more often copying them into his text. There can therefore be no doubt that *b* (= LII) represents the original of the family more exactly than *a* and the old question of the relative excellence of E and L is answered in favour of L.<sup>1</sup>

We also acquire a number of important readings, which as they are neither *x* nor identical with M or *p* we may regard as belonging to a different source and call *y*.

Apart from the *y* readings, the four MSS. represent *x* with great fidelity; this is particularly evident in a number of gaps which L leaves in its words (*Apoll.* 7 λ ρεσσιν, 8 ανεκρ μασε,

<sup>1</sup> Gemoll *Hom. Blätter* p. 12 f. and in the preface to his edition championed E against Hollander *l.c.* p. 16.



12 π τνια, 479 λλοῖσι, *Herm.* 5 μ ἄρ, *Aphr.* 6 ἔρ μέμληεν, 133 ἀπ ρήτην); in the careful reproduction of *Apoll.* 59 in all four MSS., *Apoll.* 515 the mutilated word ατὸν or τὸν, *Herm.* 42 the gap ὀρεσκά λώνης in EL, only partially filled in Π (ὀρεσκάιο κολώνης), the similar gap *Herm.* 79, and the uncorrected blunder ὦτο (corrected indeed in T) *ib.* 45.

The archetype *x* was probably therefore damaged, and certainly minuscule; the typical corruption *Aphr.* 174 βυρε ET, ηυρε LI for the κύρε of M is sufficient evidence of that. (For a similar typical minuscule corruption cf. *Euthydemus* 292 E βοῖδίων, κωβίων, ὠδίων.)

The intrinsic character of the readings of *x* was examined *J. H. S.* xv. 269–271 with the conclusion that of twenty-eight peculiar readings two were conjectures (*Apoll.* 151, *Mat. Deor.* xiv. 3), nine semi-conscious alterations (*Apoll.* 71, 216, 284, 339, *Herm.* 86, 397, *Aphr.* 244, *Pan* xix. 7, *Hest.* xxix. 3), and four correct and original (*Apoll.* 224, *Herm.* 232, 361, *Aphr.* 144). Its value consists in the fidelity of its copying, and the comparative absence of conjecture, to which the damaged state of the archetype afforded much opportunity.<sup>1</sup>

A number of other MSS. belong to the family *x*. First At and D. The former was discovered at Athos by Professor J. P. Mahaffy (*Athenaeum*, 1889, p. 631), and collated by Professor Constantinides, whose readings were published by Professor I.

<sup>1</sup> The four MSS. have a certain number of readings peculiar to each, and which in the case of ET we may fairly call conjectures of their writers—Giorgio Valla (a native of Piacenza, 1430–1499, cf. Heiberg “Beiträge zur Geschichte Georg Valla’s und seine Bibliothek,” *Beilage zum Centralblatt f. Bibliothekswesen* xvi. 1896, and “Nachträgliches über G. V.,” *ib.* xvi. 1898, p. 189 f., and for local Placentine literature Gabotto, *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, 1891, p. 201 f. Valla’s work as a scribe still awaits treatment) and the better known Constantine Lascaris (Legrand *Bibliothèque Hellénique* i. p. lxxi. f.). Peculiar to E are *Apoll.* 54 οἰσεῖς (for οἰστεῖς), 156 δον for θ’οῦ, 208 μνηστῆρσιν, *Herm.* 400 ἀντιβάλλετο; to L *Apoll.* 403 ἀνασσεῖσθε, 446 κρυσσάλων (an excellent correction), *Herm.* 65 ὦπτο (for ὦτο), 286 δ’ ἀγραύλους.

L in addition to the gaps collected above has a few mistakes which seem

to have arisen from misunderstanding symbols: *Apoll.* 17 πρὸ=πρὸς, 42 μερόπων=μερόπων, 64 δεξαίμ (i.e. δεξαίμιν)=δεξαίμην, 178 λυκι=λυκίην, μῆσι=μηονίην, *Herm.* 565 φρέντα (i.e. φρεν)=φρένα.

II’s noticeable peculiarities are *Apoll.* 115 μονοστόκος, 136–8 in the text, evidently accidentally; 137 οἶλατο in marg., 479 πολλοῖσι (right), 510 περὶ marg. (right), *Herm.* 42 κολώνης (right), 79 σάνδαλα αὐτῖκα (gap in EL), 383 ἐπιδέομαι, *Herm.* 494–*Aphr.* 152 om., three leaves having been cut out (the stumps of them remain); Ares viii. 9 εὐθαρ-λεσέος (a curious conflation of εὐθαρσέος). Though the ms. contains many errors it has been carefully revised, and a number of lines are marked with dots or crosses to indicate they contain a suspicious spelling.



Bywater in the *Classical Review*, 1894, p. 341. (Facsimiles made by Mr. Constantinides, and shown to us by Professor Bywater, leave no doubt that At is a fifteenth-century ms.) D, a Milan ms., has been longer known, and at one time was considered an important source. The two MSS. are closely connected; they have the following peculiarities in common :

Apoll.	19	ὑπ' ἰνόποιο.	Herm.	539	χρυσάραπι.
	41	in the place of 36.		540	βούλεται.
	372-74	om.		572	δ' om.
	403	ἀνασεύσασκε (with NV).	Aphr.	13	σκούτινα.
Herm.	54	κονάβισε.		22	ἐστίη.
	93	μηκέτι.		46	μιγήμεναι.
	100	μεγαμηδείας.		174	ἦρε.
	103	ἤλαινον.		214	ἀγῆραος.
	156	δέ σε.	Asclep. xvi. 3		φλέγνος (with KN).
	420	γέλασε.			

The points in which At and D differ are few and clerical (*J. H. S.* xv. 149).

The pair AtD belong to the *x* family, and the connexion is so obvious that a detailed proof need hardly be given (*J. H. S.* xv. 146). That within *x* they incline to the branch *b* appears from the following passages within the first 300 lines of the hymn to Apollo; (I quote D for AtD, since the collation of At is not complete):

4	φαίδιμος <i>a</i>	φαίδιμα <i>bD</i> .
20	τοι <i>a</i>	τε <i>bD</i> .
38	νήσος <i>a</i>	νήσων <i>bD</i> .
ib.	λιπαροτάτη <i>a</i>	λιπαρωτάτη <i>bD</i> .
44	πετρήεσσα <i>aD</i>	πετρήδεσ(σ) <i>a b</i> .
51	κε θέλεις <i>a</i> , κ' ἐθέλεις <i>D</i>	κε θέλῃς Π, κέλῃς <i>L</i> .
60	πείας <i>a</i>	πείαρ <i>b</i> , πείαρ <i>D</i> .
76	ἄκηδέα ἄχῃ τεύλαων <i>a</i>	ἄκηδέα χήτει λαῶν <i>bD</i> .
86	τε om. <i>aD</i>	hab. <i>b</i> .
88	σ' ἔξοχα <i>a</i>	σέ γ' ἔξοχα <i>bD</i> .
96	om. <i>a</i>	hab. <i>bD</i> .
128	ἀσπαίροντες <i>a</i>	ἀσπαίροντα <i>bD</i> .
		βαμ
162	βαμβαλιαστὴν <i>a</i>	κρεμβαλιαστὴν <i>b</i> , κρεμβαλιαστὴν <i>D</i> .
171	ἄφ' ὑμέων <i>a</i>	ἄφ' ὑμέων <i>bD</i> .
176	ἐπειδὴ <i>a</i>	ἐπιδὴ <i>b</i> , ἐπὶ δὴ <i>D</i> .
180	μήλιτον <i>a</i>	μήλητον <i>bD</i> .
197	οὔτε λαχεία <i>E(?)T</i>	οὔτε λάχεια <i>bD</i> .
217	ἡ μαγνήνας <i>a</i>	ἡ μαγνηίδας <i>bD</i> .
260	τελειέσσας <i>a</i>	τεληέσσας <i>bD</i> .
261-89	om. <i>a</i>	hab. <i>bD</i> .



In twenty variants, D agrees with *b* in seventeen, with *a* in three. The inference is plain. AtD were derived from a member of the *x* family, which did not like *a* absorb a certain number of the marginalia which were originally part of the archetype.

The pair, however, or D as representative of both, differ from *b* in a certain number of points, more curious than important, and which in most cases may fairly be called conjectures:

Apoll.	41	in AtD after 36; homoeoteleuton.
	72	ἀτιμήσω. <sup>η</sup>
	83	ὄμωσεν.
	114	ἴδμαθ' (the same correction in Π, ἴσ <sup>δ</sup> μαθ').
	130	ἀθανάτουσι.
	223	ἱξ <sup>α</sup> ς.
	402	ἐπεφράσσατο.
	514	ἀγατὸν (an evident conjecture: ατὸν <i>x</i> ).
	540	τηνυσίον γ' ἔπος.
Herm.	38	θάνοις (as M).
	47	marg. γρ. ταμών.
	70	θέων.
	99	σκοπιῇ AtD.
	100	μεγαμηδείας AtD.
	103	ἡλανον AtD (102 ἡλασεν, 106 συνέλασεν).
	238	ἀμφικαλύπτει.
	261	ἔειπες.
	284	καθίσαι.
	289	καὶ ὕστατον, om. τε AtD.
Aphr.	540	βούλεται AtD (a gloss; ξ 300 βούλετ', μῆδετ', τ 326 βουλῆν, μῆτιν).
	13	σκύτινα AtD: conjecture.
	22	ἐστίη AtD (as M).
	118	χρυσηλακάτον (as M).
	174	ἦρε At, ἦρε D (a conjecture and a bad one for the ηνρε of <i>b</i> ; here AtD show clearly their closeness to <i>b</i> , since <i>a</i> has made βνρε of the original κύρε).
	203	ἦρπασε ὃν At, ἦρπασ' ἐδν D.
	205	τετιμένος (τετιμένονος <i>x</i> ).
Ge	xxx.	3 ὑπέρχεται.
	Helios xxxi.	4 ἀγακλειτήν.

These differences are evidently slight, and only rarely an improvement. ἀγατὸν *Apoll.* 514 is ingenious, but fortunately is shown by M to be wrong; σκύτινα *Aphr.* 13 is also ingenious;



χρυσηλακάτου *Apoll.* 118 and ἀγακλειτὴν *Hel.* xxxi. 4 happen to be right. εὖν *Apoll.* 203 is nearly correct.

## HJK = z

Three other mss. appear to be descended from D, or its archetype, and therefore form another ramification of *x*. They are distinguished by their contents: *Hymns* viii.–xviii., followed by *Apoll.* 1–186 (v. 185 is omitted, and of 186 only the words ἐνθεν δὲ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον are given; v. 184 comes after this half-line). No reason can be given for such curious contents, arranged in such an eccentric order; the archetype must have been a few quires of some book, out of order. M also fails suddenly in xviii., but this can hardly be more than a coincidence. In H even less than this remains, viz. *Apoll.* 1–55.

That the three mss. belong to *x* appears from the following passages where HJK agree with *x* against M $\rho$ :

Art. ix.	3	μελήτης HJK $x$	μλήτης $\rho$ , μέλητος M.
Mat. de. xiv.	3	τρόμος HJK $x$	βρόμος M $\rho$ .
Apoll.	35	αὐτοκανῆς HJK $x$	αὐτοκάνης $\rho$ (deest M).
	59	full line HJK $x$	half line $\rho$ (deest M).

and from these where HJK agree with *x* (and M, with which they can have had no connexion) against  $\rho$ :

Ares viii.	9	εὐθαρσέος HJK $x$ M	εὐθαλέος $\rho\eta$ .
Mat. de. xiv.	3	τυμπάνων HJK $x$ M	τυπάνων $\rho$ .
Apoll.	78	ἀκήδεα χῆτει λαῶν JK (deest H) $x$ M	ἔκαστά τε φύλα νεπούδων $\rho$ .
	152	οἱ τότε ἐπ' JK (deest H) M $x$	οἱ δὴ ποτ' ἐπ- $\rho$ .
	162	κρεμβαλιαστὴν JK (deest H)M,	κρεμβαλιασὸν $\rho$ .
		κρεμβαλιαστὸν $x$	
	172	ἡμέων JK (deest H) $x$ M	ἡμῶν $\rho$ .
	176	ἐπιδὴ JK (deest H) $x$ , ἐπειδὴ M	ἐπιδὴν $\rho$ .

That HJK are descended from D appears from these places:

Aselep. xvi.	3	φλεγύος AtDK, φλεγέος HJ	φλεγύου cet. (φλεγύος N).
Apoll.	41	after v. 35 AtDHJK	
	49	ἐβήσατο DK, βήσατο HJ	ἐβήσετο cet. (ἐβήσασατο L).
	60	πίειρ DJK (deest H)	πίειρ $x$ , πίειρ $\rho$ .
	72	ἀτιμήσω D, ἀτιμήση JK (in ras.), (deest H)	ἀτιμήσω $x$ , ἀτιμήσας $\rho$ .
	83	ὀμωσεν (DK deest H, <sup>γρ.</sup> ὀμοσσεν J)	ὀμοσ(σ)εν cet.
114	ἰσμαθ' DJK		<sup>δ</sup> ἰσμαθ' $x$ , ἰσθμαθ' $\rho$ .



The members differ among themselves; the peculiar readings are, in H:

Ares viii. 4	θέμιστα	θέμιστος cet.
Apoll. 46	οἱ	σοι cet. (. . οι T).

This is an excellent conjecture and usually printed.

In J:

Apoll. 57	ἀγινήσουσ'	ἀγινήσουσιν, ἀγίνουσιν cet.
59	δὴ ῥὰ θεοὶ κε σ' ἔχωσι	δὴ ῥὰ om. cet.
65	γενοίμην (and pS)	γ' ἐροίμην cet.
70	αἰνῶς γε	γε om. cet.
74	ἄλλυδις	ἄλις cet.
82	γρ. ἔσται (so M)	ἐστίν cet.
86	πέλεται om. τε	πέλει cet.
139	γ' ἀνθέει οὖρεος ἄνθεσιν ὕλη	τε ρίον οὖρεος ἄνθεσιν ὕλης cet.
151	ἀνδρας	ἀνὴρ xK, αἰεί cet.

Most of these peculiarities are evidently wild; ἀγινήσουσ', ἔσται, and γενοίμην (if original) are good conjectures.

Two members of the family agree against the third in

Dem. xiii. 1	δημήτρ' HJ	δημήτηρ' K etc.
Apoll. 31	κυνδνὴ add. HJ	om. cet.
39	κουρίκου H, κουρύκου J	κορύκου Kx, κωρύκου p.
51	κ' ἐθέλοις H, κεθέλοις J	κ' ἐθέλεις K, with DETp.
55	οἴσεις HJ	οἴσεις Ep, οἴστεῖς cet.
158	ἄν HJ	ἄρ K cet.

H and J evidently are nearer to one another than to K. οἴσεις, though slight, is a good correction.

Traces of J's conjectures appear in K:

Apoll. 65	γενοίμην J	γενοὶ K m. 2.
151	ἀνδρας J	ἀνδρας K m. 2.

All three MSS. differ from their immediate source AtD in reading:

Apoll. 18	ὑπ' οἰνώποιο for ὑπ' ἰνόποιο.
52	ἐπὶ for ἐνὶ.

## S

This MS. (Vat. 1880) was discovered by H. Rabe (whose collation was published by Arthur Ludwich *Neue Jahrbücher für*



*Philologie*, 1892, pp. 239, 240); it was collated also by ourselves in 1893. It consists of eight pages (*Apoll.* 1–357), the first quire of a fifteenth-century MS. It agrees throughout with the *x* family, but in a small number of cases has the readings of *p* or HJK (the details are given *J. H. S.* xv. 152, 153). It is therefore an emended member of the *x* stock. It has, however, a number of readings peculiar to itself, and in these its interest consists:

- Apoll.* 18 ὑπ' ἰνώποιο: this is correct. The nearest MS. reading is M's ὑπὲρ νώποιο.  
 44 ῥήναιά: the rest accent ῥηναία.  
 53 λήσει. As the scribe has added a sigma, he may have thought his original λήσει a mistake, but it has suggested the undoubtedly right restoration: λίσσει cet.  
 54 εὐβωλο σε ἔσσεσθαι (?).  
 57 ἀγίνουσιν: the rest ἀγινήσουσιν or ἀγινήσουσ'.  
 128 ἔσχον: the rest ἴσχον.  
 165 ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἰλήκοι as Thucydides: ἀλλάγε δὴ λητῶ vulg.  
 209 ὀππότ' ἀνωόμενος: ὀπποσ' ἀνωόμενος vulg.  
 216 περίην: περίης and περίη cet. (πετρίην M).  
 234 κείν': κείν' cet.  
 297 νίέες ἐργίνου: νίέε σεργίνου cet.  
 325 ἦ ἄρ: ἦρ, ἦρ' cet.

The readings on 53, 57, 216, 297 are very remarkable, and that on 325, if ἦά ῥ' is intended, is a good conjecture. It is lamentable that more of this MS. has not been preserved.

Professor Hollander (*über die neu bekannt gewordenen Handschriften der h. Hymnen*, 1895, pp. 10, 11) mentions a copy of the editio princeps of 1488 in the Laurentian Library at Florence, on the margin of which are some readings entered in ink (he mentions the correction γενοίμην for γ' ἐροίμην, *Apoll.* 65), which agree with the readings of S. Hollander believes S (like G) to be a copy of the printed book. As was maintained (*J. H. S.* xvii. 47), the converse seems more probable, viz. that the peculiar lections of S were copied by a reader into the margin of his edition. On the evidence of the hand, S may well have been written before 1488.

#### EDITIO PRINCEPS

Homer was first printed at Florence in 1488 (E. Legrand *Bibliographie Hellénique* i. p. 939, *J. H. S.* xv. 156 f.). For



the *Hymns*, at least, the edition is of importance, and fills the place exactly of a fifteenth-century MS. The editor, Demetrius Chalcondyles (Legrand *l.c.* p. xciv f.), says of this portion of his work δεῖ μέντοι μὴ ἀγνοεῖν ὡς ἔν τε τῇ βατραχομνομαχίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὕμνοις ἐνιαχοῦ διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφθοράν, οὔτε ὁ τῶν ἐπῶν εἰρμός οὔτε μὴν τὸ τῆς διανοίας ὑγιὲς ἀπαρτίζεται. Demetrius followed on the whole a MS. of the *x* family (the passages are given *J. H. S.* xv. 155–57), but, as he implies in his preface, he corrected obvious errors; in many of his corrections he coincides with AtD (*ib.* 157); he may even have used D or a MS. like D to print from, and here and there various other MSS. (*l.c.* p. 158); but many of his novelties are not found in any *x* or *p* MSS., and therefore may fairly be set down to his own conjectures. These are:

Apoll.	63	μὲν	κεν cet.
	93	ῥείη	ῥέη cet.
	96	μεγάροισι	μεγάροις cet.
	220	ἄδε	άδε cet.
	223	ἀπ'	ἐπ' cet.
	317	in marg. λείπει.	
	318	ἔμβalon	ἐμβαλεν cet.
	325	ἦν ἄρ	ἦ ῥ' ἐν and ἦ ῥ' ἐν cet.
	339	ἦ ὅσσον	ἦ πόσσον or παρόσσαν cet.
	361	καὶ ἔνθα om.	hab. cet.
	392	νῆα θοήν	ἡμαθόην cet.
	407	οἱ τὰ πρῶτα	τὰ πρῶτα cet.
	411	ἔξον	ἱξον cet.
	414	ἦδ'	ἡδ' cet.
	419	παρεκ	παρεκ cet.
	450	χαίτη	χαίτης cet.
	452	τίνες	πόθεν cet.
	502	ἔφαθ'	ἔφατ' cet.
Herm.	65	ἄλτο	ᾠρτο cet. (except M).
	94	φὰς συνέσευε	φασὶν ἔστευε.
	175	φιλητεύων	δὲ φιλητεύων.
	214	φηλητὴν	φιλητὴν <i>x</i> , φηλωτὴν <i>p</i> .
	236	χωόμενος	χωόμενον.
	292	φηλητέων	φιλητέων <i>x</i> , φηλιτέων <i>p</i> .
	303	οἰωνοῖς· εἶ	οἰωνοῖσιν εἶ <i>x</i> , οἰωνοῖσι σὺν <i>p</i> .
	400	ἀτάλλετο	ἀτιτάλλετο.
	474	αὐτάγρετόν	αὐτ' ἄγρετόν.
	482	ἄρ'	ἄν.
	491	αῦ	αὐτ'.
Aphr.	533	ἐρεείνης	ἐρεείνεις.
	20	πόλις	πόλις <i>x</i> , πόνος <i>p</i> .



Aphr.	39	καταθνητῆσι	κατὰ θνητῆσι.
	229	καὶ εὐγενέος	εὐγενέος.
Dion. vii.	13	λύγοι	λυδοὶ.
Pan xix.	31	κυλληνίον	κυλληνίου.
Pos. xxii.	3	αἰγὰς	αἶγας.
Ge xxx.	15	παίζουσαι	παίζουσι.

Of these peculiarities the following are found in M, and as we cannot suppose Demetrius had access to any such source, the coincidence must be counted a confirmation: *Apoll.* 23 ἀπ', 318 ἔμβαλον, 392 νῆα θοήν, 502 ἔφαθ', *Herm.* 65 ἄλτο. The following are unique and also appear correct, and are no small tribute to Demetrius' ability: *Apoll.* 93 ρείη, 96 μεγάροισι, 220 ἄδε, 317 marg. λείπει, 411 ἱξον, 419 παρέκ, 452 τῖνες, *Herm.* 94 φὰς συνέσευε, 214 φηλητήν, 292 φηλητέων, 400 ἀτάλλετο, 474 αὐτάγρετόν, *Aphr.* 20 πτόλις, 39 καταθνητῆσι and other cases of καταθνητός, *Dion.* vii. 13 λύγοι, *Pos.* xxii. 3 αἰγὰς, *Ge* xxx. 15 παίζουσαι.

## p

The fourteen MSS. that remain constitute a large and also well-defined family,<sup>1</sup> once, but without reason, considered inferior to the others, and even negligible. The passages in which these MSS. assert their relationship are:

		cet.	hab.
Apoll.	11	δὲ om. (as H)	
	19	πάντων	πάντως and πάντοσσ'.
	21	παντοτρόφον	πορτιτρόφον.
	24	λίμναι	λιμένες.
	28	λιγυπνόοις	λιγυπνοίοις.
	29	θνητοῖς	θνητοῖσιν.
	32	ἀγχίαλος	ἀγχίαλη.
	42	πόλεις	πόλις.
	46	σοι om.	hab.
	ιβ.	γαϊών	γαιέων.
	54	εὐβων	εὐβων.
	59	δηρὸν ἀναξ εἰ βόσκοις	δηρὸν ἀναξ εἰ βόσκοις· θεοὶ κέ σ' ἔχωσιν or the like.
	65	πέρι τιμήεσσα	περιτιμήεσσα.
	ιβ.	γενοίμην	γ' ἐροίμην.
	72	ἀτιμήσας	ἀτιμήσω and ἀτιμήση.
	ιβ.	ἐπείη	ἐπειή.
	75	ἀδοίη	ἀδῇ οἱ, and ἀδῇ οἱ.
	78	ἔκαστά τε φύλα νεπούδων	ἀκῆδεα χῆτει λαῶν.
	129	δεσμά σ'	δέσματ' or δεσμάτ'.

<sup>1</sup> The latest comer L<sub>4</sub> belongs to this family, as appears from Prof. Vitelli's collation.



Apoll.	143	τε	τοι.
	159	αὔθις	αὔτις.
	162	κρεμβαλιασὺν	κρεμβαλιαστὺν (ἦν).
	176	ἐπιδῆν	ἐπιδῆ, ἐπειδῆ.
	178	ὑμνῶν	ὑμνέων.
	184	ἔχον	ἔχων.
	189	om.	hab.
	197	οὐτ' ἐλάχεια	οὔτε λάχεια or λαχεῖα.
	211	om.	hab.
	215	ἀπόλλωνος	ἄπολλον.
	216	πιερίη	πιερίης (πετρίην, πιερίην).
	224	τελμησὸν	τευμησὸν, τέμμισον. <sup>1</sup>
	233	οἱ δέ	οὐδέ.
	274	δέξαιο	δέξαι.
	293	βωμῶ	νηῶ.
	306	τυφάονα	τυφλὸν, τυφλόν τε.
	322	ἔτι μήσεται	μήσεται, μητίσεται.
	326	καὶ νῦν τοιγὰρ	καὶ νῦν μὲν τοὶ γὰρ, καὶ νῦν μέντοι.
	328	αἰσχύνασ'	αἰσχύνας.
	339	ἢ παρόσον	ἢ πόσσον, ἔστιν. ὅσον.
	344	om.	hab.
	351	ἐναλίγκιον	ἐναλίγκιον.
	356	αἴσιον	αἴσιμον.
	366	ἀδινήσουσι	ἀγινήσουσι.
	394	ἀγγέλουσι	ἀγγέλλουσι, ἀγγέλλουσι.
	402	ἐπιφράσσαιτο	ἐπεφράσσατο, ἐπεφράσσατο.
	403	παντόσ'	παντόθ'.
	416	om.	hab.
	460	σφας	σφεας.
	517	χρυσῆν	χαρίεν, ἐρατόν (. . . ατόν, ἀγατόν).
	518	τε alterum om.	hab.
	538	om. (and M)	hab.
Herm.	10	δῆ om.	hab.
	20	γύων, or om.	γυίων.
	45	ἄς ὅτε	αἶ ὅτε and ἦ ὅτε.
	ib.	δυνηθῶσι	δινηθῶσι.
	59	ὀνομακλυτὴν	ὀνομακλυτὸν and ὄνομα κλυτὸν.
	127	χάρμα φέρων	χαρμοφέρων.
	152	παρ' ἰγνύσι	περ' ἰγνύσι.
	157	πλευροῖσι	πλευρήσι.
	159	φηλητεύσειν	φιλητεύσειν.
	193	ἐβόσκετο om.	hab.
	209	εὐκραίροισιν	εὐκραιρήσιν (-ησιν).
	214	φηλωτὴν	φιλητὴν.
	241	νήδυμον	ἦδυμον.
	312	δέξαι	δέξο.
	ib.	παρὰ	πάρ.
	313	ἐρέεινον	ἐρέεινεν.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the vv.ll. Eur. *Phoen.* 1100, and Eus. *Praef. Ev.* ii. 6 τελμησῶ τελμισῶ.



Herm.	342	δῖα	δοῖα.
	356	κατέεργε	κατέρεξε.
	361	ἀλεείνων	ἀλεγύνων, ἀλεγίζων.
	386	κραταιῶ	κρατερῶ.
	402	ἤλαννε	ἐξήλαννε.
	412	ἀγραύλοισι	ἀγραύλησι.
	420	κονάβισσε	κονάβησε.
	440	σὺ	σοί.
	446	φλητὰ	φιλητὰ.
	449	νῆδυμον	ἤδυμον.
	478	ἐταῖρον	ἐταίρην.
	481	φιλομειδέα	φιλοκυνδέα.
	ιβ.	χῶρον	κῶμον.
	484	νόα	νόω.
	495	πὲρι ζαμενῶς	περιζαμενῶς.
	502	κονάβισσε	κονάβησε.
	530	ἀκήραον	ἀκήριον.
	532-4	om.	hab.
	540	πιφάσκειν	πιφάυσκειν.
	543	ἔλθοι	ἔλθη.
	557	ἀλέγεινεν	ἀλέγυνεν.
	560	θύσωσι	θυίσωσι, θυίωσιν.
	ιβ.	ἐδωδύαι	ἐδηδύαι.
Aphr.	20	πόνος	πόλις, πόλις.
	39, 50	θνητοῖσι	θνητοῖς.
	71	πορδάλιες	παρδάλιες
	82	τε καὶ	καί.
	136, 136 <sup>a</sup>	οὐ σφιν ἀεικελίη γυνή ἔσσομαι ἢ καὶ οὐκί	οὐ σφιν ἀεικελίη νυδς ἔσσομαι ἀλλ' εἰκνία (εἴ τοι ἀεικελίη {γυνή ἔσσομαι ἢ καὶ οὐκί).
	146	ἀγοράζεις	ἀγορεύεις.
	152	προίοι	προίη.
	194	τοι om.	hab.
Art. ix.	3	μιλήτης	μελήτης, μέλητος.
Ath. xi.	3	πόλεμοι	πτόλεμοι.
Mat. de. xiv.	3	κροτάλη	κροτάλων.
Ascl.	3	δωτίνω	δωτίω.
Pan' xix.	24	λυγγὸς	λυγκὸς.
	25	θαλέθων	θαλέων.
Ath. xxviii.	10	ὀβρίμης	ὀμβρίμης.
Hest. xxix.	3	ἔλαχε	ἔλαχε.
Ge xxx.	14	παρ' εὐανθέσιν	περεσανθέσιν.
Selene xxxii.	6	χρυσοῦ	χρυσέου.
	ιβ.	ἀκτίνες	ἀκτῆρες.
	11	πλήθη	πλήθει.
Diosc. xxxiii.	14	ἀέλλαι	ἀέλλας.

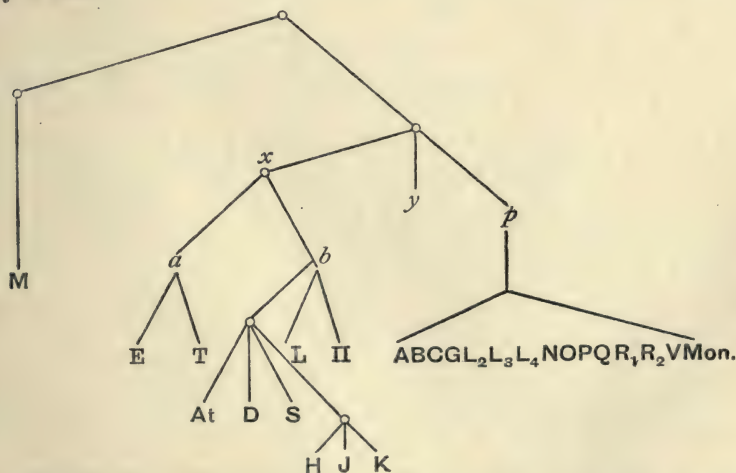
So many peculiarities reproduced with few corrections in thirteen MSS. are a considerable proof of fidelity. Within the



family the divergences are not numerous or important. Those contained in the collations available to us are given *J. H. S.* xv. 177, 178; the most important are the superscription  $\nu\eta\omega$  in O and V *Apoll.* 293, ἀγινῆσουσι N and superscribed in  $L_3PR_1$  *Apoll.* 366, the various reproductions of ἀπαστοι *Herm.* 168. The variants suggest a closer relationship between BFO; Hollander *l.c.* p. 11 connects  $L_2PR_{1,2}$ . The ancestor of the whole family no doubt was minuscule (*J. H. S.* xv. 181); *Aphr.* 174 ἡυρε is proof of itself.

The impossible forms (*Apoll.* 28, 75, 162, 215, 351, 356, 366, *Herm.* 45, 342, 478, 484, 560) and omissions (*Apoll.* 11, 189, 211, 344, 416, *Herm.* 10, 193, 532–34, *Aphr.* 194) no doubt are against the credit of the archetype; but the inferiority is only comparative, and there is no reason to deny the quality of the family where it appears, nor to call its good readings conjectures (a vindication of *p* against earlier disparagement was attempted, *J. H. S.* xv. 261–69; its good readings are twenty-three—*Apoll.* 32, 65, 71, 129, 227, 233, 272, 306, 403, *Herm.* 67, 209, 214, 292, 313, 412, 446, *Aphr.* 245, *Dion.* vii. 8, *Mat. de.* xiv. 3, *Pan* xix. 26, *Ath.* xxviii. 10, *Hest.* xxix. 3, *Selene* xxxii. 6).

For clearness' sake the affinities of these mss. are indicated by a tree:



Too little has survived of  $R_3$  to assign it to any particular family.



## III.—RELATION OF FAMILIES TO EACH OTHER

The merits of the three families M, *x* and *p* may be expressed by the following table (*J. H. S.* xv. p. 304):

	M	<i>x</i>	<i>p</i>
Conscious conjectures	6	2	11
Semi-conscious conjectures	34	9	17
Independent readings	34	0	1
Exclusively right readings	45	4	21
Clerical errors (about)	90	20	50

M is in all respects the most strongly characterised member; its peculiarities are far more numerous than those of the other branches put together, while the quantity of uncorrected and half-corrected blunders are, as remarked above, a guarantee for the genuineness of the good readings. The other members offer a comparatively uniform vulgate, principally valuable as preserving the alternatives to M's independent lections and the originals of its blunders; among them *x* is remarkably faithful to its archetype, *p* has passed through the hands of peculiarly ignorant scribes, but a large proportion of genuine survivals remain in it. *y* being known only on the margin of *x* can hardly come under a numerical test; the characteristic of its variants is that they largely consist of whole lines.<sup>1</sup>

Whether further conclusions can be drawn as to the relationship between the families is doubtful. That *x* and *p* (and presumably *y*) hold together is obvious from their having lost the hymns to Dionysus and Demeter which were in the archetype of M and doubtless began the original collection: and this divergence is confirmed by the analysis of the agreements and differences between the families (*J. H. S.* xv. 261, *x* and *p* agree against M in eighty-five cases, M and *x* against *p* in forty-one, M and *p* against *x* in seven. *x* and *p* therefore seem about twice as near each other as M is to the nearest of them).

We have seen that the archetypes of all the families were minuscule, and possibly minuscule for several generations. That the families, at least M on one side and *xpy* on the other were

<sup>1</sup> E.g. *Apoll.* 136-8, *Herm.* 288, 366, 563, and phrases *Herm.* 241, 346. *y*'s readings at *Herm.* 45, 241, 288, 563 show it to be as severely corrupted as the other families. This is possibly due to long marginal transmission.



apart for a long time would seem to result from the dissimilarity of their text; at one time however they were doubtless united in a single ancestor, of what period cannot be guessed. This assertion, in any case natural, seems fortified by certain errors, which are held by all copies in common. They are the following:

- Apoll. 59 *δηρὸν ἀναξ εἰ βόσκοις κτλ.* (M is wanting).  
 152 *οἱ τότ' ἐπαντία σείο κτλ.* (without construction).  
 165 *ἀλλά γε λητῶ* (without construction; Thucydides quotes *ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἰλήκοι*).  
 171 *ἀφ' ἡμέων* and sim. (meaningless, and Thuc. quotes *ἀφήμους*).  
 209 *ὅπποσ' ἀνωόμενος* (vox nihili).  
 217 *ἀγνίηνas, μαγνίηνas* (voces nihili).  
 243 *ἄμαρτον* id.  
 255 *ἡ δ' ἐσιδούσα* (but *ἡ δὲ ἰδούσα* M v. 341).  
 277 *νίεε σεργίνου* (vox nihili).  
 339 *ἐστιν. ὅσον, ἡ πόσσον, ἡ παρόσον* (senseless).  
 371 *ἡμερον μένος* (vox nihili).  
 392 *ἡμαθόην* (vox nihili: *νῆα θοὴν* M m. 2).  
 446 *κρισσαγῶν* (id. *κρισσαίων* Lascaris).  
 Herm. 94 *φασὶν ἔσενε* (senseless).  
 243 *ἄγρης· εἰνέτέον τε* (senseless).  
 431 *πρέσβην* (vox nihili).  
 457 *ἐπαίνει* (senseless).  
 473 *παῖδ' ἀφνειὸν* (unmetrical).  
 Aphr. 13 *σάτινα* (unmetrical).  
 252 *στοναχῆσεται* (vox nihili).  
 254 *ὀνότατον* (clerical).  
 Dion. vii. 13 *λυδοὶ* (vox nihili).  
 43 *μὴ δ' ἦδη* or *ἦδειν* (voces nihili).

No other readings common to all the mss. can be objectively proved corrupt. The corruptions are not of such a nature as to suggest any particular time or circumstances of origin (*κρισσαγῶν* Ap. 446 is a common case of Romaic influence, frequent in theological texts); on the other hand the most striking of them are simple disintegration of letters, natural to the transcription of a neglected author, and the original in most cases is not in doubt. It may be questioned whether the judgment usually passed on the tradition of these documents is not over severe.

The evidence of the mss. ceases here. They carry us back to an undefined date, and perhaps, though certainty is impossible, not very far beyond the period of the introduction of the



minuscule book-hand. It may be supposed that the archetype contained marginal variants, representing the abundant alternative readings of the classical period; and that the loss of the Dionysus and Demeter hymns in *xpy*, and of xviii. 5 to the end in M was due to mechanical causes.<sup>1</sup>

We see further that the *Hymns* have come down to us in two connexions, either among the other Homeric poems, or in a selection of poets such as Callimachus, Orpheus, Proclus, portions of Hesiod, Pindar, Theocritus, and the poem ascribed to Musaeus. Of the twenty-eight MSS. of the *Hymns*, four (M, L<sub>3</sub>, G, V) present them as part of the Homeric corpus; the remainder, except those in which the *Hymns* are quite alone, contain the selection more or less complete.

Between the *Homeric Hymns* and those of Callimachus, Orpheus, and Proclus there is a similarity of form, but they have not much in common with the other poems, and it is not easy to understand the reason for the collection. About its date and place there is no direct evidence, but the inclusion of Proclus (d. 485 A.D.) brings it well down to the Byzantine period; with this the excerpting of Pindar and Theocritus, a natural sign of decadence, agrees.<sup>2</sup> Signs of this association may be discerned here and there in the text of the *Hymns*: *Apoll.* 55 οἰσεῖς is due to the neighbourhood of Theocritus, and the lacuna in the line *Apoll.* 59 (in the family *p*) suggests similar omissions in Callimachus *Dem.* 15, 18.

The time at which the *Homeric Hymns* themselves were collected admits even less of being definitely fixed. The Orphic character of *h.* viii. (denied by several critics, see the introduction to the hymn), should afford a *terminus a quo*, but the date of a given Orphic hymn cannot be fixed within several centuries.<sup>3</sup>

This account is unfortunately for the most part inferential; between the time of the Mosquensis (fourteenth century) and

<sup>1</sup> Obvious parallels are Theocritus *Idylls* 25 and 27, Lysias' 25th oration, and Juvenal *Sat.* xvi.

<sup>2</sup> Such a collection, made at the same period, seems to be described by Iulianus Aegyptius (s. vi. A.D.) in *Anth. Pal.* vii. 594 Μνήμά τοι ὦ Θεόδωρε πανατρεκὲς οὐκ ἐπὶ τύμβῳ | ἀλλ' ἐν βιβλιακῶν μυριάσιν σελίδων, | αἷσιν ἐπεξώρησας ἀπολλυμένων ἀπὸ λήθης | ἀρπάξας νοεῶν μόχθον αἰδοσέων.

<sup>3</sup> Dieterich *de hymnis Orphicis*, 1891, p. 24 finds a *terminus ad quem* for the extant Orphica in the magical papyri which quote them, and which date from 100–150 A.D.; the collection contains elements which may go back to 200 B.C., but cannot be earlier than Stoic allegorising doctrine. There is no reason therefore on this account to bring down the date of the *Homeric Hymns* as a collection to the Christian era.



the last classical quotation we have no overt evidence to assist us. One testimony, however, of the fifteenth century there is, adduced first by O. Schneider *Callimachus* i. p. vii. Giovanni Aurispa, in the celebrated letter to Ambrogio Traversari in which he enumerates his shipload of Greek MSS. conveyed to Italy from the Orient, specifies (*Ambrosii Traversarii Epistolae* ed. Mehus, 1759, ii. col. 1027) "Laudes Deorum Homeri, haud parvum opus." It is hardly to be doubted that a copy of the *Hymns* is intended by this entry; what the nature and age of the copy was, and whether it is one of those that survive, cannot be concluded.<sup>1</sup>

If we examine the nature of the variants which are given by the various families we find, graphical and phonetic corruptions and obvious blunders and glosses put aside, a considerable number of alternatives. Their number is increased by the quotations in ancient authors, the variants in which appear essentially of the same nature as the MS. divergences. We give here a list of these variants:

Dem.	482	καλὰ M	πάσιν Pausanias.
Apoll.	136-38	βεβρίθει καθορώσα διδς λητοῦς τε γένεθλον. γηθοσύνη ὅτι μιν θεὸς εἴλετο οἰκία θέσθαι. νήσων ἡπείρου τε, φίλησε δὲ κηρόθι μάλλον γ.	
	139	ἦνθησ', ὥς ὅτε τε ῥίον οὖρεος ἄνθεσιν ὕλης Mxp.	
	146	ἀλλά σν MSS.	ἀλλ' ὅτε Thucydides.
	149	οἱ δέ σε MSS.	ἐνθα σε Thuc.
	ib.	ὀρχηθμῶ MSS.	ὀρχηστνὶ Thuc.
	150	στήσονται MSS.	καθέσωσι Thuc.
	162	κρεμβαλιαστὴν Mxp	βαμβαλιαστὴν γ.
	168	ξείνος ταλαπείριος ἐλθών MSS. ταλαπείριος ἄλλος ἐπελθών Thuc.	
	249	πολλοὶ M	ἐνθάδ' xp.
	308	ἦνίκ' ἄρα M	εἰτ' ἄρα δὴ xp.
	423	ἐρατὸν Mx	χρυσὴν p, χαρίεν Athenaeus.
	523	αὐτοῦ δάπεδον Mxp	ἄδντον ζάθειον γ.
Herm.	51	συμφώνους MSS.	θηλυτεράων Antig. Caryst.
	63	ἄλτο M	ῶρτο xp.
	90	ἐπικάμπυλα ξύλα M	ἐπικαμπύλους ὠμούς xp.
	159	φέροντα M	λαβόντα xp.
	212	μῦθον ἀκούσας My	φοῖβος ἀπόλλων xp.

<sup>1</sup> The idea started by Schneider *l.c.* and repeated by Wilamowitz-Möllendorf (*Callimachus* p. 6) and Hollander *l.c.* p. 9, that this MS. was the parent of the MSS. now existing, with the exception

of M, may be dismissed. It is plain that the developed divergences between *x* and *p* and their various members could not be the fruit of a period beginning with the year 1423.



Herm.	224	ἔλπομαι εἶναι Mγ	ἔστιν ὁμοῖα χρ.
	288	ἀντήσεις ἀγέλῃσι βοῶν καὶ πώεσι μήλων Mαχρ.	
		ἀντην βουκολίοισι καὶ εἰροπόκοις οἴεσσι γ.	
	322	τέρθρον ἔκοντο Mα	ἔκοντο κάρηνα ργ.
	326	ποτὶ πτύχας οὐλύμποιο Mαχρ	μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἦω γ.
	352	πολὸν M	μέγαν χρ.
	366	δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρωθεν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπος ἦῤδα Mαχρ.	
		δ' ἄλλον μῦθον ἐν ἀθανάτοισι ἔειπεν γ.	
	368	ἀγορεύσω M	καταλέξω χρ.
	403	ἀπάνευθε M	ἀπάτερθε χρ.
	431	ἅπαντες M	ἕκαστος χρ.
	473	καὶ Mαχρ	τῶν γ.
	502	σμερδαλέον M	ἱμερόεν χρ.
	503	καὶ ῥα M	ἐνθα χρ.
	518	κατὰ M	μέγαν Mαχρ.
	544	τ' ἡδὲ ποτῆσι M	καὶ πτερύγεσσι χρ.
	552	σεμναὶ M	μοῖραι χρ.
	563	πειρῶνται δ' ἥπειτα παρέξ ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύειν Mαχρ.	
Aphr.	67	ρίμφα M	θοῶς χρ.
	175	ἰοστεφάνου M	ἐνιοστεφάνου χρ.
	204-6	ἐπιιοινοχοεύειν—τετιμένον—ἀφύσσειν M.	
		ἐπιιοινοχοεύει—τετιμένος—ἀφύσσων χρ.	
	214	ἴσα θεοῖσι Mγ	ἥματα πάντα χρ.
Aphr. vi.	18	ἰοστεφάνου Mα	ἐνιοτεφάνου ρ.
Ares viii.	9	εὐθαρσέος Mρ	εὐθαλέος γ.
Aphr. x.	3	θέει M	φέρει χρ.
	4	μακαίρα κυθήρης M	θεὰ σαλαμῖνος χρ.
Heracl. xv.	5	πημαίνεται' ἀεθλεύων κραταιῶς M.	
		πομπῆσιν ὑπ' εὐρυσθέως ἀνακτος χρ.	
	6	ἔξοχα ἔργα M	πολλὰ δ' ἀνέτλη χρ.
Pan xix.	7	κάρηνα x	κέλευθα ργ.
	48	λίσσονται χρ	ἴλαμαι γ.

Among these readings some may be preferable to others on different grounds, but none of them exhibit a definitely late origin, and none can certainly be explained as arising from its contrary by means of graphical corruption or interpretation. The members of each pair seem independent, and the age of the MS. variants seems guaranteed by the variants in the quotations, which are of the same nature, and go back to the fifth century B.C. They bear the same character as the variants in the Homeric text which are abundantly testified to belong to the prae-Alexandrian age; and as the Homeric variants are usually supposed to have arisen in connexion with rhapsodising or semi-oral transmission (and consist therefore mostly of epic reminiscences or equivalents), the same explanation may be offered of



these. If this is the case, it is an additional argument for eclecticism in the constitution of the text; since, if the tradition of as early a period as the age of Thucydides exhibited alternatives, it is plainly a matter of chance which are found in what copy of the fifteenth century A.D.

There are a few passages in the *Hymns* where it has been thought that a pair of alternative lines or sequences of lines have found their way into the same text. There is no difficulty in believing such a process to have taken place, for contamination or conflation is a well-attested phenomenon; but where the guarantee of the overt difference between MSS. is wanting, the detection of such passages must rest upon considerations of grammar and sense; and the certainty of such a criterion in any particular case is materially diminished.<sup>1</sup> Lines which have been thought mutually incompatible, and therefore to be the result of two recensions fused together, are *Dion.* i. 13–15 and 16, *Aphr.* 97 and 98, 136 and 136<sup>a</sup>, 274–5 and 276–7, *Artemis* ix. 8 and 9, but no case except *Aphr.* 136, 136<sup>a</sup> can be called certain.

#### IV.—THE HOMERIC HYMNS IN ANTIQUITY

The history of these documents during the classical period may be recovered by two methods, the linguistic and the historical. The former is treated p. lxiii f., the latter consists almost entirely in such evidence as is afforded by quotations.

The quotations of the *Homeric Hymns* are not abundant in antiquity.<sup>2</sup> We leave out allusions, clear or possible, and enumerate the actual citations, and first those of whose age there is no doubt.

##### FIFTH CENTURY B.C.

1. Thuc. iii. 104 δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα Ὅμηρος ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἦν [a festival at Delos] ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖσδε, ἃ ἔστιν ἐκ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος.

<sup>1</sup> Hermann in his ed. p. xx f. is the principal exponent of this view. It is preferable to the other so-called critical method of excising and bracketing, and has a certain basis in fact; but its application is arbitrary and admits of very little

check—as may be seen even from Hermann's remarks.

<sup>2</sup> A. Guttman *de Hymnorum Homericorum historia critica particularum quatuor*, 1869, p. 14 f., and the prefaces to the editions.



ἀλλ' ὅτε Δήλῳ Φοῖβε μάλιστά γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης,  
 ἔνθα τοι ἑλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἡγερέθονται  
 σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι γυναιξί τε σὴν ἐς ἀγνίαν·  
 ἔνθα σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ ὄρχηστυὶ καὶ αἰοδῇ  
 μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν ὅταν καθέσωσιν ἀγῶνα.

ὅτι δὲ καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγὼν ἦν καὶ ἀγωνιούμενοι ἐφοίτων, ἐν τοῖσδε αὖ  
 δηλοῖ, ἃ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προοιμίου. τὸν γὰρ Δηλιακὸν χορὸν τῶν  
 γυναικῶν ὑμνήσας ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου ἐς τὰδε τὰ ἔπη, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ  
 ἐπεμνήσθη.

ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἰλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν,  
 χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι· ἐμῷ δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε  
 μνήσασθ' ὅππότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων  
 ἐνθάδ' ἀνείρηται ταλαπείριος ἄλλος ἐπελθών·  
 ὦ κούραι τίς δ' ὕμνιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος αἰοιδῶν  
 ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται καὶ τέφ' τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;  
 ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθαι ἀφήμως,  
 τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἐνὶ παιπαλοέσση.

= *Apoll.* 146–150, 165–172 with variants.

This citation, which was possibly intended as a reply to Herodotus' appeal to Olen's hymn (also with regard to Delos) iv. 35 (see further p. lvi), evidently recognises the *Hymn to Apollo* as Homeric. Thucydides calls it *προοίμιον*, the designation used by Pindar, who (*Nem.* ii. 1) alludes to a hymn to Zeus as *Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου*.<sup>1</sup> Thucydides' words have been used<sup>2</sup> to support the view that the document as we have it contains two hymns, one of which ended at this point; but the natural interpretation of the passage is that the words *ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου* mean "he ended his compliment" to the Delian women, after which he returned to his account of the God. (Cf. the introduction to the Hymn.) The variants (*J. H. S.* xv. 309, Gemoll *ad loc.*) seem independent, and not necessarily preferable one to the other. In a text which depends throughout on the MSS. we have not departed from them here. In two places the Thucydeidean version seems to have preserved a reading which was common to the MSS. also, but has been corrupted in them; 165 *ἀλλ' ἄγεθ' ἰλήκοι μὲν* where the MSS. *ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ λητῶ*

<sup>1</sup> Plutarch (*de mus.* 1133 c) uses the word of Terpander. Empedocles (Diog. Laert. viii. 2. 3) wrote a *προοίμιον* to Apollo. There seems no reason, however, with Welcker *Ep. Cycl.* i. 328 to limit the word to the worship of Apollo. Cf. Plato's words *Laus* 722 D καὶ δὴ πον καθαφδικῆς ψδῆς λεγομένων νόμων καὶ

πάσης μούσης προοίμια θαυμαστῶς ἐσπουδασμένα πρόκειται. See further p. lxi. An analogous word is *προαίλιον* (Plato *Cratylus* 417 fin. ὥσπερ τοῦ τῆς Ἀθηναίας νόμον προαίλιον στομαυλήσαι).

<sup>2</sup> First by Ruhnken *Ep. crit.* i. p. 7, 8; cf. Guttman *l.c.* p. 16.



μὲν gives no construction, and may easily be accounted for on graphical grounds (through λητοῖ); 171 ἀφήμεως of the older MSS. of Thucydides appears to be the parent of the *voces nihili* of the younger Thucydides-MSS. and all the Hymn-MSS. ἀφ' ἡμέων, ἀφ' ὑμέων, ἀφ' ὑμῶν.

## THIRD CENTURY B.C.

2. Antigonus of Carystus (born 295–290 B.C., Susemihl *Geschichte d. gr. Lit. in der Alexandrinerzeit* i. p. 468) Ἱστοριῶν παραδόξων συναγωγή, c. vii. (ed. Keller, 1877). ἴδιον δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ ἔντερα τῶν προβάτων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν κριῶν ἔστιν ἄφωνα, τὰ δὲ τῶν θηλειῶν εὐφωνα, ὅθεν καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν ὑπολάβοι τις εἰρηκέαι, πολυπράγμονα πανταχοῦ καὶ περιττὸν ὄντα  
ἐπτά δὲ θηλυτέρων οἶων ἐτανύσσατο χορδάς.

= *Herm.* 51, with the variant θηλυτέρων for συμφώνους.

Antigonus, like every other scientist and antiquarian, seeks a support for his opinion in Homer. He quoted this verse because it contained the word θηλυτέρων, and the view<sup>1</sup> that he conjectured it is evidently preposterous. The translation of the phrase ὅθεν κτλ. will be “and one may suppose this was the reason why Homer said.” Similar expressions in Antigonus are c. xxv. ὅθεν δὴ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς τὸ θρυλούμενον ἔγραψεν, c. xix. ᾧ καὶ φαίνεται Φιλητᾶς προσέχειν, ἱκανῶς ὢν περίεργος. It might rather be questioned if συμφώνους, which is far the earliest instance of the word, were not an interpretation of θηλυτέρων, based upon the same belief which is stated in Antigonus. θηλυτέρος in Homer is applied only to women or goddesses, except in the curious reading of the πολιτικάι Φ 454 νήσων θηλυτεράων for τηλεδαπάων.

FIRST CENTURY B.C.<sup>2</sup>

3. Diodorus Siculus i. 15. 7. (ed. Vogel 1888) μεμνήσθαι δὲ τῆς Νύσης καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν [φασι] ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις, ὅτι περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον γέγονεν, ἐν οἷς λέγει

ἔστι δὲ τις Νύση, ὕπατον ὄρος, ἀνθέον ὕλη,  
τηλοῦ Φοινίκης, σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτωιο ῥόαων.

= *h. Dion.* i. 8, 9.

4. Id. iii. 65. 3 μαρτυρεῖ δὲ τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγομένοις καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις

οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δρακάνφ σ' οἱ δ' Ἰκάρῳ ἠνεμόεσση  
φάσ', οἱ δ' ἐν Νάξῳ, δῖον γένος, εἶραφιῶτα,  
οἱ δὲ σ' ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ ποταμῷ βαθυδινῆντι

<sup>1</sup> Held by Franke, Baumeister, Gemoll.

<sup>2</sup> Crates of Mallus, who belongs to the second century, quotes a line under the

head of ἀρχαῖοι ὕμνοι, which may have come from the *Hymn to Dionysus*. See the notes to that hymn.



κυσαμένην Σεμέλην τεκέειν Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ,  
 ἄλλοι δ' ἐν Θήβησιν, ἄναξ, σε λέγουσι γενέσθαι,  
 ψευδόμενοι· σὲ δ' ἔτικτε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε  
 πολλὸν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, κρύπτων λευκώλενον Ἥρην.  
 ἔστι δέ τις Νύση, ὕπατον ὄρος, ἀνθέον ὕλη,  
 τηλοῦ Φοινίκης, σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτῳ ῥόων.

= *h. Dion.* i. 1-9; verses 4 and 8, which are strictly dispensable, are only found in three MSS.

5. *Id.* iv. 2. 4 καὶ τὸν Ὀμηρον δὲ τούτοις μαρτυρῆσαι ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις  
 ἐν οἷς λέγει

ἔστι δέ κτλ.

= *h. Dion.* i. 8, 9, as above.

The fact that two out of Diodorus' quotations are in the indirect narrative (in long paragraphs introduced by *φασί*), and are of the identical two lines, which also are quoted by the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius (below no. 12) in apparent connexion with the mythographer Herodorus, suggest that in both places Diodorus took the quotation from his sources. Of these he mentions by name only Dionysius (iii. 66 Διονυσίῳ τῷ συνταξαμένῳ τὰς παλαιὰς μυθοποιίας, οὗτος γὰρ τά τε περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ τὰς Ἀμαζόνας ἔτι δὲ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν πόλεμον πραχθέντα καὶ πόλλ' ἕτερα συντέτακται, παρατιθεὶς τὰ ποιήματα τῶν ἀρχαίων, τῶν τε μυθολόγων καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν), who is apparently the same as the Dionysius of Mitylene, whose Ἀργόναυται are as frequently utilised as those of Herodorus in the scholia on Apollonius (cf. Suidas s.v., Müller *F. H. G.* ii. 6 f., Susemihl *l.c.* ii. 45 f.). Without denying Diodorus the credit of possible original quotation, especially at iii. 65, it seems likely that the *Hymns* were excerpted and utilised by both Herodorus and Dionysius, antiquaries.

6. Philodemus περὶ εὐσεβείας (ed. Gomperz *Herkulanische Studien* ii. 1866), p. 42, tab. 91, v. 12 f.

κα[ὶ τ]ῆν ἐ[κάτην]  
 ὁπαδ[ὸν Ἀρ]τέ[μιδος]  
 εἶναι Δήμη[τρος]  
 δὲ λάτρην Ἑὐρι[πίδης]  
 Ὀμηρος δ' ἐν [τοῖς]  
 [ὑμ]νοῖς πρόπ[ολον]  
 καὶ [ὁπ]αυα

= *h. Dem.* 440.

There is perhaps another reference, p. 29, col. 57a.

ἐν δὲ τοῖς . . .  
 . . ὁ]μηρος



]νθαιν (? αθαν[ατοις)  
 ονεα[ρ καὶ  
 τσκειν (? = τυκται)  
 κα]λλιμα[χος  
 ταραντι

cf. perhaps *Dem.* 269 f.

## SECOND CENTURY A.D.

7. Pausanias i. 38. 2 Ὀμήρῳ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ γένος ἐστὶν οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ πεποιημένον, ἐπονομάξει δὲ ἀγήνορα ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τὸν Εὐμόλπον.

= *h. Dem.* 154.

8. Id. i. 38. 3 τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ τοῖν θεοῖν Εὐμόλπος καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες δρῶσιν αἱ Κελεοῦ· καλοῦσι δὲ σφᾶς Πάμφως τε κατὰ ταῦτὰ καὶ Ὅμηρος Διογένειαν καὶ Παμμερόπην καὶ τρίτην Σαισάραν (in the MSS. there are variants on the last word, βαισάραν and σαιβάραν).

There is no line in our *Hymn to Demeter* containing the names of the three daughters of Celeus, but on the strength of this precise statement it has been supposed that they were mentioned after 108 or 477.

9. Id. iv. 30. 4 πρῶτος δὲ ὦν οἶδα ἐποίησατο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὅμηρος Τύχης μνήμην. ἐποίησατο δὲ ἐν ὕμνῳ τῇ ἐς τὴν Δήμητρα, ἄλλας τε τῶν Ὀκεανοῦ θυγατέρας καταριθμούμενος, ὥς ὁμοῦ Κόρη τῇ Δήμητρος παῖζοιεν, καὶ Τύχην ὥς Ὀκεανοῦ καὶ ταύτην παῖδα οὔσαν· καὶ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ ἔπη·

ἡμεῖς μὲν μάλα πᾶσαι ἀν' ἡμερτὸν λειμῶνα

Λευκίππη Φαινῶ τε καὶ Ἠλέκτρῃ καὶ Ἰάνθῃ

Μηλόβοσις τε Τύχῃ τε καὶ Ὀκυρόῃ καλυκῶπις.

= *h. Dem.* 417, 418, 420: Paus. omits, intentionally or not, 419.

10. Id. x. 37. 5 Ὅμηρος μέντοι Κρίσαν ἐν τε Ἰλιάδι ὁμοίως καὶ ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνόματι τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καλεῖ τὴν πόλιν.

= *h. Apoll.* 267 etc.

Pausanias, who, beside citing these lines, passes the judgment on the literary quality of the *Homeric Hymns* quoted in the next section (ix. 30. 12), and is our principal source for hymn-literature generally in antiquity, clearly recognises these hymns as Homeric; his attitude is in marked contrast to that of his fellow-geographer Strabo. Considering this, it is remarkable that he uses only the *Hymns to Demeter* and to *Apollo*, and the latter only in one place; he ignores the *Hymn to Hermes* which he might have quoted (viii. 17 or ix. 26), and in treating Τύχῃ (9 above) neglects *h. xi.* 5. It is impossible to give an even plausible reason for this inconsistency: possibly the humorous character of the *Hermes hymn* detracted from its antiquarian authority; or



Pausanias drew from Apollodorus and the other prose accounts of the story; or the Homeric hymn was overshadowed by Alcaeus (whom he quotes on the theft of Apollo's oxen, vii. 20).

11. Athenaeus 22 B οὕτως δ' ἦν εὐδοξον καὶ σοφὸν ἡ ὄρχησις ὥστε Πίνδαρος τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ὄρχηστὴν καλεῖ—καὶ Ὅμηρος ἡ τῶν Ὀμηριδῶν τις ἐν τῷ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ὕμνῳ φησιν

Ἀπόλλων

φόρμιγγ' ἐν χείρεσσιν ἔχων χαρίεν κιθάριζε  
καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς.

= *h. Apoll.* 514–6, with the variant χαρίεν for ἐρατὸν or χρυσῆν of the MSS.

This is the first quotation in which Homer is not positively given as the author. Athenaeus' quotation is repeated with his name by Eustathius *Od.* θ 383, f. 1602. 24.

12. Aristides *orat.* κατὰ τῶν ἐξορχουμένων 409 = ed. Dindorf ii. p. 559. τίς ἄριστος ἐπὶν ποιητής; Ὅμηρος. τίς δ' ὡς πλείστους ἀνθρώπων ἀρέσκει καὶ τῇ μάλιστα χαίρουσιν; ἡ τοῦτό γε καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ προείδετο; διαλεγόμενος γὰρ ταῖς Δηλιάσι καὶ καταλύων τὸ προοίμιον, εἴ τις ἔροιθ' ἱμάς φησὶν

ὦ κούραι τίς δ' ὕμνιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος αἰοιδῶν  
ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται καὶ τέφ' τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;  
ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ἀποκρίνασθαι ἀφ' ἡμῶν.

The coincidence of the quotation with Thucydides iii. 104 is too marked for one to suppose Aristides to be making an original citation; the clause διαλεγόμενος γὰρ ταῖς Δηλιάσι καὶ καταλύων τὸ προοίμιον closely follows Thucydides' τὸν γὰρ Δηλιακὸν χορὸν τῶν γυναικῶν ὑμνήσας ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου, and the rhetor, hastily excerpting from Thucydides, mistook the meaning of ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου. This point is well made by Gemoll, p. 114<sup>1</sup> in his edition; see *Introd.* to the Hymn p. 61. Aristides, therefore, is not to be used as evidence to prove that two hymns to Apollo existed in his day. He is the last author, to whom a certain date can be assigned, that quotes the *Hymns*.

<sup>1</sup> Ruhnken's view (see *ante* p. xliv) is maintained with needless subtlety by Guttman *Hist. crit.* p. 16 f. It is certain that in Aristides' time there was but one hymn to Apollo; this appears from any fair interpretation of the manner in which Pausanias and Athenaeus cite it. (That Athenaeus

cited the hymn as ἐν τοῖς εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ὕμνοις is as much a legend as that the MS. titles of the hymns ὁμήρου ὕμνοι, etc., imply a plurality.) Aristides therefore can have derived his καταλύων only from an interpretation of the wording of Thucydides. (Cf. the introduction to the Hymn.)



The following testimonies are less easy to date :

13. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1211 *περὶ δὲ τοῦ τὸν Τυφῶνα ἐν αὐτῇ  
κείσθαι καὶ Ἡρόδωρος ἱστορεῖ ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὴν Νύσαν ἱστορεῖ·  
ἔστι δὲ τις Νύση ὑπατον κέρας ἀνθέον ὕλη  
τηλοῦ Φοινίκης σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτωιο ῥοάων.*

This important testimony is unfortunately vague in its bearing. Herodorus, who is largely quoted in the scholia to Apollonius, sometimes as *ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις* or *Ἀργοναυτικοῖς*, is considered by C. F. Müller (*F. H. G.* iii. 27 f.) to be the same as the father of *Βρύσων* the sophist, and therefore of about 400 B.C. The scholion is incomplete and there is no indication of what is missing; the construction of the second *ἱστορεῖ* seems to demand such an addition as *περὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον γενέσθαι*, cf. Diodor. i. 15. There is nothing to show whether Herodorus' work on the Argonauts was in prose or verse (his other work, on Heracles, was in prose, as the quotation fr. 30, 39 shows); if Herodorus, like Ion of Chios in his own century, practised both prose and verse, the lines might well be a quotation from his poem, and the apparent variant *κέρας* (for *ῥος*) would thus be explained, and the more naturally that *κέρας*, according to the Lexica, is a late usage for a part of a mountain; in this case Herodorus would have copied the hymn. On the other hand Herodorus' work may have been in prose (as we are explicitly told of the *Ἀργοναυτικά* of another source of the Apollonian scholia, Dionysius of Mitylene; see Suidas s.v., ante p. xlv), in which case, as is usually supposed, the omission has taken place after the first *ἱστορεῖ*, and *καὶ Ὅμηρος* or *καὶ ὁ ποιητής* have fallen out. (But that Diodorus is nowhere quoted in these abundant scholia, it would be possible that the words were *καὶ ὁ Διόδωρος*, or again *Ἀπολλόδωρος*, as Guttman *l.c.* p. 6 thought, where the identical ending *-ωρος* would explain the omission.)

If the quotation can be connected with Herodorus, a very ancient testimony—as good as that of Thucydides to the *Hymn to Apollo*—is gained to the Dionysus hymn, but the conclusion is far from certain. (Cf. Gemoll p. 361, 2.)

14. Stephanus of Byzantium; *Τευμησσός· ῥος Βοιωτίας. Ὅμηρος ἐν τῷ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ὕμνῳ. ἄστυ, ὡς Δημοσθένης ἐν τρίτῳ Βιθυνιακῶν·  
εἰς Μυκαλησσὸν ἰὼν καὶ Τευμησσὸν λεχεποίην.  
ἐκλήθη δ' οὕτως ὡς Ἀντίμαχος πρώτῳ Θηβαίδος (fr. 4). = *h. Apoll.* 224.*

According to the wording of the passage, the line seems to



be quoted from the *Βιθυνιακά* of Demosthenes, which, as we see from the lines quoted by Stephanus s.v. 'Αρτάκη, 'Ηραία, was a poem. Then Demosthenes would have appropriated the line of the hymn, and the case is somewhat parallel to that of Herodorus. Demosthenes' date is uncertain (Müller *F. H. G.* iv. 384–6), but Stephanus s.v. *Χαλκεΐα* (=fr. 15) quotes Polybius as disagreeing with him, and Susemihl (*Gesch. d. gr. Lit. in d. Alex.* i. 404) accepts him as of the Alexandrine age.

15. Schol. Genev. on Φ 319. 'Απολλόδωρος δέ φησι περισσὸν τὸ σ παρ' αὐτῷ εἶναι, ὡς παρ' Ὀμήρῳ τὴν φερέσβιον.<sup>1</sup>

The word *φερέσβιος* does not occur in the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, and the reference is presumably to the *Hymns*, in which it is frequent. On Apollodorus, who was a disciple of Aristarchus (and therefore of the second century B.C.), see La Roche *Hom. Textkritik* p. 73, 74, and Pauly-Wissowa s.v. If the note in these scholia is correct, it gives us the only instance of an Alexandrian noticing the *Hymns*.

16. Schol. in Nicandri *Alexipharmaca* 130 ὅτι δὲ διὰ γλήχωνος ἔπιεν ἢ Δημήτηρ τὸν κυκεῶνα καὶ διὰ τὴν χλεύην τῆς 'Ιάμβης ἐγέλασεν ἢ θεά, ἐν τοῖς εἰς Ὀμηρον ἀναφερομένοις ὕμνοις λέγεται. = *Dem.* 192 f.

The cautious ascription is noticeable, as in Athenaeus (no. 11).

17. Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 14 ἐν δὲ τοῖς εἰς Ἡσίοδον ἀναφερομένοις ἔπεισι φέρεται ταῦτα περὶ τῆς Κορωνίδος . . . ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ὀμηρικοῖς ὕμνοις  
 ἱητῆρα νόσων Ἀσκληπιὸν ἄρχον' αἰδεῖν,  
 υἱὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, τὸν ἐγείνατο διὰ Κορωνίς  
 Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ κούρῃ Φλεγύα βασιλῆος.  
 = xvi. 1–3, with the variant v. 3 Φλεγύα for Φλεγύου.

The age of any particular portion of the Pindaric scholia can probably not be fixed, but in general they go back to good sources, and quotations perhaps would not have been added later than Herodian's age. The point is of importance, as the quotation (which is unique) of the minor hymns tends to disprove a very late origin for xvi. and its neighbour.<sup>2</sup> A classical grammarian of a good age would not have quoted Alexandrian literature as Homeric.

<sup>1</sup> The reading seems correct, cf. schol. Π 163 ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς φερεσβίου. It is possible that Apollodorus is the authority at the base of this scholion and that on Ξ 114.

<sup>2</sup> *H.* xxv. 2–3 ἐκ γὰρ Μουσῶν καὶ ἐκ ηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος | ἄνδρες αἰοδοὶ ἔασιν

ἐπὶ χθονὶ καὶ κιθαρισταὶ are quoted by schol. Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 313, *Nem.* iii. 1 without an author's name. As they stand in Hesiod *Theog.* 94–97 it is probable the scholia quote them as from there.



18. *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi* 303 (Hesiod ed. Rzach 1902, p. 449) ἐνδιατρίψας δὲ τῇ πόλει χρόνον τινα διέπλευσεν εἰς Δῆλον εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν, καὶ σταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν κερατινὸν βωμὸν λέγει ὕμνον εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα οὗ ἡ ἀρχή

μνήσσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο. = *h. Apoll.* 1. ῥηθέντος δὲ τοῦ ὕμνου οἱ μὲν Ἴωνες πολίτην αὐτὸν κοινὸν ἐποίησαντο. Δῆλιοι δὲ γράψαντες τὰ ἔπη εἰς λεύκωμα ἀνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ.

On the age of the *Certamen* and its connexion with Alcidas see the articles in Pauly-Wissowa Ἀγῶν Ὀμήρου καὶ Ἑσιόδου by E. Bothe, *Alkidamas* by J. Brzoska, and Flinders Petrie Papyri pt. i. no. 25. It is probably impossible to assign a date to a particular portion, and the Delian inventories do not contain an entry of a hymn to Apollo as among the furniture of the temple of Artemis. There is no reason, however, to question so much of the story; a temple at Delos possessed Eudoxus' and Alcaeus' works, the latter in a θήκη τρίγωνος (Homolle *Monuments grecs*, 1878, p. 49, Daremberg et Saglio *Dict.* p. 378, n. 181, cf. *B. C. H.* xxii. 268 f.), and a statue of Alcman (Plut. *de mus.* 1136 A), and the λευκώματα at Delos are mentioned in several inscriptions (*B. C. H.* xiv. p. 399); while for literature given the consecration of engraving in temples, we have the Hesiod on lead at Helicon (Paus. ix. 31), Pindar's seventh *Olympian* in gold letters in the temple of Athena at Lindos (schol. Pind. *Ol.* vii. init. on the authority of Gorgon, a Rhodian antiquary, Susemihl *l.c.* ii. 399, *F. H. G.* iv. 410), and the recent discoveries of Archilochus on stone at Paros (*Ath. Mitth.* xxv. 1 f.) and the *Delphian Hymns*. It is to be regretted that the *Homeric Hymn* was not given a less perishable material than an *album*. (How ephemeral writing on a λεύκωμα was appears from the Ἀθηναίων Πολιτεία c. 47, § 5, Plato *Laws* 785 A.)

These appear to be the quotations of the *Hymns*.<sup>1</sup> Allusions to them are the following:

19. Menander (in Walz *Rhet. graec.* ix. 320, Spengel *Rh. gr.* iii. 331 f.)<sup>2</sup> Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν c. 17 (Περὶ σμινθιακῶν): "Ὀμηρος μὲν οὖν

<sup>1</sup> *θερμὸς ἀντὶ* cited by schol. Σ 222 is from Hesiod *Theog.* 696.

<sup>2</sup> C. Bursian *Abh. d. I. Cl. d. k. baye-rischen Akad.* xvi. Bd. iii. Abth. 1882 considers that the treatises going under the name of Menander are the work of two writers; the former may be the Menander

of Suidas who wrote commentaries on Aristides and Hermogenes, and have lived about 200 A.D.; the other (to whose work the section *περὶ σμινθιακῶν* belongs) will have belonged to the end of the third or to the fourth century A.D.



ὕμνους καὶ τῇ μεγάλῃ ποιήσει τοὺς πρὸς ἄξιαν ὕμνους εἶρηκε τοῦ θεοῦ [sc. Ἀπόλλωνος] καὶ παρέλιπε τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ὑπερβολὴν οὐδεμίαν.

20. Herodoti *vit.* *Hom.* c. 4 τὴν τε ποιήσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπεδείκνυντο, Ἀμφιάρεω τε τὴν ἐξηλασίαν τὴν ἐς Θήβας, καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους τοὺς ἐς τοὺς θεοὺς πεποιημένους αὐτῷ.

21. Schol. Pind. *Nem.* ii. init. Ὀμηρίδας ἔλεγον τὸ μὲν ἀρχαῖον τοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου γένους, οἱ καὶ τὴν ποιήσιν αὐτοῦ ἐκ διαδοχῆς ἦδον· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ οἱ ραψωδοὶ οὐκέτι τὸ γένος εἰς Ὀμηρον ἀνάγοντες, ἐπιφανεῖς δὲ ἐγένοντο οἱ περὶ Κύναιθον, οὓς φασὶ πολλὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ποιήσαντας ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ὀμήρου ποιήσιν. ἦν δὲ ὁ Κύναιθος Χίος. ὃς καὶ τῶν ἐπιγραφομένων Ὀμήρου ποιημάτων τὸν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα γραφόμενον ὕμνον λέγεται πεποιηκέναι. οὗτος οὖν ὁ Κύναιθος πρῶτος ἐν Συρακούσαις ἐραψώδησε τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη κατὰ τὴν ἐξακοστὴν ἐννάτην Ὀλυμπιάδα, ὡς Ἰππόστρατός φησιν.

Hippostratus was a Sicilian chronicler, frequently cited in the Pindaric scholia (*Pyth.* vi. 4, *Ol.* ii. 8 and 16, and schol. *Theocr.* vi. 46, Phlegon *de mirab.* 30, cf. Müller *F. H. G.* iv. 432 f., Susemihl *l.c.* ii. 390), and the tradition of Cynaethus, of the greatest value, seeing that it is the only account which professes to find a definite author of any hymn, comes to us as a piece of local history.

The date (ol. 69 = B.C. 504) has long been recognised to be wrong, and must be so, since the hymn takes no account of the Pythian games, the burning of the first temple at Delphi, the temple of Apollo and the *τροχχοειδὴς λίμνη* at Delos (see the introduction to the *Hymn*). In another fragment (no. 3) of Hippostratus the date has been altered. However, it seems idle to change ξθ' into one numeral more than another.<sup>1</sup> The detailed character of the notice, and its coincidence with other sources which ascribe the hymn to the Homeridae, entitle it to respect. Fick,<sup>2</sup> however, who has lately resuscitated the story, is clearly wrong in supposing the hymn Sicilian. Cynaethus, like the other great rhapsodes, travelled round the Greek world.<sup>3</sup> The tradition evidently refers the hymn to Chios.

22. Schol. Aristoph. *Birds* 574 ὅτι ψεύδεται παίζων. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἰριδος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἥρας.

αἱ δὲ βάτην τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἴθμαθ' ὁμοίαι (E 778)  
οἱ δὲ ἐν ἑτέροις ποιήμασιν Ὀμήρου φασιν τοῦτο γενέσθαι. εἰς γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὕμνοι.

<sup>1</sup> Welcker *Ep. Cycl.* i. 228 wished to read τὴν ἑκτὴν ἢ τὴν ἐννάτην, but as Gemoll justly observes, Syracuse was only founded ol. 11. 3 (=733).

<sup>2</sup> *Odyssey* p. 278 f., *B. B.* ix. 201.

<sup>3</sup> As in fact the author of the *Hymn* to *Apollo* says of himself (174, 175).



23. Suidas s.v. "Ομηρος. . . ἀναφέρεται δὲ ἐς αὐτὸν καὶ ἄλλα τινα ποιήματα . . . Κύκλος, Ὕμνοι, Κύπρια.<sup>1</sup>

We have next one or two resemblances in literature which suggest quotation. Aristophanes *Birds* 574 says.

αὐτίκα Νίκη πέτεται πετρύγοιν χρυσαῖν καὶ νῆ Δί' Ἔρως γε·  
Ἴριν δέ γ' Ὀμηρος ἔφασκε' ἰκέλην εἶναι τρήρωνι πελειῇ.

But as the scholiast just quoted says, the comparison in Homer (E 778) is between Athena and Hera, not Iris, and a pigeon, and he implies that Aristophanes was by some taken to refer to *h. Apoll.* 114 βὰν δὲ ποσὶ τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἴθμαθ' ὁμοῖαι (Iris and Eilithyia). This is possible, and the alteration Ἦραν for Ἴριν in the text of Aristophanes is uncalled for.

Further *Knights* 1016 ἴαχεν ἐξ ἀδύτοιο διὰ τριπόδων ἐριτίμων resembles *Apoll.* 443 ἐς δ' ἄδυτον κατέδυσε διὰ τριπόδων ἐριτίμων.<sup>2</sup>

This is all the testimony explicit and implicit, which can be gathered from ancient literature. Compared to the vast mass of quotation from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* it is slight, and the impression of neglect which we gather from it is supported by another class of evidence—the omission to quote the *Hymns* in contexts where they would naturally have been appealed to. This is most strikingly the case in the scholia to the *Iliad*. Thus A 176 the scholl. quote Hesiod *Theog.* 94, 5 but not *h.* xxv. 2, 3 where the same words occur; B 144 ὅτι Ζηνόδοτος γράφει φῆ κύματα. οὐδέποτε δὲ Ὀμηρος τὸ φῆ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὡς τέταχεν, Ξ 499 . . . ὅτι ὁ ποιητὴς οὐδέποτε οἶδε τὸ φῆ ἀντὶ τοῦ ὡς, οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτόν, ὥσπερ Ἀντίμαχος καὶ οἱ περὶ Καλλιμάχον; this ignores *Herm.* 241 where φῆ ῥα for θή ῥα is almost certain. I 246 σημειοῦνται τινες ὅτι τὴν ὅλην Πελοπόννησον οὐκ οἶδεν ὁ ποιητὴς, Ἡσίοδος δέ; but the author

<sup>1</sup> Homolle *B. C. H.* iv. 354 f. wishes to see in a Cnossian inscription of s. iii. b.c. found at Delos, in honour of a poet Dioscurides of Tarsus (συνταξάμενος ἐγκώμιον κατὰ τὸν ποιητὰν ὑπὲρ τῷ ἀμῷ ἔθνει sc. Cnossus), an allusion to the *Hymn to Apollo* and the Cretan priests from Cnossus. This is possible, but can hardly be called certain. The allusion τ 178, 179 τῇσι δ' ἐνὶ Κνωσσὸς μεγάλη πόλις ἔνθα τε Μίνως | ἐννέωρος βασίλευε

Διὸς μεγάλου δαριστής would fairly correspond to the vague expression κατὰ τὸν ποιητὰν. Cf. Strabo's term p. 476 διαφερόντως δὲ τὴν Κνωσσὸν καὶ Ὀμηρος ὑμνεῖ μεγάλην καλῶν καὶ βασίλειον τοῦ Μίνω.

<sup>2</sup> *Anth. Pal.* vii. 409. 5 (Antipater) εἰ δ' ὕμνων σκάπτρον Ὀμηρος ἔχει is intended of epos generally, as ὕμνοπόλων v. 10 and elsewhere.



of the *Hymn to Apollo* has the word Peloponnesus 250 and 290. These passages might be increased, but they suffice to show that the learning of the Alexandrian school made no appeal to the *Hymns* on points where, if they were genuine, they would have affected Homeric usage; and therefore, however singular the absence of any reference to them in the whole body of extant scholia (except in the possible case of Apollodorus, above no. 15) may be, this silence is doubtless to be interpreted as Wolf formulated it (*Prol.* 266), that the Alexandrines considered the *Hymns* non-Homeric.

The same conclusion may be drawn from the usage of writers who follow the Alexandrian view of Homer—Strabo and Apollonius the Sophist. Strabo, whose orthodoxy is more than scholastic, and contrasts strongly with the other geographers and antiquarians, ignores the *Hymns* in more than one important passage. Europe is unknown to Homer (Strabo p. 531), but *Εὐρώπη* occurs *Apoll.* 251, 291; *ἄλφι* (560) is un-Homeric and found only in Antimachus; he ignores *Dem.* 208; B 591 and Λ 711 are quoted for the town *Θρόον* p. 349, *Herm.* 101 is passed over. The consequence is that when in two places Strabo cites as after *Odyssey* ο 294 a line which is not found in our *Odyssey* MSS., but which occurs (with a variant) *Apoll.* 423, we conclude not that Strabo is acknowledging the *Hymn* or even quoting it by a slip, but that his copy of the *Odyssey* contained this extra line. In Apollonius it is enough to mention that his article *κνώδαλον* takes no account of *Herm.* 188 and that under *Φιλομηλείδης* he says *οὐ γὰρ Λητοΐδην εἶπε τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα* (*h. Herm.* 505, 510, 521). Among later authors Lydus *de mensibus* iii. 18 and Macrobius v. 168 (the latter an extensive quoter of Homer) state roundly that Homer has not the word *τύχη*, notwithstanding *Dem.* 420, *h.* xi. 5.

It results from all this evidence positive and negative, that the *Homeric Hymns* were not included in the Homeric corpus by the grammarians of Alexandria nor writers who took their tone from them; that they were considered Homeric and used as evidence of Homeric usage and history by historians and antiquarians from Thucydides downwards, in some cases with a qualification; and that by the public generally they were little read.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is especially shewn by the proportions in which MSS. of the three

Homeric works have survived. Of the *Iliad* there are over 200 MSS., of the



The neglect of these poems, so abundantly attested, seems to account for the many uncorrected corruptions which have propagated themselves in one or other of the families of MSS., especially in M; for the unsupplied loss of two hymns in all but one MS., and of nearly the whole of one in M; and for that absence of ancient commentaries which makes the interpretation of the longer hymns so difficult. The presence of full scholia on the hymns to Demeter, Apollo, and Hermes would have given the geographer and the folklorist wealth that it is difficult to imagine.<sup>1</sup>

## V.—THE NATURE OF THE HOMERIC HYMNS

Ancient hymns fall into the classes of rhapsodic or hexameter and melic. The greater part of what we know about the former comes from Pausanias. It may therefore be well first to collect the references to them in him, and then to add the few allusions in other authors.

Pausanias, who quotes a very large range of epic literature, uses five hymn-writers: Olen, Pamphos, Homer, Musaeus, and Orpheus; and, singular as it may seem to us, he does not give the preference either in age or in merit to Homer. Of Olen he quotes a hymn to Eilithyia (i. 18. 5, viii. 21. 3, ix. 27. 2), which was on the subject of the birth of Apollo and Artemis; it was written as his other hymns for the Delians (viii. 21. 3), who used it in the worship of Eilithyia (i. 18. 5); to Hera (ii. 13. 3); to Achaia (v. 7. 8); this described her journey, as that of

*Odyssey* about 70, of the *Hymns* 28. Papyri tell an even clearer tale; in six volumes published by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt there are twelve fragments of the *Iliad*, two of the *Odyssey*, none of the *Hymns*, and not a line of the *Hymns* occurs in the whole mass of papyrus hitherto published, while we find several fragments of Hesiod, two at least of Apollonius Rhodius, several of unidentified epos, and one perhaps of Antimachus.

<sup>1</sup> The following marginalia, other than various readings, have survived:

Ap. 71 τὸν ἥλιον φησι προυπάρχειν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος LII.

147 ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ὧ Ἰλιάδος λαβὼς ἐλκεσιχίτωνες (sic) LII.

Ap. 172 σή· ὡς ἐντεῦθεν ἐμφαίνει ὕμνος ἑαυτὸν χίον (χίον L) εἶναι LII.

320 ἐβάστασεν· εἰ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ ἡ ἐπιμελείας ἤξιωσεν· ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ ἐν τῇ ὧ Ἰλιάδος· ἢ μ' ἐσάωσ' ὅτε

μ' ἄλγος ἀφίκ LII.

Hermes 36 σή· τὸν ἡσίοδον κλέψαντα τὸν στίχον LII, and a few of the *p* family (C, O, and L<sub>2</sub>, L<sub>3</sub>, R<sub>1</sub>, R<sub>2</sub>, according to Ludwig) with κεκλοφότα for κλέψαντα.

Hermes 336 ἦγον (ἦτοι II) φανερόν κλέπτειν LII.

Aphr. 244 τὸ ὅμοιον ὕμνος πανταχοῦ ἐπὶ κακοῦ τιθεῖναι εἰωθεν LII.



Eilithyia, from the Hyperboreans to Delos. He calls Olen a Lycian and regards him as the most ancient of the hymn-writers, older than Pamphos and Orpheus (ix. 27. 2); and quotes the Delphian poetess Βοιῳά (x. 5. 7) as saying that Olen was the first to use oracles and to build the strain of hymns:

᾽Ωλήν θ', ὃς γένετο πρῶτος Φοίβοιο προφάτας,  
πρῶτος δ' ἀρχαίων ὕμνων τεκτάναι' αἰοιδάν.

Pausanias' statements are confirmed by the much older testimony of Herodotus iv. 35. After saying that Arge and Opis came to Delos from the Hyperboreans, bringing offerings to Eilithyia, he continues τὴν δὲ Ἀργὴν τε καὶ τὴν Ὀπίην ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ σφι τιμὰς ἄλλας δεδόσθαι πρὸς σφέων· καὶ γὰρ ἀγείρειν σφι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐπονομαζούσας τὰ οὐνόματα ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ τὸν σφι Ὀλήν ἀνὴρ Λύκιος ἐποίησε, παρὰ δὲ σφέων μαθόντας νησιώτας τε καὶ Ἴωνας ὑμνεῖν Ὀπὴν τε καὶ Ἀργὴν ὀνομάζοντάς τε καὶ ἀγείροντας. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ὀλήν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς παλαιούς ὕμνους ἐποίησε ἐκ Λυκίης ἐλθὼν τοὺς ἀειδομένους ἐν Δήλῳ. He appears therefore strictly associated with Delos, and to have written poems to contain the account of the divinities worshipped there.<sup>1</sup>

Pamphos is quoted for his hymn about Demeter (i. 38. 3, 39. i, viii. 37. 9, ix. 31. 9), and it is not clear that he wrote anything else; for allusions quoted from him to Poseidon (Paus. vii. 21. 9), Artemis Καλλίστῃ (viii. 35. 8), the Graces (ix. 35. 4 Πάμφως μὲν δὴ πρῶτος ὦν ἴσμεν ἦσεν ἐς Χάριτας), Eros<sup>2</sup> (ix. 27. 2), and Zeus (Philostratus *Heroic*. 693 = 301) may have been contained in the account of Demeter. The statement in Philostratus, however, rather suggests a hymn to Zeus, and that Pamphos' verse was of a mystical and didactic character: Παμφῶ σοφῶς μὲν ἐνθυμηθέντος ὅτι Ζεὺς εἴη τὸ ζωογονοῦν καὶ δι' οὗ ἀνίσταται τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα, εὐηθέστερον δὲ χρησαμένου τῷ λόγῳ καὶ καταβεβλημένα ἔπη ἐς τὸν Δία ἄσαντος· ἔστι γὰρ τὰ τοῦ Παμφῶ ἔπη

Ζεῦ κύδιωτε μέγιστε θεῶν εἰλυμένε κόπρῳ  
μηλείῃ τε καὶ ἱππέει καὶ ἡμιονείῃ.

<sup>1</sup> We may add the allusion in Callimachus *h. Del.* 305

οἳ μὲν ὑπαεῖδουσι νόμον Λυκίοιο γέροντος  
ὃν τοι ἀπὸ Ξάνθοιο θεοπρόπος ἤγαγεν Ὀλήν,  
and the article in Suidas: Ὀλήν· Δυμαῖος  
ἢ Ὑπερβόρεος ἢ Λύκιος, ἐποποιός· μᾶλλον

δὲ Λύκιος ἀπὸ Ξάνθου, ὡς δηλοῖ Καλλίμαχος καὶ ὁ Πολύσιωρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Λυκίας.

<sup>2</sup> If there were no hymn, Plato's credit is saved when he says (*Sympos.* 177 B) that no poet had written hymns or paeans to Eros; but it is perhaps as probable that he ignored Pamphos.



Pausanias regards him as we have seen as younger than Olen, older than Homer (viii. 37. 9) and Sappho (ix. 29. 7); his hymns were written "for the Athenians" (vii. 21. 9, ix. 29. 7) and (ix. 27. 2) "for the Lycomidae in their ritual," *ἵνα ἐπὶ τοῖς δρωμένοις Λυκομίδαι καὶ ταῦτα ἄδωσιν*. They seem to have been executed by a choir of women who bore his name; Hesych. Παμφίδες· γυναῖκες Ἀθήνησιν ἀπὸ Πάμφου τὸ γένος ἔχουσαι, and they are perhaps the Ἀττικοὶ ὕμνοι of Pollux x. 162, where the word *σίφνις* is quoted as from the story of Demeter.

Orpheus (whose name Pausanias gives to the hymns with a qualification, i. 14. 3, 37. 4) wrote hymns (τοὺς Ὀρφέως ὕμνους ix. 30. 12) but except the story of Demeter (i. 14. 3) we do not hear of their subject.<sup>1</sup> They were part of the τελετή at Eleusis (ix. 37. 4, x. 7. 2), the Lycomidae used them, as those of Pamphos (ix. 27. 2, 30. 12 Λυκομίδαι δὲ ἴσασι τε καὶ ἐπάδουσι τοῖς δρωμένοις), and an interesting distinction is drawn by Pausanias between their style and that of the *Homeric Hymns*: ix. 30. 12 ὅστις δὲ περὶ ποιήσεως ἐπολυπραγμόνησεν ἤδη, τοὺς Ὀρφέως ὕμνους οἶδεν ὄντας ἕκαστόν τε αὐτῶν ἐπὶ βραχύτατον καὶ τὸ σύμπαν οὐκ ἐς ἀριθμὸν πολλὸν πεποιημένους· Λυκομίδαι δὲ ἴσασι τε καὶ ἐπάδουσι τοῖς δρωμένοις. κόσμῳ μὲν δὴ τῶν ἐπῶν δευτερεῖα φέροντο ἂν μετὰ γε Ὀμήρου τοὺς ὕμνους, τιμῆς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐς πλεον ἐκείνων ἤκουσι. The same judgment is expressed by Menander Περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν c. 7; παρέσχετο δὲ τὴν μὲν ἐν ποιήσει ἀρετὴν Ἑσίοδος, καὶ γνοίη τις ἂν μᾶλλον εἰ τοῖς Ὀρφέως παραθείη, and is confirmed by the "Orphica" which we possess; on which and their relation to the older Orphic hymns see Dieterich *de hymnis Orphicis*, 1891.

With regard to Musaeus Pausanias is more trenchant; ἔστιν οὐδὲν Μουσαίου βεβαίως ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἐς Δήμητρα ὕμνος Λυκομίδαις (i. 22. 7; the same hymn, ὕμνος Μουσαίου Λυκομίδαις ποιηθεὶς ἐς Δήμητρα, iv. 1. 5, mentioned Phlyos, the hero of Phlya, the seat of the cult of the Lycomidae).<sup>2</sup> Otherwise the

<sup>1</sup> Diodorus (iii. 62) says the story of Dionysus was unfolded διὰ τῶν Ὀρφικῶν ποιημάτων. He quotes as from Orpheus lines about Demeter i. 124, and about Dionysus i. 11. 3 (*fragm.* ed. Abel 165, 166, 168).

<sup>2</sup> On the worship conducted by the family or hereditary guild of the Λυκομίδαι at Phlya in Attica see Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* p. 208 f., Frazer on Paus. i. 31. 4, iv. 1. 5, 7, O. Kern *Hermes* xxv. 1 f.



Εὐμολπία was ascribed to him (x. 5. 6). Pausanias seems to express doubt even of this hymn (i. 14. 3), and states (x. 7. 2) that in character the Musaeus hymn closely resembled the Orphic. The verses that went under Musaeus' name he thinks were written by Onomacritus (i. 22. 7, an opinion he may have taken from Herodotus vii. 6). Kinkel *Epic. graec. fragg.* p. 218 gives other titles of Musaeus' supposed works.<sup>1</sup>

From these notices we may draw conclusions as to the light in which the *Homeric Hymns* were regarded by a learned antiquarian such as Pausanias. The four other hymnographers are all connected with some place of worship, Olen with Delos, Pamphos, Orpheus and Musaeus, and especially the two latter, with Attica, and Phlya, and the hymns are said to have been "written for" them. The *Homeric Hymns* are not associated in this way with a particular locality, nor composed for the service of a particular temple, even if in later times the *Hymn to Apollo* hung on the walls of the temple of Artemis at Delos. The Orphic and Musaeus poems were mystical, directly connected with τελεταί, they were also brief and without literary pretension. The *Homeric Hymns* were more literary and less devotional, and the ascription of them to Homer, of which Pausanias has no doubt, implies that in his mind they had the same origin as the rest of the epic corpus.

In earlier literature information about rhapsodic hymn-writing is not abundant. Demodocus' lay of Ares and Aphrodite (θ 266–366) bears a resemblance to one of the greater Homeric hymns, in so far as it is sung by a rhapsode, and is an episode in the history of divine beings, such as the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* or *Aphrodite*. It wants, however, the formulae of invocation and farewell, and the addresses to the deity and reference to his qualities which are frequent in the real hymns. Still it may be conceded that it is a representation or adaptation, to suit his purposes, of a contemporary form of literature, by the author of

<sup>1</sup> Aristides the rhetor, whose authority cannot compare with that of Pausanias, recognises a hymn to Dionysus by Musaeus. (Kinkel p. 221.) In earlier literature Plato (*Ion* 533 c, 536 b, *Laws* 829 e) implies the existence in his day of hymns under the names of Orpheus and Thamyris; and both he (*Rep.* 363 e) and Aristophanes (*Frogs* 1032, 3) mention Orpheus and Musaeus as religious teachers,

and the latter implies they were earlier than Homer (an opinion usual in later times, cf. e.g. Aelian *V.H.* xiv. 21, Ptol. Hephaest. in Phot. *Bibl.* 149 b 22); their names are also coupled by Euripides (*Rhesus* 944); in Plat. *Protag.* 316 d they are among the sophists. Androtrion (ap. Ael. *V.H.* vii. 6) doubted Orpheus' title to σοφία on the ground that the Thracians were unacquainted with letters.



θ. As a "play within a play," it is naturally brief (100 lines), and an imperfect equivalent of its original.<sup>1</sup> Historically the earliest mention of the recital of a hymn is in the autobiographical passage Hes. *O. D.* 650 f. There Hesiod declares he has crossed the sea once in his life, from Aulis to Euboea :

ἔνθα δ' ἐγὼν ἐπ' ἄεθλα δαΐφρονος Ἀμφιδάμαντος  
Χαλκίδα τ' εἰς ἐπέρησα· τὰ δὲ προπεφραδμένα πολλὰ  
ἄεθλ' ἔθεσαν παῖδες μεγαλήτορες· ἔνθα μέ φημι  
ὔμνη νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ' ὠτώεντα.

The hymn was recited at games in honour of a departed prince, in competition, and was rewarded by a prize.<sup>2</sup> The subject was probably divine, to judge from the next quotation Hes. *fr.* 265 (schol. Pind. *Nem.* ii. 1, derived perhaps from Nicocles, who may be the antiquarian *F. H. G.* iv. 464, Susemihl ii. 395), where the poet says :

ἐν Δήλῳ τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ Ὅμηρος ᾄδοι  
μέλπομεν, ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις ῥάψαντες ᾄδῃν,  
Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορον, ὃν τέκε Λητώ.

We see clearly the Heliconian and Ionian schools meeting half-way between the Greek East and West; and an imaginative historian might fancy the Homeric declaiming the Delian, the Hesiodean the Pythian hymn. The subjects in any case must have been the same. These passages, together with *h. Ap.* 169 f., seem to shew the "Homeric" hymn in the light of a *πάρεργον* of the professional bard or rhapsode, and as delivered at an *ἀγών*, whether at a god's festival, or in honour of a prince. One hymn, that to Apollo, is explicitly attributed to a rhapsode, Cynaethus of Chios (see ante p. lii and Introd. to the hymn); and there is no more reason to doubt this ascription than that of the various Cyclic poems to Arctinus, Stasinus, Eugammon etc. Similarity of language, style and subject led to the other long hymns being

<sup>1</sup> Gruppe *die griechische Culte und Mythen* i. 520-542 thinks that the greater hymns did not originally conclude with the formulae of transition, but that these were added when the use of the "rhapsodichymn" was forgotten; further that as the epic "Götterlied" preceded the "Heldenlied," the *Hymns* are developed out of a stage of poetry earlier than the epic. There is of course no real evidence for or against such a view.

<sup>2</sup> Local tradition asserted that Amphidamas fell in the Lelantine war (Lesches in Plut. *Conv. Sept. Sap.* 153 f=c. 10, Proclus on *O. D.* 650=Plut. ed. Bernadakis vii. p. 82); this would fix the story to the somewhat vague date of that event. In any case it may well be historical as of a member of the Heliconian or Boeotian school at the period of its prosperity.



regarded as Homeric, from whatever school they had actually sprung; and this is the view of our oldest authority Thucydides and his contemporary Herodorus (p. xlix). As new forms of art appeared, the rhapsodic hymn lost its dignity and importance, and its place was taken by different forms of melos; the hexameter hymn continued to be written for private rites and mysteries, or on a smaller scale in unworthy hands, for the public service of the cult-centres. A glorified specimen of the latter sort was inserted by Theocritus into his xvth Idyll, a hymn to Adonis, sung at the Adonia at Alexandria. The existence of short ritual hymns in the good classical period has been shewn, from imitations in fifth-century literature, by Adami *Jahrbb. f. class. Phil.* 1901, pp. 213–262, and a few notices remain of their writers, e.g. Plesirrous ὁ Θεσσαλὸς ὁ ὑμνογράφος, a contemporary of Herodotus, and Matris ὁ Θηβαῖος ὑμνογράφος, perhaps his contemporary (Ptol. Hephaest. in Phot. *Bibliotheca* 148 A 38 f.).

In the next age local antiquarian poets were frequent, especially at the different centres of worship. Their compositions were usually choric. So we have Isyllus' poems on Asclepius (about 300 B.C. and of unusual literary merit: *C. I. Pel. et Ins.* 1902, i. 950, Wilamowitz-Möllendorf *Isylllos von Epidauros*, 1886); Demoteles of Andros of the third century B.C. (*B. C. H.* iv. p. 346 ποιητῆς ὧν πεπραγ[μά]τευται περί τε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τ[ὴν] π[όλιν] τὴν Δηλίων καὶ τοὺς μύθου[s] τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους γέγραφεν); Boeo the Delphian poetess (above p. lvi); the authors of the hymns lately found at Delphi—Aristonous of Corinth (*B. C. H.* xvii. 561); Cleochares of Athens (*ib.* xviii. 71); Philodamus (*ib.* xix. 393); and Dioscurides of Tarsus who wrote an ἐγκώμιον on Cnossus (*B. C. H.* iv. 352, above p. liii n. 1). In Arcadia the part that ὕμνοι played in education is shewn by Polybius iv. 20: σχεδὸν παρὰ νόμοις Ἀρκάσι πρῶτον μὲν οἱ παῖδες ἐκ νηπίων ἄδειν ἐθίζονται κατὰ νόμους τοὺς ὕμνους καὶ παιᾶνας οἷς ἕκαστοι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους ἥρωας καὶ θεοὺς ὕμνοῦσι· μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοὺς Φιλοξένου καὶ Τιμοθέου νόμους μανθάνοντες πολλῇ φιλοτιμίᾳ χορεύουσι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν τοῖς Διουνσιακοῖς αὐληταῖς ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις. (To Timotheus twenty-one hymns are ascribed, Suid. s.v.) Hymns may have been among the πολλῶν καὶ πολλὰ ποιητῶν ποιήματα sung at the Apaturia for the ἄθλα ῥαψωδίας (*Timaeus* 21 B). At Stratonicea, under the Early Empire (*C. I. G.* 2715)



a choir of thirty boys ἄσονται ὕμνον ὃν ἂν συντάξῃ Σώσανδρος ὁ γραμματικός, in honour of Zeus and Hecate.

Apart from temple-worship we are told that Melanippus of Cyme wrote an ὥδή to Opis and Hecaege (Paus. v. 7), the Erythraean sibyl Herophila a hymn to Apollo (Paus. x. 12. 1), Eumelus of Corinth an ἄσμα προσόδιον (to Apollo) for a Messenian theoria going to Delos (Bergk *P. L. G.* iii. 6, Paus. iv. 4. 1, 33. 3). Two lines preserved by Pausanias shew that it was in Doric. In later times Socrates wrote a prooemium to Apollo in prison (*Phaedo* 60 D), Aratus a hymn to Pan (*Biographi graeci*, ed. Westermann p. 55), Euanthes, an epic poet, one to Glaucus (Athen. 296 c), a certain Niciades one to Persephone (*C. I. G.* no. 2338). The *Anthology* contains two curious hymns to Dionysus and Apollo (*Anth. Pal.* ix. 524, 525), in which each line consists of titles beginning with the same letter; *ib.* ix. 485 there is one to Thetis, ending with a prayer to Neoptolemus.<sup>1</sup>

When and how the Homeric hymns were recited has been much disputed, and without a certain result. The generic name for them is προοίμια (first in Pindar *Nem.* ii. below, then in Thuc. iii. 104 of the *Hymn to Apollo*; for other instances see p. xlv n. 1). It is natural to infer from this word that they were "preludes," and Pindar *Nem.* ii. 1 distinctly states that the Homerids prefaced their rhapsodising with a prooemium to Zeus; ὅθεν περ καὶ Ὀμηρίδαι | ραπτῶν ἐπέων τὰ πόλλ' αἰοιοὶ | ἄρχονται, Διὸς ἐκ προοιμίου; the scholiast *ad loc.* says that the rhapsodes as a rule began with a prooemium to Zeus, and sometimes with one to the Muses (so also schol. θ 499 ἔθος γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ

<sup>1</sup> Further details will be found in Reinach's article ("Hymnus") in the lexicon of Daremberg and Saglio. A few explicit statements of ancient authors upon hymns may be quoted here: Plato defines the hymn, *Lysis* 700 B καὶ τι ἦν εἶδος ὥδης εὐχαὶ πρὸς θεοῦς, ὄνομα δὲ ὕμνοι ἐπεκαλοῦντο as distinguished from θρήνοι, παίωνες and διθύραμβοι. Cf. 801 E ὕμνοι θεῶν καὶ ἐγκώμια κεκοινωνημένα εὐχαῖς, and *Ion* 534 c, Arist. *Poet.* 1448 b 27, Aelian *V.H.* ii. 39. Menander in his *Διαίρεσις τῶν ἐπιδεικτικῶν* (Walz *Rhet. gr.* ix. 127 f.) classifies hymns as κλητικοί, ἀποπεμπτικοί, φυσικοί, μυθικοί, γενεαλογικοί, πεπλασμένοι, εὐκτικοί, ἀπευκτικοί. He quotes, among other writers, Sappho, Alcaeus, and Bacchylides, and prose authors such as

Plato, but not Homer, though in another place (above p. li) he alludes to the *Hymn to Apollo*. Aelius Dionysius (ap. Eust. 13. 360) says the most popular form of conclusion was νῦν δὲ θεοὶ μάκαρες τῶν ἐσθλῶν ἀφθνοὶ ἔστε; nothing similar to this remains. Zenobius v. 99 mentions another formula—ἀλλὰ ἀναξ μάλα χαῖρε; this approaches nearer to the Homeric καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, etc. Proclus *Chrestomathia* p. 244 (in Photius *Bibl.* 320 A 12) ἐκάλουν δὲ καθόλου πάντα τὰ εἰς τοὺς ὑπέρετας (? ὑπερτέρους) γραφόμενα ὕμνους· διὰ καὶ τὸ προσόδιον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ προειρημένα φαίνονται ἀντιδιαστέλλοντες τῷ ὕμνῳ ὡς εἶδη πρὸς γένος. . . ὁ δὲ κύριος ὕμνος πρὸς κιθάραν ᾗδετο ἐσώτῳ, Orion p. 155.



θεοῦ προοιμιάζεσθαι). Many also of the lesser hymns contain clear allusions to festivals and recitations (*Aphr.* vi. 19 δὸς δ' ἐν ἀγῶνι | νίκην τῷδε φέρεσθαι, *Aphr.* x. 5 δὸς δ' ἡμερόεσσιν αἰοιδῆν, *Dem.* xiii. 3 ἄρχε δ' αἰοιδῆς, *Hest.* xxiv. 5 χάριν δ' αἴμ' ὀπασσον αἰοιδῇ, *Mus.* xxv. 6 ἐμὴν τιμήσατ' αἰοιδῆν, *Hel.* xxxi. 18 ἐκ σέο δ' ἀρξάμενος κλήσω μερόπων γένος ἀνδρῶν | ἡμιθέων, *Sel.* xxxii. 18 σέο δ' ἀρχόμενος κλέα φωτῶν | ἄσομαι ἡμιθέων, ὧν κλείουσ' ἔργματ' αἰοιδοί. See the notes on these passages). The minor hymns, both by these expressions and by their brevity, suggest that they were not used independently; two of greater length, those to Pan and Dionysus, rather belong to a religious ceremony in honour of those gods, and either is longer than the Adonis hymn in Theocritus xv. The twenty-sixth hymn (also to Dionysus) explicitly talks of the recurrence of the festival "next year." These three hymns, therefore, seem to have no necessary connexion with recitations of Homer; and the same is even more the case with viii., xi., xii., xvii., xxii. (see the Introductions to these hymns). The usual view, therefore (expressed by Wolf *Prolegomena* p. cvi), that all the hymns were preludes to the recitation of ῥαψωδίαι, cannot be maintained. This belief rested (besides on the passage of Pindar quoted above) on (i.) the meaning of the word προοίμιον; this word, like many terms in music and the arts, may have shifted its significance, and like "prelude" in modern music have been used of an independent composition which bore a technical resemblance to an actual prelude. It is difficult to believe that the five greater hymns can have "preluded" a rhapsody not necessary longer than one of them. Wolf also relied (ii.) on Plutarch *de Mus.* 1133C τὰ γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ὡς βούλονται ἀφοσιωσάμενοι ἐξέβαινον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τε τὴν Ὀμήρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποίησιν. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτ' ἐστὶ διὰ τῶν Τερπάνδρου προοιμίων. The passage, however, refers not to rhapsodes at all, but to νομοί, as a little before, 1132B Plutarch says: οὐ λελυμένην δ' εἶναι τῶν προειρημένων τὴν τῶν ποιημάτων λέξιν καὶ μέτρον οὐκ ἔχουσιν, ἀλλὰ καθάπερ Στησιχόρου τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων μελοποιῶν, οἱ ποιοῦντες ἔπη τούτοις μέλη περιετίθεσαν· καὶ γὰρ τὸν Τέρπανδρον, ἔφη, κιθαρωδικῶν ποιητὴν ὄντα νομῶν, κατὰ νομὸν ἕκαστον τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ὀμήρου μέλη περιτιθέντα ᾄδειν ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσιν.

That is, he says that the sequence of the nome was fixed;



after a sufficient invocation, the poet proceeded to melic variations upon an epic theme. (So the Deliades in their paeon, *h. Ap.* 158 f.) The statement, therefore, that the *Homeric Hymns* were preludes to recitations of Homer must be corrected so as to apply only to certain of the minor hymns; and when Thucydides calls the Apollo hymn a prooemium, we must suppose him to be using a consecrated technical term like "Prélude" or "Ballade," which had lost its proper meaning.<sup>1</sup> The presence of the formulae of opening and conclusion marks the *Hymns* as belonging to the same *genre*, and there is nothing incongruous in supposing Homerid rhapsodes at one time prefacing their recital of portions of Homer with invocatory verses of their own, and at another reciting, at *ἀγῶνες* and festivals, longer independent compositions in honour of the god of the place.<sup>2</sup>

## VI.—LANGUAGE

The peculiarities of language in the several *Hymns* are enumerated in the introduction to each of them. It is necessary,

<sup>1</sup> As a metaphor the word is common in literature from Pindar and Aeschylus onwards, especially in Plato (*Rep.* 531 D, 532 D, *Timaeus* 29 D, and often in the *Laws*), in the sense of 'introduction' to something. This, however, proves nothing against a change in the technical meaning.

<sup>2</sup> The story of Homer reciting the *Hymn to Apollo* upon the *κερατῶν* at Delos may, as Welcker *Ep. Cycl.* i. 328 remarks, contain an indication of the mode in which the *Hymns* were actually delivered. For the recitation of old poetry at local centres cf. a Delphian inscription in Dittenberger *Sylloge* 663 *ἐπειδὴ Κλεόδωρος καὶ Θρασύβουλος οἱ Θεοξενίδα Φεναῖται παραγενόμενοι ποθ' ἀμὲ ἐπιδείξεις ἐποιήσαντο τῷ θεῷ διὰ τὰς μουσικᾶς τέχνας ἐν αἷς καὶ εὐδοκίμουν προφερόμενοι ἀριθμοὺς τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν οἱ ἦσαν πρέποντες ποτὶ τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀμῶν κτλ.* Such artists appear to resemble the poets described in the epitome of Ptolemy Hephaest. in Phot. *Bibl.* 148 A 38 f. *ἐνθα περὶ τῶν κατὰ πόλεις τοὺς ὕμνους ποιησάντων.* The various opinions that have been held upon the origin and function of these hymns are summarised by Gemoll p. 101 f., and in the histories of literature. Mr. F. B.

Jevons ("The Rhapsodising of the Iliad" *J. H. S.* vii. 291 f.) thinks the minor hymns were invocations of a deity in whose honour a rhapsode was about to recite that portion of Homer in which the God was mentioned. That rhapsodies were performed in honour of gods we learn not only from the well-known instance of the Panathenaea but from Plato *Ion* 530 A, where Ion has come ἐξ Ἐπιδάουρου ἐκ τῶν Ἀσκληπιδίων. (Socr.) Μῶν καὶ ραψωδῶν ἀγῶνα τιθέασιν τῷ θεῷ οἱ Ἐπιδάουριοι; (Ion) Πάνυ γε, καὶ τῆς ἄλλης γε μουσικῆς, and Clearchus of Soli ap. Athen. 275 B (= *F. H. G.* ii. 321, Welcker *Ep. Cycl.* p. 366; the text is uncertain) φαγήσια, οἱ δὲ φαγησιπόσια προσαγορεύουσι τὴν ἑορτήν. ἐξέλιπε δὲ αὐτῇ, καθάπερ ἡ τῶν ραψωδῶν. ἦν ἦγον καὶ τὴν τῶν Διουνυσίων· ἐν ἡ παριόντες ἕκαστοι (ἐκάστῳ Welcker) τῶν θεῶν ὅσον τιμὴν ἐπετέλουν τὴν ραψωδίαν. But the author does not state that the rhapsody was one in which the god appeared, and it would have been difficult to find a rhapsody to mention each of the gods in an honorific light. Further, the usual invocations of rhapsodes according to the schol. Pind. above were to Zeus and the Muses.



however, to collect their more general linguistic features under one view, both to facilitate comparison, and to draw such conclusions as may be possible upon their age and place of origin.

The most obvious and important linguistic phenomenon in Greek Epos is the absence or presence of the Digamma.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, before proceeding farther, we give a conspectus of the passages in the *Hymns* where the effect of this letter is apparent or imperceptible. The list is based on that of H. Flach "Das nachhesiodische Digamma" in Bezzenberger's *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprache*, 1878, vol. ii. p. 1-43.<sup>2</sup>

#### DIONYSUS.

This fragment (21 lines) is too short to yield results. Digamma is observed 10 *καί οἱ ἀναστήσουσι*, 14 *ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος*; neglected 5 *Θήβησιν ἄναξ*.

#### DEMETER.

Observances of digamma:

26 ἡέλιός τε ἄναξ, 37 τόφρα οἱ,<sup>3</sup> 51 δεκάτη οἱ, 52 ἦντετό οἱ Ἑκάτη (bis), 53 καί ῥά οἱ ἀγγελέουσα ἔπος (bis), 59 ἔφη Ἑκάτη, 65 ἦ ἔπει ἦ ἔργω (bis), 81 μεγάλα ἰαχοῦσαν, 93 πίονα ἔργα, 104 δώματα ἠχήεντα, 105 τὴν δὲ ἴδον, 112 ἰστάμεναι ἔπεα, 117 ἡμὲν ἔπει, 133 οὐδέ τι οἶδα, 164 δέ οἱ, 167 τίς σε ἰδοῦσα, 176 ἐπισχόμεναι ἑανὼν, 191 δέ οἱ, 195 δῆ οἱ, 199 οὔτε τι ἔργω, 205 ἦ δῆ οἱ and εὐαδεν, 207 θέμιτόν οἱ, 222 σε ἰδοῦσα, 235 δαίμονι ἱσος, 241 ἅντα ἑώκει, 247 ὀλοφυρομένη ἔπεα, 275 καὶ εἶδος, 321 ἄφθιτα εἰδώς, 323 ἐμὸν ἔπος, 333 πρὶν ἴδοι, 336 παραιφάμενος ἐπέεσσιν, 338 ὄφρα ἐ, 342 τὸν γε ἄνακτα, 349 ὄφρα ἐ, 357 μεῖδῃσεν δέ ἄναξ, 373 ἀμφὶ ἐ, 385 ἦ δὲ ἰδοῦσα, 419 Μελίτη Ἰάχῃ, 427 θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι, 440 ἐκ τοῦ οἱ, 445 νέεσε δέ οἱ, 451 ἀλλὰ ἔκῃλον, 488 δέ οἱ. = 47.

<sup>1</sup> Albert Thumb "zur Geschichte des griechischen Digamma" in *Indogermanische Forschungen*, 1898, ix. 294 f. has superseded the older works (Knös *de digammo Homérico*, Upsala, 1873, Tudeer *de dialectorum graecarum digammo testimonia inscriptionum*, Helsingfors, 1879, R. Weiss *de digamm. in hym. Hom. quæst.* Budapest, 1889). Cf. also Solmsen *Untersuchungen zur griechischen Laut- und Verslehre*, 1901, p. 129 f. Convenient accounts are given by Monro *H. G. ed.* 2, § 388 f., Kühner-Blass, 1892, i. p. 77 f., Brugmann *Griech. Gram.*<sup>3</sup> p. 37 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The corrections (other than the inclusion of ν ἐφ.) which it is necessary to make in Flach's list, though not

many, are sufficient to alter his percentages materially. His data were somewhat vitiated by the emendations which Baumeister, whose text he used, had admitted. We have also removed from his lists the following forms, on what appear to be good philological grounds: ἐός etc. *passim*, ἤλπετο *Dem.* 35, ἐώθει *Herm.* 305, ἀλός *Ap.* 73. On the other hand we have allowed ἦσι *Ap.* 320, 375, ὅν *Ap.* 342, *Aphr.* 203, οἷς *Ap.* 348, ἰέμενοι *Ap.* 472 to stand, though the evidence is less certain in these cases.

<sup>3</sup> V. 46, which Flach gives as altered by Hermann (οὐδέ οἱ οἰωνῶν τις), yields no digamma in the MS. reading (οὐτ' οἰωνῶν τις).



## Neglects :

6 ἦδ' ἴα καλά, 10 πᾶσιν ιδέσθαι, 17 ὄρουσεν ἄναξ, 37 τόφρα οἱ ἐλπίς, 66 θάλος εἶδει, 75 Δήμητερ ἄνασσα, 117 καὶ ἔργω, 118 δ' ἐπέεσσιν, 139 σφίσιν ἐργάζωμαι, 140 ἀφήλικος ἔργα, 144 καὶ κ' ἔργα, 174 πόρτιες εἶαρος, 195 κένν' εἰδυῖα,<sup>1</sup> 199 οὐτ' ἔπει, 202 κένν' εἰδυῖα, 206 μελιηδέος οἴνου, 213 ἄπ' ἔολπα (ἀπέολπα MS., which is the same so far as the digamma is concerned), 227 μιν ἔολπα, 246 δείσας' ᾧ, 302 ἵμεν οἴκαδ' ἕκαστος (bis), 315 πολυήρατον εἶδος, 320 φωνήσας' ἔπεα, 339 ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδοῦσα, 347 καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσω, 350 id., 351 μῆδεταί ἔργον, 406 μῆτερ ἐρέω, 409 ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδοῦσα, 418 καὶ Ἰάνθη, 430 ἕκθορ' ἄναξ, 438 ἦλθ' Ἑκάτη, 440 ἔπλετ' ἄνασσα, 458 ἀσπασίως δ' ἴδον, 492 Διοῖ ἄνασσα. = 35.

## APOLLO.

For convenience of presentation, since there turns out to be a clear linguistic difference between the two portions of this hymn, and their separateness is borne out by considerations of context (p. 60 f.), we give the figures for the Delian and Pythian hymns separately.

*The Delian Hymn.*

## Observances :

1 Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο, 7 καὶ οἱ, 27 ἀμφιρύτῃ ἑκάτερθε, 45 ὠδίνουσα ἐκηβόλον, 46 εἴ τίς οἱ,<sup>2</sup> 50 ἀνευρομένη ἔπεα, 56 Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκαέργον, 63 ἑκάτοιο ἄνακτος, 66 Λητοῖ ἔπος, 74 κατὰ κρατὸς ἄλις αἰεῖ, 75 ἄδῃ οἱ, 90 γόνυ ἑκάτοιο ἄνακτος (bis), 107 ὠκέα Ἴρις, 111 ἐκπροκαλεσσαμένη ἔπεα, 137 εἴλετο οἰκία, 139 ὅτε τε ρίον, 140 ἀργυρότοξε ἄναξ, 157 Δηλιάδες ἑκατηβελέταο. = 19.

## Neglects :

15 Ἀπόλλωνά τ' ἄνακτα, 22 σκοπιαί τοι ἄδον, 29 θνητοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις, 46 θέλοι οἰκία,<sup>3</sup> 71 πρῶτον ἴδῃ, 75 κεν ἄδῃ, 102 αἰ δ' Ἴριν, 106 ἔπειτ' ἐπέεσσιν, 153 κεν ἴδοιτο, 163 μιμείσθ' ἴσασιν and αὐτὸς ἕκαστος, 177 λήξω ἐκηβόλον. = 12.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Flach p. 15 n. 14. Whatever view we take of the probability of an original *ιδυῖαν* (which nowhere occurs in the MSS. of the *Hymns*, while traces are left in those of the *Iliad*), it is surely plain that *ειδυῖαν* must take its place here among neglects. Whether the author used it depends on the age of the document,

to establish which is the object of this calculation.

<sup>2</sup> V. 46 *εἴ τίς οἱ* is the reading of the Harleian only, but appears a true correction of *τίς σοι* of the other MSS.

<sup>3</sup> V. 59 *δηρὸν ἄναξ εἰ βόσκεις κτλ.* is a *versus nihil*, and *ἄναξ*, which seems to yield a neglect, is especially inapplicable to Delos.



*The Pythian Hymn.*

## Observances :

179  $\delta$   $\alpha\nu\alpha$ , 184  $\alpha\mu\beta\rho\omicron\tau\alpha$   $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\tau'$ , 189  $\alpha\mu\epsilon\iota\beta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\alpha\iota$   $\omicron\pi\iota$ , 198  $\tau\epsilon$   $\iota\delta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$  (bis),<sup>1</sup> 216  $\tau\epsilon$   $\rho\acute{\epsilon}\zeta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota$ , 229  $\epsilon\kappa\iota\epsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\beta\omicron\lambda'$ , 237  $\omicron\iota$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\iota$ , 239  $\epsilon\kappa\iota\epsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\beta\omicron\lambda'$ , 244  $\tau\omicron\iota$   $\alpha\delta\epsilon$ , 256  $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omicron\lambda\omega\varsigma\alpha\tau\omicron$   $\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}$   $\tau\epsilon$ , 257  $\Phi\omicron\iota\beta\epsilon$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon$   $\epsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$  (bis), 261  $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ - $\tau\omicron\iota$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\omega}$ , 268  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\iota$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$ , 275  $\omicron\phi\rho\alpha$   $\omicron\iota$ , 277  $\epsilon\kappa\iota\epsilon\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\beta\omicron\lambda'$ , 285  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\alpha$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$ , 318  $\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$   $\acute{\epsilon}$ , 320  $\mu\epsilon\tau\grave{\alpha}$   $\eta\varsigma\iota$ , 341  $\eta$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ ,<sup>2</sup> 342  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron$   $\omicron\nu$ , 348  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron$   $\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , 350  $\pi\epsilon\rho\iota\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron$   $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , 357  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}$   $\omicron\iota$ , 361  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon\tau\omicron$ , 372  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\alpha$ , 375  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\omega$   $\eta\varsigma\iota\nu$ , 382  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$   $\rho\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu$ , 391  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$   $\omicron\iota\nu\omicron\pi\iota$ , 400  $\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\acute{\iota}\nu\iota$   $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma$ , 413  $\text{'}\text{H}\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota\omicron$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , 420  $\pi\nu\omicron\iota\eta$   $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$ , 441  $\alpha\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota$   $\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , 449  $\alpha\nu\acute{\epsilon}\rho\iota$   $\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ , 444  $\tau\grave{\alpha}$   $\alpha$   $\kappa\eta\lambda\alpha$ , 467  $\omicron\phi\rho'$   $\epsilon\upsilon$   $\epsilon\iota\delta\omega$ , 471  $\omicron\upsilon$   $\tau\iota$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , 472  $\nu\omicron\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\iota\acute{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota$ , 474  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , 477  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\grave{\alpha}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , 486  $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omega$   $\epsilon\iota\pi\omega$ , 488  $\eta\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\sigma\alpha\sigma\theta\epsilon$ , 490  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\iota$   $\rho\eta\gamma\mu\acute{\iota}\nu\iota$ , 505 *id.*, 508 *id.*, 516  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\rho\eta\sigma\sigma\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ , 526  $\delta$   $\alpha\nu'$ , 534  $\rho\eta\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$ , 540  $\tau\eta\acute{\iota}\sigma\iota\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$   $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$   $\eta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\tau\iota$   $\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\nu$  (bis). = 51.

## Neglects :

181  $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\gamma'$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\sigma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ , 255  $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ , 275  $\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\upsilon\sigma'$   $\text{'}\text{E}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\nu$ , 276  $\mu\eta\delta'$   $\text{'}\text{E}\kappa\acute{\alpha}\tau\omicron\iota\omicron$ , 286  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\rho\alpha\tau\omicron\nu$   $\epsilon\iota\pi\epsilon$ , 301  $\kappa\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\nu\epsilon\nu$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$ , 312  $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\delta\nu'$   $\epsilon\iota\delta\upsilon\iota\alpha\nu$ , 355  $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\lambda'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\delta\epsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon$ , 357  $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta\kappa\epsilon\nu$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$ , 382  $\omega\sigma\epsilon\nu$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$ , 385  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\theta\alpha$   $\delta'$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\iota$ , 393  $\tau'$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\iota$ , 395  $\kappa\epsilon\nu$   $\epsilon\iota\pi\eta$ , 415  $\omicron\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma\iota\nu$   $\iota\delta\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ , 437  $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\omicron\nu\epsilon\nu\epsilon$   $\delta'$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$ , 440  $\omicron\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\nu$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$ , 447  $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\beta\alpha\lambda'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omega$ ,<sup>3</sup> 464  $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\theta\eta\eta\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\iota\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha\varsigma$ , 506  $\nu\eta'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\upsilon\sigma\alpha\nu\tau\omicron$ , 514  $\sigma\phi\iota\nu$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\acute{\xi}$ , 534  $\upsilon\mu\mu'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\omega}$ , 535  $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ . = 22.

## HERMES.

## Observances :

12  $\tau\epsilon$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha$ , 16  $\kappa\lambda\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha$ , 26  $\rho\acute{\alpha}$   $\omicron\iota$ , 61  $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$   $\omicron\iota\kappa\omicron\nu$ , 80  $\theta\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha$ , 92  $\tau\epsilon$   $\iota\delta\omega\nu$ , 100  $\text{M}\epsilon\gamma\alpha\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\delta\alpha\omicron$   $\alpha\nu\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , 117  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\omicron\iota$ , 127  $\pi\acute{\iota}\omicron\nu\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha$ , 164  $\alpha\acute{\iota}\sigma\upsilon\lambda\alpha$   $\omicron\iota\delta\epsilon$ , 177  $\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\omicron\iota$ , 234  $\eta\epsilon\rho\acute{\omicron}\epsilon\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\tau\eta\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$ , 250  $\alpha\rho\gamma\nu\phi\alpha$   $\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ , 265  $\phi\omega\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha$ , 281  $\pi\rho\omicron\sigma\acute{\epsilon}\phi\eta$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\epsilon\rho\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , 313  $\tau\grave{\alpha}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha$ , 358  $\nu\kappa\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma$ , 377  $\phi\omega\tau\acute{\iota}$   $\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\iota\kappa\omega\varsigma$ ,<sup>4</sup> 426  $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$   $\omicron\iota$ , 439  $\tau\acute{\omicron}\delta\epsilon$   $\epsilon\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}$ , 440  $\theta\alpha\nu\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha$ , 454  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\delta\acute{\epsilon}\xi\iota\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha$ , 456  $\mu\eta\delta\epsilon\alpha$   $\omicron\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$ , 467  $\epsilon\upsilon$   $\omicron\iota\delta\alpha\varsigma$ , 516  $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\alpha\mu\omicron\iota\beta\iota\mu\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\alpha$ , 520  $\phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\delta\omicron\iota\varsigma$ , 550  $\tau\omicron\iota$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\omega}$ . = 26.

## Neglects :

18  $\kappa\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\psi\epsilon\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\eta\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\nu$ , 46  $\alpha\mu'$   $\epsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$   $\tau\epsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\gamma\omicron\nu$  (bis), 92  $\iota\delta\omega\nu$   $\mu\eta$   $\iota\delta\omega\nu$ ,

<sup>1</sup> V. 209  $\epsilon\kappa\iota\epsilon\varsigma$   $\text{'}\text{A}\zeta\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$   $\kappa\omicron\upsilon\rho\eta\nu$ ; there seems no ground for assuming a digamma before  $\text{'}\text{A}\zeta\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$ , besides that M reads  $\alpha\tau\lambda\alpha\nu\tau\acute{\iota}\delta\alpha$ , and the obscurity of the passage makes the word altogether doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> So M; the other mss.  $\eta$   $\delta'$   $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\iota\delta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$ . As an archaistic restoration is less probable than a linguistic degradation (well attested in the Homeric text), M may well have preserved the original. Cf. *Apfr.* 147.

<sup>3</sup> This is the reading of M; the other lection  $\epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon\nu$   $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$  ( $\alpha\rho$ ) equally involves a neglect.

<sup>4</sup> Flach counted in v. 400  $\eta\chi\acute{\iota}$   $\rho\acute{\alpha}$   $\omicron\iota$ , but this is only a conjecture and a bad one;  $\eta\chi\omicron\upsilon$   $\delta\eta$  is now established: in v. 224 he used the unwarranted conjecture  $\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha\upsilon\chi\epsilon\nu\alpha$  for  $\lambda\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha\upsilon\chi\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ . V. 472  $\mu\alpha\nu\tau\epsilon\lambda\alpha\varsigma$   $\theta'$   $\text{'}\text{E}\kappa\alpha\epsilon\rho\gamma\epsilon$  the mss. with unimportant variations ( $\delta'$ ,  $\tau'$ ,  $\gamma'$ ): the particle was removed to suit an interpretation of the passage.



107 ἦδ' ἐρσήεντα, 120 δ' ἔργον, 129 προσέθηκεν ἐκάστη, 143 τίς οἱ, 154 θεὸς εἶπε, 179 ἔνθεν ἄλις, 180 χρυσὸν ἄλις, 182 ῥ' ἐπέεσσι, 192 κεράεσσιν ἐλικτάς, 199 ταυτὰ μοι εἰπέ, 202 ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδοῖτο, 205 ἔστιν ἕκαστον, 215 ἦϊξεν ἄναξ, 218 εἰσενόησεν ἐκηβόλος εἶπε (bis), 224 λασιαύχενος ἔλπομαι, 227 ἦϊξεν ἄναξ, 236 βουσὶν ἐκηβόλον, 239 ἐκάεργον ἰδών, 241 προκαλεῦμενος ἦδνμον, 266 ἐμὸν ἔργον, 285 κατ' οἶκον, 306 ἐελμένος εἶπε, 333 προσέειπεν ἄναξ, 343 δαίμονος ἔργα, 376 τ' οἶδε, 382 ὀπίζομαι οἶσθα, 389 ἐξεγέλασεν ἰδών, 403 ἀπάτερθεν ἰδών, 417 ἐπρήνεν ἐκηβόλον, 421 ἦλνθ' ἰωή, 428 μοῖραν ἕκαστος, 431 γεγάασιν ἕκαστος, 449 καὶ ἦδνμον, 464 μ' Ἐκάεργε, 466 σήμερον εἰδήσεις, 472 θ' Ἐκάεργε, 493 ἔνθεν ἄλις, 500 υἱὸς ἄναξ, 522 ὅσ' Ἐκηβόλος, 531 τε καὶ ἔργων, 535 τὸ γὰρ οἶδε, 559 κραινοῦσιν ἕκαστα, 571 προβάτοισιν ἀνάσων, 574 υἱὸν ἄναξ. = 50.

## APHRODITE.

## Observances :

1 ἔννεπε ἔργα, 10 ἄρα οἱ πόλεμοί τε ἄδον καὶ ἔργον (ter), 11 ἀγλαὰ ἔργ', 15 ἀγλαὰ ἔργ', 15 θείσα ἐκάστη, 18 τῇ ἄδε, 21 κούρη ἄδεν, 30 μέσῳ οἴκῳ, 41 μέγα εἶδος, 43 μῆδεα εἰδώς, 48 ἐπενξαμένη εἶπη, 53 δ' ἄρα οἱ, 56 ἔπειτα ἰδοῦσα, 59 δέ οἱ, 63 ῥά οἱ καὶ ἀμβροσίῳ, ἐανῶ, 82 καὶ εἶδος, 90 θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι, 92 χαίρε ἄνασσ', 112 εὐτοιχίτοιο ἀνάσσει, 113 σάφα οἶδα, 116 εἰ οἶδα, 139 τε ἄλις ἐσθήτα (bis), 147 δέ ἐκητι, 153 γύναι εἰκνία, 162 μὲν οἱ, 164 λῦσε δέ οἱ, 167 σάφα εἰδώς, 171 χροῖ ἔννυτο εἴματα (bis), 181 ὥς δέ ἴδεν, 184 λισσόμενος ἔπεα, 185 θεὰ ἴδον, 205 θαῦμα ἰδεῖν, 207 οὐδέ τι ἦδει, 208 ὅππῃ οἱ, 210 δέ οἱ, 212 δέ ἕκαστα, 235 ἦδε δέ οἱ, 267 δέ ἐ, 277 ἐς πεμπτὸν ἔτος, 280 ποτὶ Ἴλιον. = 45.

## Neglects :

6 δ' ἔργα, 9 γάρ οἱ<sup>1</sup> and εὐαδεν ἔργα, 21 ἄδεν ἔργ', 44 κέδν' εἰδυῖαν, 55 ἀθανάτοισιν ἐοικώς, 85 τε καὶ εἴματα,<sup>2</sup> 86 γὰρ ἔεστο, 91 εἶλεν ἔπος, 109 ἀθανάτησιν εἴσκεις, 122 ἦγαγον ἔργα, 134 κέδν' εἰδυῖη, 136 ἀλλ' εἰκνία,<sup>3</sup> 144 εἶλεν ἔπος, 151 εἴ κεν ἐκηβόλος, 157 ἔσκεν ἀνακτι, 163 θ' ἔλικας, 169 τε καὶ ἴφια, 176 ἀνέγειρεν ἔπος, 196 Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει, 203 ἦρπασεν δν,<sup>4</sup> 232 τε καὶ εἴματα, 256 πρῶτον ἴδῃ, 278 πρῶτον ἴδῃς. = 24.

## VII. DIONYSUS.

## Observances :

3 ἀνδρὶ ἐοικώς, 7 ἐπὶ οἶνοπα, 8 οἱ δέ ἰδόντες, 16 αὐτίκα οἷς, 34 θαυματὰ ἔργα, 40 μέλας εἰλίσσεται, 42 οἱ δέ ἰδόντες, 48 ὑπόδρα ἰδών, 52 ἐπεὶ ἴδον. = 9.

<sup>1</sup> By taking the conjecture οὐ γάρ οἱ ἄδε for the ms. reading οὐ γάρ οἱ εὐαδεν. Flach, naturally, avoids this neglect.

<sup>2</sup> The same is a v.l. line 82.

<sup>3</sup> The other line of the apparent

doublet avoids the neglect by the reading ἦε καὶ οὐκί.

<sup>4</sup> This reading appears to be implied by the mss.; the variant ἦρπασ' ἐδν would yield no neglect.



## Neglects :

29 ἢ ἐκαστέρω, 30 ποτ' ἐρεῖ, 37 πάντας ἰδόντας, 54 πανόλβιον εἶπε.  
= 4.

## XIX. PAN.

## Observances :

31 τέ οἱ, 48 χαῖρε ἀναξ. = 2.

## Neglects :

14 δ' ἔσπερος, 17 τ' ἔαρος, 21 οὔρεος ἡχώ, 36 τερατωπὸν ἰδέσθαι, 37 πολύκροτον ἡδυέλωτα. = 5.

## MINOR HYMNS.

## Observances :

vi. Aphr.	6	ἄμβροτα εἴματα ἔσσαν (bis), 15 ἡσπάζοντο ἰδόντες, 16 ἡρήσαντο ἕκαστος, 17 καὶ οἴκαδ'.
xi. Ath.	2	πολεμήϊα ἔργα.
xv. Heracl.	9	χαῖρε ἀναξ.
xvi. Ascl.	5	χαῖρε ἀναξ.
xx. Heph.	2	ἀγλαὰ ἔργα.
xxi. Apoll.	5	χαῖρε ἀναξ.
xxiv. Hest.	1	ἦτε ἀνακτος Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο (bis).
xxv. Mus.	5	γλυκερή οἱ.
xxix. Hest.	6	μελιηδέα οἶνον.
xxx. Ge	10	εὐθηνεῖ οἶκος.
xxxi. Hel.	5	ἦ οἱ τέκε, 17 χαῖρε ἀναξ.
xxxii. Sel.	8	εἴματα ἔσταμένη, 17 χαῖρε ἀνασσα.
xxxiii. Diose.	16	οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες. = 21.

## Neglects :

vi.	18	θανμάζοντες ἰοστεφάνου, <sup>1</sup> 19 χαῖρ' ἐλικοβλέφαρε.
xii.	2	ὑπείροχον εἶδος.
xiv.	3	τυπάνων τ' ἰαχή, 5 τ' ἡχέεντα.
xv.	5	Εὐρυσθῆος ἀνακτος.
xxii.	3	θ' ἐλικῶνα.
xxv.	2	καὶ ἐκηβόλον.
xxvi.	3	πατρὸς ἀνακτος, 5 πατρὸς ἔκητι.
xxvii.	20	τε καὶ ἔργμασιν.
xxix.	12	εἰδότες ἔργματα.
xxxi.	13	λάμπεται ἔσθος.
xxxii.	2	Διὸς ἱστορες, 3 γαῖαν ἐλίσσεται, 16 ἐκπρεπὲς εἶδος, 19 κλείουσ' ἔργματ'. = 17.

<sup>1</sup> Removed by p's lection ἐνστεφάνου.



Tabulated the results are :

	Observances.	Neglects.
Demeter	47	35 = 1·342 : 1
Apoll. Del.	19	12 = 1·583 : 1
Apoll. Pyth.	51	22 = 2·318 : 1
Hermes	26	49 = ·5306: 1
Aphrod.	45	24 = 1·875 : 1
Dion. vii	9	4 = 2·25 : 1
Pan xix.	2	5 = ·4 : 1
Minor Hymns	21	17 = 1·235 : 1

These figures vary materially from those of Flach *l.c.*, and of Fick ("die ursprüngliche Sprache der h. H." *B. B.* 1885, ix. p. 195 f.). The difference is mainly accounted for by the fact that we have not considered  $\nu$  ἐφέλκυστικόν before a once-digammated word a certain sign of the original presence of the digamma in the document where it occurs. To believe this it would be necessary to prove that the *Hymns* started with an audible digamma, and that the scribes or reciters, as the digamma lost its force and they became aware of the hiatus, filled the gap with a  $\nu$ . But the presence of an audible or living digamma in the whole Homeric corpus, as a single epos, is doubted on many sides, and strongly denied by Thumb *l.c.* p. 326. If it was at the beginning a fluctuating and semi-traditional sound,  $\nu$  ἐφέλκυστικόν may represent this original state of things, and be *prima facie* evidence that where it occurs *F* was not pronounced. As early as the sixth century we find  $\nu$  ἐφ. on Ionic inscriptions before originally digammated vowels (Hoffmann *der ion. Dialekt* 30 ἀνεθῆκεν ἡεκηβολῶι, 32 ἀνεθῆκεν ἐκηβολῶι, 59 σοφῆιςιν ἐκηβολ[ῶι]). We have therefore not omitted consideration of  $\nu$  ἐφ. in a calculation which aims at ascertaining the position of the digamma in these poems.

On the other hand we have not ventured to follow Thumb (p. 328) in withdrawing the case of hiatus altogether from the computation. However independent of the digamma in historical times hiatus in instances such as δὲ ἔπος may have been, the digamma originally must have been the cause of it, and the gradual disappearance of hiatus has a chronological value.

These figures once obtained may be employed to determine the relation of the *Hymns* (1) to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; (2) to one another.



(1) The percentage of observances and neglects of the digamma in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* has been worked out by W. von Hartel in his "Homerische Studien iii." (*Sitzungsberichte der K. Akademie der Wiss. Wien* vol. 78, 1874; the separate edition has long been out of print). He gives 3354 observances against 617 neglects, i.e. 5·43598 : 1. This total excludes  $\nu$   $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\kappa$ . (Hartel p. 61). If we count the cases of  $\nu$   $\epsilon\phi\epsilon\lambda\kappa$ . in the *Hymns* as observances, the ratios work out as

	Observances.	Neglects.
Dem.	53	29 = 1·82 : 1
Ap. Del.	23	8 = 1·27 : 1
Ap. Pyth.	59	14 = 4·214 : 1
Hermes	42	33 = 1·27 : 1
Aphr.	57	12 = 4·75 : 1
Dion. vii.	10	3 = 3·3 : 1
Pan xix.	2	5 = ·4 : 1
Minor Hymns	21	17 = 1·235 : 1

Comparing Hartel's figures we see that the digamma has suffered weakening between the oldest of the hymns and the Homeric poems. This is natural and supported by external evidence, if we consider that, while the Homeric poems are most probably referred to the mainland and before the Dorian invasion (Monro *Odyssey* xiii.—xxiv. p. 465 f.), the *hymns to Apollo Delius* and *Pythius* at least posit the Ionian colonisation and the Delphic oracle. If, however, with Thumb p. 329, we limit the comparison to cases of *Elision* only, some of the results in the *Hymns* are singularly even with Hartel's for the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, viz.—

Ap. Del.	1 : ·6
Aphr.	1 : ·5
Homer	1 : ·6.

What the result on Hartel's figures of the introduction of  $\nu$   $\epsilon\phi$ . would be can hardly be estimated, but it may be presumed the *Hymns* would still exhibit a larger number of neglected digammas.

How much later it may be inferred the *Hymns* are than Homer is another matter; there is no evidence to calculate the rate of digamma-decay, or to translate percentages of neglects into terms of chronology. Nor again is there agreement as to what ratio of observance is enough to constitute the digamma.



a "living sound"; the older inquirers (Flach and Fick) assumed that in the *Hymns to Aphr.* and *Ap. Pyth.* it was alive, and in the Homeric poems; but though it is now agreed on all hands that *F* belonged to Ionic as a dialect (Kretschmer *K. Z.* 29 p. 390 f., Smyth *Ionic* § 386, Brugmann *Gr. Grammatik* ed. 3 p. 38), it is as widely held that in the collected Homeric epos digamma has no place (Thumb *l.c.* p. 326). In the Ur-Homer when it sprang up on Achæan shores no doubt it had; but it is out of the question to refer any part of the *Hymns* to such a period. This consideration, and the low ratio of differences even in the best cases between observance and neglect make it very doubtful if *F* was a living sound in any of the *Hymns*.

(2) As regards the relation of the *Hymns* to one another, digammas being admittedly indigenous to Ionic, and having disappeared almost entirely from both Ionic inscriptions and iambic poets (see for the former Smyth or Hoffmann, or Thumb *l.c.* p. 322 f., for the latter Hoffmann § 249 or Flach's statistics *l.c.* p. 44 f.), and at a date varying from B.C. 800–700 in round numbers, it might be supposed *prima facie* that those hymns in which the digamma was best preserved were the oldest. Judged by this criterion the *Hymns* fall into the following order of age:—*Apollo Pythius*, *Aphrodite*, *Apollo Delius*, *Demeter*, *Hermes*. The *Hymns to Dionysus* and *Pan* are excluded from the general calculation on account of their brevity; but as against *Pan*, *h. Dion.* appears remarkably the elder. The combined ratio of the minor *Hymns* also does not strictly enter into the comparison; their total is very close to that of *Demeter*.<sup>1</sup> The value, however, of the digamma as a criterion of age is gravely qualified by the extent to which any particular hymn depends upon Homer. It is obvious that lines borrowed from Homer containing observances or neglects of the digamma cannot be adduced as proof of the age of the hymn which borrows them. A later hymn, owing more to Homeric diction, may seem older than one whose writer was less bound by Homeric tradition. The *Homeric Hymns* differ considerably as to the degree of their dependence upon Homer; *h. Aphr.* is ὁμηρικώτατος in diction; 20 verses are taken from Homer with almost no alteration,

<sup>1</sup> In the usual tables, where *ν ἐφ.* is excluded (Flach p. 40, Fick *B. B.* ix. p. 195 f.), the order of *Ap. Pyth.* and

*Aphr.* is reversed; the other ratios are little different.



and the poem abounds in hemistichs and formulae; out of 293 verses about 160 end in a Homeric formula (Windisch *de Hymn. Hom. maj.* 1867, p. 47). The like statement applies to the Pythian hymn; out of 368 verses 38 are taken nearly unaltered from the *Iliad* or *Odyssey*, and nearly half contain formulae (Windisch p. 11). It is plain, therefore, that the proportions of presence or absence of the digamma must not be pressed so as to establish a definite order between the greater hymns.<sup>1</sup> The figures appear when this allowance has been made to establish these facts:

(1) *H. Hermes* is much later than the other three long hymns.

(2) *H. Ap. Del.* and *Pyth.*, *h. Aphr.* and *h. Dem.* are all old, but the percentages of observances and neglects do not differ so materially as to fix an order between them.

(3) The evidence of the digamma, as far as it goes, proves *h. Dion.* to be comparatively old (as against some theories mentioned in the *Introd.*).

(4) *H. Pan* cannot belong to an early epic date.<sup>2</sup>

The digamma then at the time when the oldest hymn was written was dead in current pronunciation. If, therefore, as is currently held, the digamma ceased to be spoken in Asia after 850, and in Naxos and the Cyclades by 700, and perhaps somewhat later in Euboea, the oldest part of the *Hymns* cannot be put back beyond at farthest 800. This limitation agrees with the external and historical evidence, which will be found in the *Introductions* to the different *Hymns*.

Besides the digamma there are few dialectal peculiarities in the *Hymns*. Their vocabulary, where it differs from Homer (see Fietkau *de carm. Hesiod. atque hymnorum quatuor magnorum vocabulis non homericis* Regimont. 1866), agrees with their general late-epic date. *ἐκατι* *h. Aphr.* 147 is perhaps a scribe's accident, due to Tragic associations. The same uncertainty attaches to *μῆς* *Herm.* 11, *δελφοῦσα* *h. Ap.* 244 etc., *φύζαν* *Herm.* 114, *παῖδ' ἀφνειὸν* *ib.* 473. The *Hymn to Hermes* is the only one which offers palpable peculiarities of language. *Ἀθροῶς* 106, *πέρ*

<sup>1</sup> This conclusion is denied, as against Windisch, Clemm, and others, by Flach *l.c.* p. 5 f., but, especially in view of the new theories held about the history of the digamma, its presence or absence cannot be held as more than one factor in determining the date of a document.

<sup>2</sup> No substantial results as to comparative dates can be drawn from the structure of the verse of the *Hymns*. The subject is treated exhaustively by La Roche *Wiener Studien* xx. pp. 70-90, Eberhard *Metrische Beobachtungen zu d. h. H.* 1874 and 1887.



ἰγνύσι 152 suggest similar forms in the Hesiodic poems—*λαγός* (acc. pl.) *Scut.* 302, ἀποδρέπεν *O. D.* 611, Φίκιον ὄρος *Scut.* 33, Φίκα *Theog.* 326, τροπᾶς *O. D.* 564 etc., which are recognised to be effects of the Boeotian dialect upon the Heliconian school (cf. e.g. Flach *l.c.* p. 5, n. 4). The singularly low percentage of the digamma, however, in the *Hymn to Hermes* would seem to contradict a theory of a Boeotian origin; and Fick's happy restoration of ἡχοῦ in v. 400 rather connects the hymn with Oropus or Eretria (*B. B.* xxii. 272). For the Oropian inscription containing the form *ηχοι* see on *Herm.* 400. To these forms may be added *θαπτον* 255; for in the same Oropian inscription we find *ελαττον*. It is true that both Smyth (*Ionic* § 371) and Hoffmann (p. 574) see Attic influence in *ελαττον*; Fick, however (ap. Hoffmann), is on the other side, and cf. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf (*Hermes* xxi. 99). As the inscription contains non-Attic forms such as *εντοθα* = *ένταῦθα*, *αφικνεμενων* = *ἀφικνουμένων*, and especially the rhotacism *δημοριων* = *δημοσίων*, we should see in it an Euboean-Ionic dialect coloured by a few local peculiarities.<sup>1</sup> The hymn, therefore, seems attributable to the dialect of Oropus or Eretria. We hear of no school of rhapsodes at these places, but the neighbouring Chalcis could attract "Hesiod" and "Homer" to its games (*Hes. O. D.* 650 f., quoted p. lix, *Certamen* 265 Rzach). A few writers of the early age are mentioned as of Chalcis; e.g. Tynnichus, the man of one paean (*Plato Ion* 534 ὃν πάντες ᾄδουσι), admired by Aeschylus for its antique simplicity (*Porph. de abst.* ii. 18; he was later than Alcman according to the story in *Ptol. Hephaest. Nov. Hist.* in *Phot. Bibl.* 151 a 9); and Hypodicus who won the prize for the dithyramb at Athens in 508 (*Marmor Parium* § 61). The neighbourhood of the serious Heliconian school may have induced an Euboean or Oropian to write a hymn in style somewhat of a parody upon Hesiod, and which contained the less dignified adventures of the Pythian god.

The longer hymns then upon the evidence of their language appear to belong to the last stage of the epic period; the figures

<sup>1</sup> Rhotacism in Euboea is certainly un-Attic, and attracted Plato's notice (*Cratylus* 434 c), but it is not Boeotian either (*Meister* i. p. 151). Herodian, however, attributed it to "Aeolians,"

and it is found in Thessaly (*ib.* p. 300) and is frequent in Elis (where however it is final, while Eretrian rhotacism is usually medial).



for the smaller hymns, though less cogent, since they assume the homogeneity of the poems, are a guarantee of their age on the whole, and compared with the ratios of the later epics,<sup>1</sup> give them a place in the classical period; a conclusion agreeing with their style and the imitations in tragedy and comedy collected by Adami *l.c.*

These hymns, with a few exceptions, have no close analogies in later poetry: they do not resemble the *Batrachomyomachia* nor the fourth-century parodies; they are simpler than the learned and artificial hymns of the Alexandrians; they are superior to the later official hymns found at Delphi; and, finally, they are far removed from the tone of the Orphic and Proclan hymns. The argument from style is strongly supported by the external evidence that a scholiast on Pindar quotes one hymn (xvi.) as "Homeric."

But although the great majority of the minor hymns seem to belong to the end of the genuine epic period, a few are evidently later. The *Hymn to Pan* can hardly be older than the fifth century; the *Hymns to Helios* and *Selene* appear to be Alexandrine (see *Intro.* xxxi.); and the *Hymn to Ares*, anomalous in the collection, may date from any part of the period of Orphic influence (see *ante*, p. xl n. 3).

## VII.—EDITIONS, ETC.

The editio princeps of 1488, its sources and its contribution to the text of the author, have been described *ante*, p. xxxii. The *Hymns* were printed with the rest of the Homeric corpus in the editions of Aldus (1504, etc.) and Giunta (1537). No new material was collected for these editions, and alterations in the text were merely clerical. The Aldine corrected *h. Ap.* 244 ἄδε, *h. Aphr.* 31 an accent. The *Hymns* were first translated by Georgius Dartona, in the Latin version of the *Odyssey* published by Andreas Divus of Constantinople, at Venice in 1537 (Matthiae *Animad.* xii. f.).<sup>2</sup> Henri Estienne included the *Hymns* in his great edition of the *Poetae Graeci principes heroici carminis*,

<sup>1</sup> See Flach *B. B.* ii. 44 f.

<sup>2</sup> See also Legrand *Bibliographie Hellénique* iii. 367.



1567, and on pp. xxvi., xxvii., printed the first notes on them. A certain number of quasi-clerical corrections are due to him (the best are *h. Ap.* 313 ποιήσατο for ἐποιήσατο, xix. 2 πίση for πίσση, xxv. 1 ἄρχωμαι for ἄρχομαι). A few bolder alterations which he makes are unacceptable, though πὰρ for ἄρα *h. Aphr.* 173 was for a time received and believed to be the reading of a Paris ms. One correction, however, is brilliant, and anticipates modern philology, λόν for λούον *h. Ap.* 120. The lawyer who goes by the name of Giphanius (van Giffen) may be quoted for his attempt to insert δ' after ὦση *h. Ap.* 73; his edition of Homer came out at Strassburg in 1572. The first scholar who seriously and with success applied his skill to the dark places of the *Hymns* was an avocat of Dijon, Bernard Martin (1574–1639) in his *Variarum lectionum libri quattuor Parisiis apud Petrum Chevalier*, 1605. This rare book (of which neither the Bodleian nor the British Museum possesses a copy) was reprinted “cura Diederici van der Kemp, Trajecti ad Rhenum,” in 1755. Particulars of Martin's life will be found in the preface, and in the local authorities quoted in the article upon him in the *Nouvelle Biographie générale*. He left his library to the Jesuits of Dijon, in whose house his portrait was to be seen in van der Kemp's time. His fame rests upon the brilliant emendations δς τότ' ἐπαντιάσει for οὐ τότ' ἐπαντία σείο *h. Ap.* 152, μνωόμενος for ἀνωόμενος *ib.* 209, ἐγρήσσων ἐτέον τε for ἄγρης· εἰνετέον τε *h. Herm.* 242, φεύγουσα for φθέγγουσα (confirmed by M) *ib.* 486, στόμα χείσεται for στονα χήσεται *h. Aphr.* 252, Μέλητος for μελήτης *h.* ix. 3. His other conjectures, though less certain, are remarkable: *h. Ap.* 121 χερσὶ πορέξατο for χερσὶν ἐπήρξατο, 165 a lacuna between this v. and 166, 209 ὥς ποτ' for ὅπποσ', *ib.* Ἀξανίδα or Ἀβαντίδα for Ἀξαντίδα, 371 ἱερὸν for ἕμερον, *h. Herm.* 86 φῶς for ὥς, 87 κομέων for δέμων, 241 στῆ or βῆ or ὥς for δῆ, 410 λύνοντο for φύοντο, 412 οἶα τι for ρεῖά τε, 415 πύκν' for πῦρ (accepted till recently), 412 transposed after 415, 427 αἰνέοντ' or ὑμνέοντ' for κραίνων, 471 ὁμφάς for ὁμφῆς, 473 ἐγὼ παῖς σ' ὀξύνοον for ἔγωγε παῖδ' ἀφνειόν, 497 ἐκόν for ἔχων, 498 ἐπέτειλεν for ἐπέτελλεν, 524 ἐπὶ ρυθμῷ φιλότητος for ἐπ' ἀρθμῷ καὶ φιλότητι, *h. Aphr.* 254 ὀνομαστὸν for ὀνοτατὸν (accepted in every edition but Clarke's), xix. 6 αἰχμήενθ' for αὐχμήενθ', 14 ἔξαγεν or ἔκλασεν οἶας for ἔκλαγεν οἶον, 12



αἰγιλέοντα for ἀργινόεντα, 38 ἀναίξασα<sup>1</sup> λίπεν for ἀναίξας  
λείπεν, xxii. 3 Ἑλίκην τε for Ἑλικῶνα (often accepted), xxi.  
alters the title to εἰς Ἑστίαν καὶ Ἑρμῆν, transposes v. 9 after  
v. 11 (usually accepted), 5 εἰλαπίναι θνητοῖς· σοὶ δὲ for εἰλ.  
θνητοῖσιν ἔν' οὐ, 12 νεοῖς for νόῳ. The courage implied  
in attacking so many of the worst passages, and the very  
considerable measure of success, with no suggestion from  
variants or commentaries, give Martin's achievement a very  
high place.

The seventeenth century neglected the *Hymns*, and it is  
not till 1711 that we come to the edition of Joshua Barnes  
at Cambridge. It is unnecessary to characterise this remarkable  
book. With all its faults it held the field as a text till the  
time of Wolf (1807), and the next English edition (Samuel  
Clarke 1740) was almost a reprint. Barnes' chief merit is  
probably his collection of Homeric parallels, which have since  
played so great a part in the study of these documents. His  
best conjectures are his divination of φή in δή *Hermes* 241  
(repeated by Hermann and confirmed by y's θή), μεγάλου Κόλοιο  
for μεγάλοιο Κρόνοιο *h. Ap.* 62, τεθνωμένα for τεθνώδεα *ib.* 184,  
and particularly ὕλη for ὕλην *ib.* 228. His extraordinary Latin  
renderings, however, exposed him to the just ridicule of Jacques  
Philippe D'Orville (1696–1751) the well-known collector,  
dilettante, and scholar; a selection of D'Orville's comments and  
conjectures upon the *Hymns* was published in the *Journal of*  
*Philology* xxv. 250 f. Some of his conjectures anticipate later  
scholars (*h. Ap.* 142 ἀν for αὐ, *h. Herm.* 497 ἔχειν for ἔχων, xix.  
18 ἐπιπροιείσα for ἐπιπροχέουσα) and in one case are confirmed  
by M (*h. Ap.* 211, *tutius etiam legatur* ἄμ' ἐρεχθεῖ, for ἐρευθεῖ).  
He alludes to the *Hymns* also in his *Critica Vannus* 1737.  
Another object of D'Orville's lash was Michel Maittaire, known  
as an early dialectologist, who published the *hymn to Apollo* as  
part of his *Miscellanea Graecorum aliquot Scriptorum Carmina*  
*cum Versione Latina et Notis* London 1722. He first wished  
to take βεβλήσται *h. Ap.* 20 as a singular. Samuel Clarke's  
edition (1740) was, as we said above, almost a re-issue of Barnes's,  
as Ernesti's (1759 f.) was of Clarke's. ὀνοταστὸν for ὀνότατον  
*h. Aphr.* 254 is its most conspicuous novelty. In the learned  
*Verisimilium libri duo* of Joannes Pierson, Lugd. Bat. 1752

<sup>1</sup> ἀναίστασα in the ed. of 1755 is presumably a misprint.



there are several good things. ἀβλαύτοις was for many years read after his conjecture for ἀβλαβέως *h. Herm.* 83; ἄγρης is certain for ἄκρης *xix.* 15.

Down to this period ever since 1488 no single manuscript of the *Hymns* had been collated. During the three centuries scholars accomplished what they did without the suggestion of variants. It is singular that D'Orville, an industrious collector in other provinces, who travelled in Italy, visited Milan and Florence, and catalogued the Biblioteca Estense where E was lying, should have copied down no various readings. The modern and scientific study of the *Hymns* begins with the great Dutchman David Ruhnken, who, in his *Epistola critica* to Valckenär (1749), published the readings of two "MSS. Regii" (the actual Paris MSS. grec 2763 = A, and 2833 = C). This book was the work of Ruhnken's youth, and it produced no immediate follower. When, however, thirty years afterwards the Moscow MS. fell into his hands, Ruhnken republished his *Epistola critica* together with a text of the new poem (1782). This discovery fairly launched the *Hymns*; there followed in succession the works of Mitscherlich (*Hymn to Demeter* alone, 1787), Ilgen (1796), A. Matthiae (*Animadversiones* 1800, edition 1805), Hermann (1806), Voss (*Demeter* only, 1826), Franke (1828). Wolf's text (1807) and Bothe's text with notes (1835) are occasionally quoted. It is unnecessary to analyse these commentaries in detail. Ilgen accumulated parallels, Matthiae contributed new ideas and acute emendations (nearly all of which have at last been removed from the text), Hermann principally grammar and a theory of the formation of the text, Franke's small book summed up this period with judgment and impartiality. In the other books a certain opposition is noticeable; Matthiae harked back to Ruhnken, while Hermann championed Ilgen.

Still with all the advance in criticism and the collection of illustrations achieved by these publications, the collation of MSS. had only increased by one Paris MS. (no. 2765 = B), examined together with Ruhnken's pair by Coray (Matthiae *Animadver.* p. ix–xi). The next and last period of investigation should have been introduced by Schneidewin (from whom we actually have some work on the *Hymns to Apollo* and *Hermes*; *v.* Baumeister p. 92). His incomplete edition was taken up by Baumeister in the well-known book (1860) which for so long



has been the principal authority for these documents. At this time the critical material before the world was the textus receptus, M, and ABC. Baumeister re-introduced the family from which Demetrius, unknown to mankind, had originally drawn. Schneidewin had obtained from Keil collations of D and of L, and information of the existence of P, G, and Q (*ed.* pp. 93, 94). The discovery of L turned attention to the *x* family, and between 1860 and 1886, the date of Abel's and Gemoll's editions, there had been collated by various hands the mss. D, E, G, L<sub>2</sub>, P, R<sub>1</sub>, R<sub>2</sub>, N, V (Abel *præf.* p. xiii, Gemoll p. vi, Hollander *op. citando* p. 3, 4). The *x* family, perhaps as the newest, dethroned M from the position it had held since its discovery, and the question was only whether E or L were the better representative of *x*. The claims of M were re-introduced and temperately weighed by Dr. H. Hollander in his treatise *die handschriftliche Ueberlieferung der hom. Hymnen* Leipzig 1886, which definitely settled the relation of the mss. All these mss., with the addition of O, II, Γ, S, L<sub>3</sub>, H, J, K, and Mon., were collated for the edition of Alfred Goodwin, Oxford 1893. Since that date there have been added T, At, R<sub>3</sub>, and L<sub>4</sub>.

Subsequent literature is noticed in the commentary. It is sufficient to mention the text of E. Abel, Prag 1886, the text and commentary of Albert Gemoll, Leipzig 1886, the separate editions of the *Hymn to Demeter* by Bücheler 1869 and V. Puntoni 1896, and of that to *Hermes* by Arthur Ludwich 1890, and the English translations of the *Hymns* by J. Edgar, 1891, and Andrew Lang, 1899, the latter with a discussion on many points in connexion with the folklore of the poems. By the "Oxford text" is meant *Homeri opera ed. D. B. Monro, Oxonii* 1896.



## I

## HYMN TO DIONYSUS

THE loss of one quire and a leaf in M, and probably of more in its archetype (p. xv), has deprived us of all but the last twelve verses of this hymn. The lines quoted by Diodorus, which were first connected with the hymn by Ruhnken, came apparently from the beginning; there is no reason to doubt, with Baumeister, the connexion of the two fragments. Another line is perhaps preserved by Athenaeus 653 B Κράτης ἐν δευτέρῳ Ἀπτικῆς διαλέκτου ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις τοῖς ἀρχαίοις φάσκων ἀντὶ τοῦ βότρυος τὴν σταφυλὴν κείσθαι διὰ τούτου

αὐτῇσι σταφυλῇσι μελαίνῃσιν κομόωντες

(p. 65 Wachsmuth). On the source of the quotation in the scholia to Apollonius *Arg.* B 1211 see p. lxix.

*Date.*—From its position in M it is probable that this was a long hymn, on the scale of those to Dem., Apoll., Hermes and Aphr. Otherwise, plainly, it would have been placed among the short preludes. Space is allowed for a hymn of such size by the probable loss of much matter in the archetype of M (see p. xv).

There is hence the presumption that in age it was equal to the four greater hymns. Diodorus attributed it to Homer (iv. 2 καὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον δὲ τούτοις μαρτυρῆσαι ἐν τοῖς ὕμνοις). The other hymn to Dionysus in the collection (vii) is in a different style, and comparisons between the two are not helpful; but it is probable that the seventh hymn is later, and that its composer borrowed the concluding formula οὐδέ πῃ ἔστι from 18, 19. There is nothing, either mythological or linguistic, in the fragments of this hymn which suggests a late period.



That there were various hymns to Dionysus, of this class, may be inferred from Menander *περὶ ἐπιδεικτ.* ch. 6 (Walz *Rh. Gr.* ix. p. 144) *φασὶν . . . ὅτι καὶ χωρὶς τῶν γενεαλογικῶν εἴησάν τινες μυθικοὶ ὕμνοι, οἷον ὅτι Διόνυσος Ἰκαρίῳ ἐπεξενώθη.*



## ΤΜΝΟΙ ΟΜΗΡΙΚΟΙ

### I

#### FRAGMENTA HYMNI IN BACCHUM

οἱ μὲν γὰρ Δρακάνῳ σ' οἱ δ' Ἰκάρῳ ἡνεμόσση  
φάσ', οἱ δ' ἐν Νάξῳ, δῖον γένος, εἰραφιῶτα,

1-9 cit. Diodorus Siculus iii. 66. 3; 8, 9 solos Diodorus i. 15. 7, iv. 2. 4, schol. Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1211

1. **Δρακάνῳ**: this is usually supposed to be the promontory in the island of Icaros (Strabo xiv. 639, Paus. ix. 11. 2). Hermann and others therefore hold that Ἰκάρῳ could not refer to the island, as the whole would include the part. But, although there were several other places of the name (Pliny *N. H.* iv. 23, Steph. Byz. s.v.), Icaros is here undoubtedly the island near Samos. The poet might mean "either on Dracanon or (elsewhere) in Icaros." But Maass (*Hermes* xxvi. 1891, p. 178 f.) is probably right in identifying Dracanon with a cape of the same name in Cos, an island which had some connexion with Dionysus. For this cape see Strabo 657, where it is spelt *Δρέκανον* (other variations are *Δράκονον*, *Δρακάνιον*, *Δράκανος*; the forms in *a* and *e* are equally sound, being perhaps from *√δρακ*, *√δρεκ*, in *δέρκομαι*, *ἐδρακον*). The Dracanon in Theocr. xxvi. 33, Nonn. *Dion.* ix. 16 (mentioned as the birthplace) is also to be taken as in Cos; so also *Anth. Pal.* vii. 651. 3 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν Δολίχης τε καὶ αἰπυνῆς Δρακάνοιο | Ἰκάριον ῥήσσει κύμα περὶ κροκάλας, where, as in the hymn, the promontory is mentioned as separate from the island (Doliche is the old name of Icaros, Apollod. ii. 6. 3).

2. **Νάξῳ**: see Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> 676 f. **εἰραφιῶτα**: for the form cf. *σπαργαμιῶτα* *h. Herm.* 310, *μηχανιῶτα* 436, *χαριδῶτα* *h. xviii.* 12, *ὕλειῶτα* *Anth. Pal.* vi. 106. Some exx. are quoted by Fick *B. B.* xx. 179. The derivation and meaning of the epithet have only lately been made out. The ancients offer a choice of etymologies (schol. A 39 *παρὰ τὸ ἐρέφω*, *ὅθεν καὶ εἰραφιῶτης ὁ Διόνυσος λέγεται* · ἐστέφετο γὰρ κισσῷ · ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρράφθαι αὐτὸν τῷ μηρῷ τοῦ Διός. ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἐρίφω αὐτὸν συνανατραφῆναι · ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἐρίφω αὐτὸν πλέκεσθαι · cf. *E. M.* 302, 53, Choeroboscus ap. Cramer *An. Ox.* ii. p. 211, 32). The sense of the word in literature is that of *μηρορραφῆς* (Eur. *Bacchae* 96, Nonnus *Dion.* ix. 23, Orph. *h.* xlviii. 2 f., *h. anon.* 1 = Abel p. 284). Fick *l.c.* reverts but without probability to *ειρος* *εἶρος* wool, in the sense of the shaggy animal, sc. goat; Wieseler (*Philol.* x. 701) takes the word as equivalent to *ἐρίφιος*, the title of Dionysus (to whom kids were sacred) preserved by Hesych. and Steph. B. The derivation however which has found most favour is that of Sonne *K. Z.* x. 103, cf. Sanscrit *ṛshabha* a bull (see Neil ap. Frazer *G. B.* ii. 164 where the bull-Dionysus is discussed; Fröhde *B. B.* 21. 199, who adds *ἐρραος*



οἱ δέ σ' ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ ποταμῷ βαθυδινηέντι  
 κυσαμένην Σεμέλην τεκέειν Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ,  
 ἄλλοι δ' ἐν Θήβησιν, ἄναξ, σε λέγουσι γενέσθαι,  
 ψευδόμενοι· σέ δ' ἔτικτε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε  
 πολλὸν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, κρύπτων λευκώλενον Ἥρην.  
 ἔστι δέ τις Νύση, ὕπατον ὄρος, ἀνθέον ὕλη,  
 τηλοῦ Φοινίκης, σχεδὸν Αἰγύπτιοι ρόαων.

\* \* \* \* \*

καὶ οἱ ἀναστήσουσιν ἀγάλματα πόλλ' ἐνὶ νηοῖς.  
 ὥς δὲ τάμεν τρία σοι πάντως, τριετηρίσιν αἰεὶ

4 om. Diodori codd. praeter tres 8. ἔστι δὲ τῆς νύσης, ἄβατον ὄρος Diodori  
 iii. 66. 3 codd. praeter tres || ὄρος] κέρας scholiasta Apollonii 10 inc. cod.  
 Mosquensis fol. xxxi. rect. 11. ὥς δέ, τὰ μὲν τρίασι πάντως M : τάμεν nos

ram; Prellwitz *ib.* 22, 99; Meillet *I. F.* v. 328 who adduces ἀρρεῖος and Lat. *verres* and thinks the original sense was "male"; Solmsen *ib.* vii. 46 sq. comparing Laconian *εἰρην*, and the Macedonian proper name Ἀρραβαῖος). We have the Aeolic form in Alcman *fr.* 90 *ἐρραφεῶτον γὰρ ἀναξ*.

3. ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ ποταμῷ: the cult of D. in Elis was important; for references see Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 692 and 695.

4. On the derivation of the words Semele and Dionysus see Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 660 and 664; Kretschmer *Aus d. Anomia*, 1890, 17 f.; Fröhde *B. B.* xxi. p. 185 f., Harrison *Prolegomena* p. 404 f.

τερπικεραύνῳ: the epithet is chosen (according to Adami *de poet. scenicis* p. 243) to suggest the circumstances of the birth; cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 90 *λυποῦσ' αἰῶνα κεραυνῷ πλαγᾷ*. So Nonn. *Dion.* viii. 319 *νυμφίε τερπικέραυνε*.

5. ἐν Θήβησιν: the common tradition of the birth at Thebes is followed in the Delphic paeon (*B. C. H.* xix. p. 393 f., Smyth *Greek Melic Poets* p. 524) *ὃν Θήβαις ποτ' ἐν εὐλαίς Τη[ν] γέλιντο] καλλίπαις Θυῶνα*.

7. κρύπτων: Adami compares Eur. *Bacch.* 98 *κρυπτόν ἀφ' Ἥρας*, and Orph. *h.* xxx. 3, *lii.* 5.

8. Νύχη: the place was perhaps originally mythical, and invented to account for the name Dionysus (so Kretschmer *l.c.*); afterwards it was localised in various parts of the Greek and barbarian world. The Nysa of the hymn may be in Arabia (Diod. iii. 65 and 66 quoting Antimachus *fr.* 70 Kinkel). It might, however, be the Ethiopian

Nysa (Herod. ii. 146, iii. 97); it would be needless to suppose that in this case Dionysus was identified with Osiris. On Nysa see Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 663, Maass *Hermes* xxvi. p. 184, Roscher *Lex.* i. 1029 f., Harrison *Prolegomena* p. 379.

ὑπατον ὄρος: the reading *ὄρος*, of Diodorus, is supported by *h. Ap.* 139 *ῥιον οὐρεος ἀνθεσιν ὕλης*. It would also preserve a rare case of *ὄρος* digammated: *H. G.* § 393. Wesseling conjectures that *κέρας* was derived from Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 282 *ἔστι δέ τις ποταμὸς ὑπατον κέρας Ὀκεανοῖο*; but see p. xlix. Gemoll, on the other hand, prefers *κέρας*; it is used for a peak (German *horn*) in Xen. *An.* v. 6. 7. Cf. *ὑψικέρατα πέτραν* Arist. *Nub.* 597 (Pind. *fr.* 285), *ὄρη δύο ἀκαλοῦσι κέρατα* Strabo 395.

10. οἱ: this, as Hermann saw, must refer to Semele.

ἀγάλματα: votive offerings generally, for *ἀναθήματα*, as in early inscriptions (Herod. v. 60, 61, Paus. x. 7. 3, of tripods); the statue of Chares was *ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος*; see Roberts *Épigr.* i. 7 and 138. The word might include the early temple images or *ξάνα*; but, unless the hymn belongs to an age at least as late as the sixth century B.C., *ἀγάλματα* cannot refer to votive statues, the most archaic of which are not older than the beginning of the century.

11. ὥς δὲ τάμεν: *τὰ μὲν* is unintelligible owing to the loss of the context. Hermann renders *ut haec numero tria sunt*, and supposes that three things had been mentioned, though he does not suggest what the "three things" may be. It is possible



ἄνθρωποι ῥέξουσιν τελεήσας ἑκατόμβας.  
 ἢ καὶ κυανέησιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσιν νεῦσε Κρονίων·  
 ἀμβρόσια δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος  
 κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὀλυμπον. 15  
 ὧς εἰπὼν ἐπένευσε καρήατι μητίετα Ζεὺς.  
 Ἴλθθ', εἰραφιῶτα, γυναιμανές· οἱ δέ σ' αἰδοῖοι  
 ἄδομεν ἀρχόμενοι λήγοντές τ', οὐδέ πῃ ἔστι

12. lacunam post h. v. stat. Matthiae

16. ἐκέλευσε M: corr. Ruhnken

17. ὕλας' M: corr. Hermann: ὕλασι Ruhnken

that they were three titles of Dionysus; cf. Nonn. *Dion.* xlviii. 965 f. καὶ τριτάτῳ νέον ὕμνον ἐπεσμαράγησαν Ἰάκχῳ | καὶ τελεταῖς τρισσῶσιν ἐβακχεύθησαν Ἀθήναι | . . . Ζαγρέα κυδαίνοντες ἄμα Βρομίῳ καὶ Ἰάκχῳ. But the sense "as these things are three" can scarcely be extracted from the Greek: even if ἐστὶ be supplied, the μέν is meaningless. In the Oxford text τάμεν (which might stand either for ἐτάμην, an aor. pass., for which cf. ταμείη below, or ἔταμεν) was substituted. For the graphical change examples are superfluous, though τὸ μή, τομῇ may be quoted as a coincidence (Hipp. *Acut.* 22). This would give a verb and eliminate μέν, but the meaning of the passage would still remain obscure. It is obvious, however, to suggest that there is an allusion to the violent death of Dionysus-Zagreus. The myth, though chiefly mentioned in late authors, was known at least as early as the sixth century B.C. (first in Onomacritus; see Lobeck *Aglaoph.* ii. p. 615 f.; for references see Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 705 f., Maass *Orpheus* p. 79 f., Frazer *G. B.* ii. p. 161 f.). For the cutting in this connexion cf. Opp. *Ven.* iv. 281 μελίσσι τάμεν, of lambs, Nonn. vi. 205 Διόνυσον ἐμιστόλλοντο μαχαίρῃ, and the frag. upon Dionysus in the *Album gratulatorium* to Herwerden, 1902, p. 137 = *Pap. Mus. Brit.* 273 v. 45; Deriades the enemy of Dionysus says αἱ γὰρ δὴ μελίσσι διὰ κρέα σείο τα[μείη]. There is, however, no authority for the hypothesis that he was torn into three pieces; and finally we should expect either ἔταμέν σε τρία or ἐτάμης τρία, as in Dem. *Symm.* 17 ἐκάστην διελεῖν κελεύω πέντε μέρη and Theocr. ix. 26 πέντε ταμῶν (κρέας) "cutting it into five parts," and other exx. ap. Kühner-Gerth § 411. 5. Possibly the meaning may be "as three victims were offered," i.e. τρία σφάγια for this sense

of τέμνω cf. T 197 (κάπρον) ταμείην Διὶ τ' Ἑελίῳ τε, Eur. *Supp.* 1196 τέμνειν σφάγια. This would refer to the common τριτὺς or τριτῦα; which, however, was not specially connected with Dionysus.

The emendation is therefore uncertain, and the passage waits for further light. It is also doubtful whether the main clause begins after τρία or πάντως.

**ΤΡΙΕΤΗΡΙΣΜΟΣ:** on the trietēris see Eur. *Bacch.* 132, Schömann *Griech. Alterth.* ii. p. 523 f. The reckoning of years being inclusive, it was a biennial festival according to modern computation. Diodorus (iii. 65, iv. 3) derives the trietēris from Dionysus' years of disappearance and his biennial return; see Rohde *Psyche* p. 304; so *Orph. h.* liii. 4 κοιμίζει τριετήρα χρόνον; Nonnus (quoted above) gives another explanation. For modern theories see Frazer *G. B.* ii. p. 163, Schömann *op. cit.* p. 460 n. 2. There were trietērides in many parts of Greece; e.g. Thebes, Tanagra, Delphi, Argos, etc. (Schömann p. 526).

13 f. There appear to be two alternative versions, 13-15 and 16; but the similarity largely depends upon the alteration of ἐκέλευσε (16) into ἐπένευσε. See p. xliii.

17. ὕλας': the only Homeric form of the imperative. ὕλασι (Theocr. xv. 143) has a short. Moreover, εἰραφιῶτα nowhere shows signs of a digamma. For M's mistake cf. 19 ἐπιλαθόμενον. Both forms occur in *Anth. Pal.* xii. 158 ὕλας' ἀναξ Ἰλθθι.

**ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΝΕΣ:** of Dionysus Nonn. *Dion.* xvi. 229, 252; so *θηλυμανής id.* xvii. 184, xxxvi. 469. For the prominence of the female cult of Dionysus see Bachofen *das Mutterrecht* p. 231 f.

18. ΛΙΓΟΝΤΕΣ τ': for the vowel lengthened by position in this place see on *h. Dem.* 269.



σεῖ' ἐπιληθομένῳ ἱερῆς μεμνήσθαι ἀοιδῆς.  
καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, Διώνυσ' εἰραφιῶτα,  
σὺν μητρὶ Σεμέλῃ, ἣν περ καλέουσι Θυώνην.

20

19. ἐπιλαθόμενοι M: correximus: ἐπιληθόμενον Ruhnken cl. vii. 59

19. M's ἐπιλαθόμενοι points to the dative ἐπιληθομένῳ. The same error is clearly found in Ψ 767 νίκης ἱεμένῳ, where many mss. have ἱέμενοι. The permutation  $\omega = \iota$  is recognised by the schol. on Eur. *Phoen.* 682 (who refers it to the change of alphabet at Athens in the archonship of Euclides); the mss. there read σοὶ νιν ἐκγονοί, which the scholiast corrects to σῶ νιν ἐκγόνῳ. For another case cf. Arist. *Rhet.* iii. 1405 A 13, and for the variation in inscriptions Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> 24 n. 128.

For the construction cf. E 253, Z 529

(ἐλάσασιν G), O 58, Φ 185, where the variant is ancient (κατὰ δοτικὴν αἰ 'Ἀριστάρχου with most mss.), X 110 (αὐτῷ most mss.), Eur. *Or.* 779, 1657. Ruhnken took the accusative from h. vii. 59 σείῳ γε ληθόμενον.

21. ΘΥΩΝΗΝ: the divine counterpart of the Maenads (cf. θύειν, Θυιάδες). Hesych. Θυωνίδας. ὁ Διώνυσος παρὰ Ῥοδίοις. For a festival Θυῖα in Elis cf. Paus. vi. 26. 1. Thyone is the mother of Dionysus in the Delphic paeon (quoted on 5); for other references see Roscher 1047.



## II

# HYMN TO DEMETER

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*Subject.*—Persephone, while gathering flowers on the Nysian plain, is carried off by Hades, with the connivance of Zeus. Her cry reaches the ears of Hecate and Helios; Demeter, too, hears her voice, but does not see the rape, or know the name of the ravisher. Distracted with grief, the mother wanders for days seeking news of her daughter. She meets Hecate, who does not know that Hades has done the deed; but the two goddesses go together in quest of Helios, from whom they learn the truth.



Then Demeter, angry with Zeus, leaves Olympus and visits the earth in the guise of an old woman. Reaching Eleusis, she meets the daughters of King Celeus, and is engaged to nurse their brother Demophon. She would make the child immortal, but is thwarted by the curiosity of his mother Metanira. She reveals herself to the Eleusinians, commands them to build her a temple, and departs from Eleusis. But she is still wrathful with the gods, and causes a great dearth, so that mankind is in danger of perishing from famine. So Zeus sends Hermes to bring back Persephone from the underworld. Hades, however, has given the maiden a pomegranate seed to eat, which binds her to him; and Demeter, after a joyful meeting with her daughter, tells her that she must now stay with Hades for a third part of every year. The wrath of Demeter is now appeased; she makes the fruits of the earth to grow again, and instructs the chiefs of Eleusis in the performance of her rites, the knowledge of which is necessary for the happiness of men in the nether world.

The Rape and Return of Persephone is a favourite theme in classical poetry. The version of Pamphos is several times mentioned by Pausanias (see on 8, 99, 101); it seems to have been essentially similar to the Homeric hymn, though differing in details, perhaps owing to Athenian influence. Pindar devoted an ode to the subject (Paus. ix. 23. 2), and Euripides tells the story in a choral song (*Hel.* 1301–1368). There are references to it in Alexandrian literature (Callim. *h. Dem.* vi., Nicand. *Ther.* 483–487), and in Nonnus (*Dion.* vi. 1–168) and the Orphic *Argonautica* (1197–1201). It was especially popular with the Roman poets: Ovid has two accounts in full (*Fast.* iv. 419–616, *Met.* 385–661); Statius alludes to the myth (*Achill.* ii. 149–151), and Claudian composed a whole epic *de raptu Proserpinae*.<sup>1</sup>

The distinctive features of various ancient poems concerned with Demeter generally, and the rape of Persephone in particular, have been analysed by Pater in his *Greek Studies*. He pays a warm tribute to the merits of the hymn to Demeter, noting especially its pathetic expression and descriptive beauty. Many readers of the hymn will agree with Prof. Mahaffy (*Greek Class.*

<sup>1</sup> For a complete list of full accounts of the myth, or shorter allusions, both in poetry and prose, see Förster *der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone* (1874), pp. 29–98. The list includes Hesiod

(*Theog.* 913–914), Archilochus, Lasus, Sophocles (*Triptolemus*), Panyasis, Pherecydes, among early poets. For prose cf. especially Diod. v. 3–5.



*Lit.* i. p. 151) in calling it "far the noblest" of the collection. Foreign critics, as a rule, are less favourable; some of the German commentators, and recently Puntoni, among the Italians, have been so much occupied in dissecting the hymn into parts that they appear to have had no time to appreciate its excellence as a whole.<sup>1</sup>

*Relation of the hymn to the Mysteries.*—Great as is the poetical value of the hymn, perhaps its chief interest lies in the fact that it is the most ancient and the most complete document bearing on the Eleusinian mysteries. There is nothing esoteric or official in its tone; the writer was not a priest, but a poet, whose primary object was to describe, in fitting language, the pathetic and beautiful story of Demeter and Persephone. But he was an orthodox believer, who had undoubtedly been initiated; and he was at pains to prove that the rites observed at Eleusis were derived from the actual experiences of the divine founders of the mysteries. We can thus reconstruct from his narrative a picture, more or less complete, of the early Eleusinian ritual at a period anterior to the intrusion of Bacchic and Orphic elements. Thanks to the work of Mannhardt and Frazer, much light has now been thrown on the primitive meaning of this ritual—a meaning which had become obscured, if not altogether lost, by the time of the hymn itself.

It seems probable that the early Eleusinian ceremonies were purely agrarian<sup>2</sup>: the corn was worshipped under two forms—the ripe ear or Corn-Mother (Deo, Demeter), and the new blade or Corn-Maiden (Core).<sup>3</sup> When the time of sowing was past and the Maiden was underground, it was thought necessary to propitiate the Mother, or rather, perhaps, to influence her by sympathetic magic, in order to secure the reappearance of the Maiden. Hence the Eleusinians prepared themselves by various acts of ritual to hold communion with the Corn-goddess. During the period of preparation (κάθαρσις), the adults fasted (cf. 49),

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Jevons' account of the primitive rites at Eleusis is here followed in the main outlines (*op. cit.* p. 365 f.); see also Lenormant, p. 852.

<sup>3</sup> See Mannhardt *Myth. Forsch.* p. 224 f., Frazer *G. B.* ii. p. 168 f. On the duplication of Demeter and Persephone see especially *G. B.* ii. p. 218 f. This view explains the relation between

Demeter and Core at Eleusis more easily than the old theory that Demeter was the Earth. It is not denied, of course, that Demeter became an Earth-goddess, at an early period. For the meaning of the name see Prellwitz *Wiener Studien*, 1902, xxiv. p. 525, who concludes for "Mutter Da," Δα-ματηρ. Cf. also A. B. Cook *Class. Rev.* 1903, p. 176 f., Harrison *Proleg.* p. 271.



and perhaps abstained from bathing (50). To prevent a failure of the crops, complete purification was required, for their fields, their children, and themselves. They cleansed and fertilised the land by running over it with lighted torches (48). So also they purified their children by making them pass over the fire (239). The women, who in the earliest times seem to have been mainly, if not exclusively, concerned with these rites, held a *παννυχίς* or holy vigil (292). In order, probably, to unite themselves more closely with the goddess, her worshippers pelted one another with stones, until the blood flowed, an offering acceptable to Demeter, as to the gods of many peoples (265). Finally they broke their fast by partaking sacramentally of the body of the Corn-goddess, in the form of a *κυκεών*, or mixture of wheat and water (208).

The development of this primitive Eleusinian religion is a matter of speculation. The simple agrarian ritual may have remained unaltered for centuries; but it is plain that the ideas underlying the ceremonies must have been greatly changed before the age of the hymn. As has been already remarked, an elaborate myth had obscured the meaning of the ceremonies which it purported to explain. The mimetic ritual (to secure the renewal of the crops) had come to be thought a commemoration of the story of Persephone, whose loss and recovery was represented by a sacred play.<sup>1</sup> The old agricultural magic had been transformed into a Mystery, and the Maiden had become a great goddess of the underworld, with power to reward or punish mankind after death (see 480–482).

*Date of the hymn.*—These ideas of future happiness for the souls of the initiated are, of course, quite foreign to Homeric eschatology, and furnish a *terminus a quo* for the date of the hymn. And there are landmarks in the later history of the Eleusinian cult which supply us with a *terminus ante quem*. The hymn makes no mention of Iacchus, who played so important a part in the ritual of Eleusis, as known to us from the *Frogs* of Aristophanes.<sup>2</sup> It is true that arguments *ex silentio* are dangerous, and we cannot be sure that Iacchus was altogether absent from the mysteries when the hymn was composed. There may have

<sup>1</sup> Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* ii. p. 12. For details see Lenormant and Ramsay. Many such dramatic exhibitions were developed from magical ceremonies intended to secure the revival of vegeta-

tion; see Frazer *G. B.* i. p. 227 f., iii. p. 164 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Frogs* 316 f. See Rohde *Psyche* p. 261 f. who holds the view that Iacchus was introduced by the Athenians.



been a *δαίμων*, perhaps also known as Plutus (489), connected with the great goddesses from very early times (Lenormant p. 856; Dyer p. 174).<sup>1</sup> But we may safely conclude that Iacchus, who was either the brother of Persephone, or her son by Hades, was of little importance until a period subsequent to the age of the hymn (Gardner p. 385, after Lenormant). It follows that the hymn certainly preceded the introduction of Dionysiac rites at Eleusis, when Iacchus was identified with Dionysus (Bacchus). The procession of Iacchus from Athens to Eleusis was established by the time of the Persian war (Herod. viii. 65); Lenormant is therefore probably correct in assigning the commencement of Dionysiac influence to the first half of the sixth century B.C. The insignificance of Triptolemus and Eumolpus, who are merely two of the Eleusinian chiefs, is also a sign of antiquity (see 153). On these grounds the hymn appears to belong to a date at least not later than the beginning of that century; Lenormant himself (p. 852) assigns it to the end of the eighth or the beginning of the seventh century. Most scholars are substantially in agreement with the view that the hymn is the work of the seventh century; e.g. Förster (p. 39), who suggests the first half, and Duncker (*Griech. Gesch.* iii. ch. 14), who favours the middle of the century. So Francke (*de hymn. in Cer. compositione* etc., 1881), following Voss (between Hesiod and Solon).

We may therefore reject the theory of a later date, held by Baumeister (the period of the Pisistratids) and Fick (*B. B.* xvi. p. 27), who places the hymn between 540 and 504 B.C.

Linguistic evidence is inconclusive, but does not negative the theory of a seventh-century date. Gemoll (p. 279) quotes a number of forms (e.g. *ῥχοισιν*, *θυσίαισιν*, *κόρη*) and words (e.g. *ἀδικεῖν*, *τηρεῖν*) which are not Homeric, and which seem to him to belong to later Attic.<sup>2</sup> But we cannot arbitrarily fix a time for their first appearance; we can at most call them post-Homeric. For the evidence of the digamma see p. lxi f.

*Place of composition.*—Many critics, since Voss, have attributed the hymn to an Attic writer. If the word "Attic" is taken to imply "Athenian," there is little to be said for the view. The

<sup>1</sup> This *δαίμων* is not to be confused with the male god of the Eleusinian triad—Hades, Demeter, Core. See on 2. On such triads see Usener *Rhein. Mus.* 58 (1903) p. 1 f.

<sup>2</sup> For fuller lists see Gutschke *Quaest. de hymn. in Cer.* 1872, p. 19 f., Francke *op. cit.* p. 10 f.



Athenians are nowhere mentioned (the emendation introducing the name in 268 is now abandoned), and there is no hint of the famous procession from Athens to Eleusis. The mysteries appear to be still purely parochial. This silence about any Athenian interest seems to refute the conjecture of Preller (adopted by Baumeister) that the hymn was composed for recitation at the Panathenaea. It is highly probable, in fact, as has often been suggested, that at the time of composition Eleusis was still independent of Athens. Unfortunately the date of the political fusion of Eleusis with Athens is uncertain, although it was undoubtedly not later than Solon,<sup>1</sup> and probably took place at least a generation earlier. If this argument is sound, we have also a confirmation from history to support the theory of considerable antiquity for the hymn.

Although the claim for an Athenian origin seems to fail, there is reason to believe that the hymn is "Attic" in the broadest sense of the word, i.e. Eleusinian (Grote *Hist. Greece*, part ii. ch. 10, Förster, p. 24). The author was clearly familiar with the mythology and topography of Eleusis, and must have been initiated into the mysteries. In no early Greek document, perhaps, is "local colour" so clearly marked. The Eleusinian origin of the hymn has nevertheless been denied by various scholars, whose arguments, however, are not very cogent.<sup>2</sup> The principal objection is perhaps the fact that, in the hymn, the descent of Persephone to the underworld takes place at Nysa, whereas local tradition laid the scene at Eleusis itself.<sup>3</sup> But this tradition is mentioned by no authors earlier than Phanodemus and Pausanias (see on 17), and we need not suppose that it was primitive. When the Athenians became interested in the mysteries, they localised the scene in Attica itself (Schol. on Soph. *O. C.* 1590; see Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 759 n. 1); and this implies that there was no rigid and orthodox belief in a *κατά-βασις* at Eleusis.

<sup>1</sup> Jevons (p. 363) is not justified in inferring from Herod. i. 30 that Eleusis held out until the time of Solon. Ramsay (p. 128) suggests that the religious systems of Athens and Eleusis were largely consolidated by Solon.

<sup>2</sup> The language is of no help in determining the place of composition, although there appear to be a few Atticisms;

Francke shews that there are also words proper to Ionic, Aeolic, and even Doric (p. 25).

<sup>3</sup> See Maass *Orpheus* p. 178; his suggestion that the hymn belongs to North Greece has nothing to commend it. Fick (*B. B.* ix. p. 201) thinks that the author, if not an Athenian, was a Parian; the latter alternative has no probability.



*Influence of the hymn.*—Extant literature shews little or no trace of any imitation of the hymn. Callimachus may have known it, but there is practically no evidence to be extracted from his poem (see on 49 f.), and he differs from the Homeric version in some particulars (cf. on 200); see Gutsche *op. cit.* p. 28 f. Apollonius Rhodius may have adapted the episode of Demophon (237 f.) to his account of the childhood of Achilles; but there is nothing in the passage (Δ 869 f.) which may not be independent. Apollodorus, however, must have been acquainted with the hymn, as his own account of the myth (i. 5) is identical in its main outlines. He disagrees in some details: e.g. Demeter discovers the name of the ravisher from the men of Hermione, not from Helios; Demophon is consumed by the fire; the mission of Triptolemus is narrated. Apollodorus mentions Panyasis and Pherecydes as authorities for the genealogy of Triptolemus; he must therefore have collated their accounts, at least, with the Homeric hymn, and have adopted a composite version of the myth. Actual citations of the hymn appear in Philodemus (see on 440) and Pausanias, who mentions it in three places (i. 38. 2 f., ii. 14. 2, iv. 30. 3).

*Diction.*—In language, the poem is more closely connected with the hymn to Aphrodite than with any other in the collection (see *h. Aphr.* Intro. p. 198). The writer was evidently a close student of Hesiod; Francke (p. 11 f.) collects a large number of words and forms in the hymn, which are wanting in Homer, but occur in Hesiod. A passage containing the names of Ocean nymphs is borrowed from the *Theogony* (see on 417).

*Integrity of the hymn.*—There is no reason to suspect the presence of any interpolated passages; there is indeed no single line which may not have been original. The story moves in a simple and straightforward way from beginning to end, and all the episodes fall into their proper places. A summary of the various attempts to disintegrate the hymn (by Matthiae, Preller, Hermann, Wegener, and Bücheler) is given by Gemoll (p. 278), and need not be repeated here. The latest editor, Puntoni, while criticising the previous efforts of the "higher critics," has added a theory, no less unconvincing, to the number. He believes that the hymn as it stands is a fusion of two distinct poems, one of which narrated the rape of Persephone without alluding to Eleusis and the mysteries, while the other treated the mourning



of Demeter and the institution of the Eleusinian cult (p. 2, 111). Puntoni apportions the lines of the hymn between these two earlier poems and the additions of a later editor. The grounds for this elaborate and minute dissection are quite illusory; they consist mainly in the supposed unsatisfactory position held by Hecate, and in a number of grammatical and logical incongruities in the text. The most tangible of these are in 53 and 58. It appears unnecessary to refute Puntoni's long argument in detail; his method is inapplicable to early poetry, and perhaps to imaginative literature in any age; some of his objections betray a want of familiarity with epic usage, and even with Greek as a language.<sup>1</sup> The conclusion of Baumeister and Gemoll, that the hymn is practically untouched and uncontaminated, is adopted in the present edition.

<sup>1</sup> To give an example, we are told that *ἔπειτα* in 47 implies that Demeter made two journeys.



## II

### Εἰς Δημήτραν

Δήμητρ' ἡύκομον, σεμνήν θεόν, ἄρχομ' αἰεΐδειν,  
αὐτὴν ἡδὲ θύγατρα τανύσφυρον, ἣν Ἀἰδωνεύς  
ἥρπαξεν, δῶκεν δὲ βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς,  
νόςφιν Δημήτρος χρυσαόρου ἀγλαοκάρπου

TITULUS.—τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὕμνοι εἰς τὴν Δημήτραν litteris rubris M 1. Δημή-  
τηρ' M: corr. Ruhnken (cf. 315) || θεᾶν M: corr. Ruhnken (cf. 179, xiii. 1)  
4. χρυσοῦρόνου Ruhnken: ὠρηφόρου Bücheler

That no inference can be drawn from the plural ὕμνοι in the title (a misapprehension of Bücheler's, ed. p. 3) is plain from its appearance before the other hymns. It is to be read τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὕμνοι. εἰς τὴν δῆμητραν.

Δημήτραν is the form of the accusative in the title of h. xiii. in all mss. except J. It is a variant in Hes. *Theog.* 454 and Paus. ii. 14. 3, and is required by the metre in an epigram quoted by Paus. i. 37. 2 (Preger *Inscr. gr. metr.* 203. 2); so *orac.* ap. Euseb. *P. E.* v. 34 εἰς πάτρην φυγάδας κατάγων Δημήτραν ἀμήσευ.

1. θεόν: θεάν (M) in one syllable is perhaps not impossible; θεῶν and θεᾶς are common in *synizesi* in Hesiod and Tragedy; Rzach *Dialekt des H.* 375. Smyth (*Ionic* § 28) quotes *synizesis* in σάκκα, στήθεα, βέλεα etc. But the metre practically requires θεόν, and Voss's correction is confirmed by h. xiii. 1, where M again has θεάν, while the other mss. give θεόν.

2 f. The rape of Persephone by Hades points to an original *λεπὸς γάμος*, or annual holy marriage between a god and goddess of vegetation, instances of which are frequent in Greece and elsewhere; see Frazer *G. B.* i. p. 227 f., ii. p. 186 f., Harrison *Proleg.* p. 549 f. Here, as often, the marriage is by capture (*ib.* ii. p. 195 f.) The presence of Hades in the myth sug-

gests an early chthonian triad, Demeter, Core and Zeus Chthonius (Hades, Pluto); see references in Pauly-Wissowa 2754. But the relation of the male God to the two goddesses at Eleusis is uncertain. It may be noted that the *λεπὸς γάμος* was obscured before the period of the hymn; as Ramsay remarks (p. 127), the annual Theogamia had become a mere disagreeable episode in the life of the two goddesses.

2. Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 913 ἣν Ἀἰδωνεύς | ἥρπασεν ἥς παρὰ μητρός· ἔδωκε δὲ μητιέτα Ζεὺς. For the influence of Hesiod on the hymn see *Intro.* p. 13.

4. χρυσαόρου: Hermann thought that the epithet could only have been chosen by an interpolator. But Demeter is *ξίφηφόρος* in Lycophr. 153, where the schol. notes ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἵδρυται Δημήτηρ ξίφος ἔχουσα. Possibly the title may suggest that the goddess has won her land by the sword, and protects her agricultural worshippers (so Kern in Pauly-Wissowa 2749, comparing Callim. h. *Dem.* 137 φέρβε καὶ εἰράναν, ἔν' ὃς ἄρσσε τῆνος ἀμάση, and the name of the hero Triptolemus); but in any case there is little or no fixity of divine attributes in early literature; the golden sword is an epithet of Artemis in *orac.* ap. Herod. viii. 77. See further on h. *Ap.* 395; for the nominative form χρυσάορος, h. *Ap.* 123.



παίζουσαν κούρησι σὺν Ὀκεανοῦ βαθυκόλποις,  
 ἄνθεά τ' αἰνυμένην, ῥόδα καὶ κρόκον· ἡδ' ἴα καλὰ  
 λειμών', ἄμ μαλακὸν καὶ ὑγαλλίδας ἡδ' ὑάκινθον  
 νάρκισσόν θ', ὃν φῦσε δόλον καλυκώπιδι κούρη  
 Γαῖα Διὸς βουλῇσι χαριζομένη Πολυδέκτη,  
 θαυμαστὸν γανώνοντα· σέβας τό γε πᾶσιν ιδέσθαι

5

10

7. **Λειμῶνα μαλακὸν** M: corr. Hermann (ἄν Ruhnken) 8. **ἔφυσε** Ilgen,  
 cl. 428 10. **τότε** M: def. Puntoni: corr. Goodwin: **δέ τε** Wytttenbach:  
 δ' ὅγε Matthiae

5. **βαθυκόλποις**: see on *h. Aphr.* 257.

6 f. The *ἀνθολογία* of Persephone is a feature in most of the accounts of the rape. It may have been introduced as a natural girlish act, and so have no mythological importance; see parallels in Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 758 n. 2. On the other hand, flowers play a considerable part in ritual connected with deities of vegetation, so that the *ἀνθολογία* may be paralleled by festivals such as the *ἡροσ-ἀνθεια* (Hesych.), at which Peloponnesian women gathered flowers. There was an actual *ἀνθολογία* in the mysteries at Agra; see Svoronos p. 235.

6. **ἴα**: see on 8.

7. **ὑγαλλίδας**: Hesychius explains by *ὑάκινθος ἢ θρυαλλίς ἢ ἀναγαλλίς*. According to Murr *die Pflanzenwelt in d. griech. Myth.* p. 246 it is an iris.

**ὑάκινθον**: for the hyacinth (*hyacinthus orientalis*, Murr) in connexion with Demeter (Chthonia) see Paus. ii. 35. 5. Hyacinths are frequently mentioned among the flowers gathered by Proserpine; cf. *Ov. Fast.* iv. 437 f., *Met.* v. 392. Here, however, it is perhaps introduced simply as a common spring flower, as in *Ξ* 348 *κρόκον ἡδ' ὑάκινθον*, and often in later poetry, e.g. Mosch. i. 65 (a similar list of flowers in the rape of Europa), *h. Pan* 25.

8. **νάρκισσόν**: see on 12 and 428. The narcissus was the peculiar flower of the Great Goddesses; cf. *Soph. O. C.* 683, Hesych. *Δαμάτρινον ἄνθος ὁμοιον ναρκίσσω*. The origin of the connexion is perhaps uncertain; at all events we may doubt whether it was due to etymology (*νάρκη* the numbness of death), as some suppose (Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 760, *Pater Greek Studies* p. 103, 152). There may have been a later mystic explanation. The flower was certainly chthonian, being also sacred to the Eumenides (schol. *Soph. I. c.* from Euphor.

*fr.* 43, Düntzer). It was planted on graves (*Anth. Plan. App.* 120). The narcissus was specially mentioned by Pamphos in his version of the rape: Paus. ix. 31. *9 κόρην τὴν Δήμητρός φῆσιν ἀρπασθῆναι παίζουσαν καὶ ἄνθη συλλέγουσαν, ἀρπασθῆναι δὲ οὐκ τοῖς ἀπατηθείσαν ἀλλὰ ναρκίσσοις*. Pausanias' allusion to *ἴα* refers to the common tradition; Arist. *Aus. Mir.* 82, Diod. v. 3 (the Sicilian version), Förster p. 31. On the violet see Cook in *J. H. S.* xx. p. 1 f.; he compares Bacchyl. iii. 2, for its connexion with Persephone, which, however, is not very clearly marked, although in later times it was distinctly funereal. In the hymn, attention is drawn to the narcissus, not to the violet, which is only one among a number of flowers. Later poets generally include it in their list of flowers in the *ἀνθολογία*; cf. Nicand. *Georg. fr.* 74. 60 *ὑάκινθον ἰωνιάδας τε χαμηλὰς | ὀρφνοτέρας, ἃς στίξε μετ' ἄνθεσι Περσεφόνεια*; *Ov. Met.* v. 392 *aut violas aut candida lilia carpit*; Shakespeare *Winter's Tale* iv. 4. 116 f. *violets dim*.

**ὃν φῦσε δόλον**: cf. *Θ* 494 *ὃν ποτ' ἐς ἀκρόπολιν δόλον ἤγαγε. καλυκώπιδι*: this beautiful epithet is not found in Homer; cf. *h. Aphr.* 284, *h. Dem.* 420, and *Orph. h.* lxxix. 2.

9. **Πολυδέκτη**: so 404, 430 *Πολυδέγμων*. The idea of Hades as the "host of many" is especially Aeschylean: cf. *Suppl.* 157 *τὸν πολυξενότατον Ζῆνα τῶν κεκηκότεων*; *P. V.* 152 *"Αἰδὸν τοῦ νεκροδέγμονος*; *Theb.* 860 *πανδόκον εἰς χέρσον*. See Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 804. On the euphemistic names of Hades and Persephone see Rohde *Psyche* p. 192.

10. **τό γε**: this correction depends upon Homeric usage, and gives good sense: the confusion of ΓΕ and ΤΕ is of course common; cf. *E* 853, *Aesch. P. V.* 42, 248 etc., and 280 *αὐτῆς* for *αὐτῆς*. *τότε* can hardly be justified.



ἀθανάτοις τε θεοῖς ἥδ' ὀνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις·  
 τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ ῥίζης ἑκατὸν κára ἐξεπεφύκει,  
 κῶδ' ἥδιστ' ὀδμή, πᾶς δ' οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθε  
 γαῖά τε πᾶσ' ἐγέλασσε καὶ ἀλμυρὸν οἶδμα θαλάσσης.  
 ἡ δ' ἄρα θαμβήσασ' ὠρέξατο χερσὶν ἅμ' ἅμφω  
 καλὸν ἄθυρμα λαβεῖν· χάνε δὲ χθὼν εὐρύαγια  
 Νύσιον ἅμ' πεδίον, τῇ ὄρουσεν ἄναξ Πολυδέγμων

5

15

13. κῶδις τ' ὀδμή M: corr. Tyrrell: κῶδει Ruhnken: κωδείας Mitscherlich: κυδιῶντ' Ignarra: κῶνεντ' Ludwich: κύκλω γει Goodwin 14. ἐγέλασε M: corr. Matthiae 17. ἀμπεδίον M: corr. Matthiae || νύσιον] μέσσον vel νείατον Preller

12. τοῦ καί = A 249 τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης, where Leaf notes that the καὶ introducing a merely expegetic sentence is very unusual.

ἑκατὸν κára: as the flower is miraculously created, the exaggeration of its "hundred heads" need not be pressed; but the writer is doubtless thinking of the Narcissus *tazetta*, the "polyanthus" or "bunch" species (see on 428), Murr p. 248.

13. Tyrrell's correction of κῶδις τ' ὀδμή is recommended by the fact that it only posits the omission of a syllable (ξη); for such omissions cf. p. xviii, and *h. Ap.* 407 (πρῶτα for πρώτιστα in all mss. except M). For the construction cf. *ε* 59, *ι* 210, and for the crasis of καὶ cf. B 238, Z 260 with Leaf's note, N 734, γ 255, ζ 282, κοῦ 227, κάγῳ *h. Herm.* 173, κάκ πολλῶν *Hes. Theog.* 447, κοῦ Parmenides 51, καὶτοί Xenophanes vi. 5. See Kühner-Blass *Griech. Gramm.* i. p. 225, Smyth *Ionic* § 308 for exx. in other poets, *H. G.* § 377, La Roche *H. U.* i. p. 283 f., van Leeuwen *Ench.* p. 50 f.

14. ἐγέλασε: see on *h. Ap.* 118.

15. ἅμφω: here indeclinable; a use not found in early epic. Cf. *Apoll. Arg.* A 165 (gen.), 1169 (dat.), *Theocr.* xvii. 26.

16. χάνε δὲ χθών: this explanation was natural when the scene of the ascent or descent of Pluto was localised on a plain; so, according to the actual Eleusinian tradition, the chariot disappeared through the opening ground (fragment of a vase from Eleusis, *Ath. Mitth.* xxi. pl. 12; *J. H. S.* xxii. p. 3). In some traditions Pluto disappeared in a cave (Arist. *Ausc. Mir.* 82). At Enna he ascends through a cave, and descends into the open ground, *Diod.* v. 3. 4.

εὐρύαγια: in Homer of cities only. The epithet is less suitable to χθών. Gemoll compares δικά εὐρύαγια (*Terpand. fr.* 6), for a more general use.

17. Νύσιον ἅμ' πεδίον: on the various places called Nysa see i. 8. Whether the Nysian plain is here purely mythical, or whether the poet was thinking of a particular place, it is impossible to say. Förster (p. 268 f.) argues for the Carian Nysa; Preller-Robert (i.<sup>2</sup> p. 758 n. 3) for the Thracian. The poets generally speak of Nysa as a mountain (e.g. *Soph. Ant.* 1130, i. 8), but the locality is so vague that πεδίον may well stand; cf. *Apoll. Arg.* B 1214 οὖρα καὶ πεδίον Νυσῆιον. Hesiod does not localise the myth, but the schol. on *Theog.* 913 lays the scene by the Ocean. Various other places are mentioned: e.g. Crete (*Bacchyl. fr.* 64), Eleusis itself (*Phanodemus fr.* 20, *Paus.* i. 38. 5, *Orph. h.* xviii. 15); see *Intro.* p. 12, and Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 759, Roscher ii. 1313, Förster *l.c.* In later times the Sicilian tradition prevailed (first in *Carcinus ap. Diodor.* v. 5; cf. *Mosch.* iii. 128, *Opp. Hal.* iii. 489, and often in Latin poetry; *Ov. Fast.* iv. 353, *Met.* v. 385, *Lucan* vi. 740, *Stat. Ach.* ii. 150, *Claud. de rapt. Pros.* ii. 71). Modern poets have chiefly followed the Romans: *That fair field Of Enna where Proserpine, gathering flowers, Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis Was gathered* (Milton).

ὄρουσεν ἄνας: the trochaic caesura in the fourth foot is very rare, except when the caesura is preceded by an enclitic or other monosyllable; see on 248. Tyrrell (*Hermath.* ix. 20 p. 34) suggests ὄρου' ἄναξ, to avoid breaking a "law universal in Greek poetry from Homer to Nonnus." But the exceptions to the rule in Homer are amply sufficient to justify the text;



ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισι, Κρόνου πολυώνυμος υἱός.  
 ἀρπάξας δ' ἀέκουσαν ἐπὶ χρυσεόισιν ὄχοισιν  
 ἦγ' ὀλοφυρομένην· ἰάχῃσε δ' ἄρ' ὄρθια φωνῇ,  
 κεκλομένη πατέρα Κρονίδην ὑπατον καὶ ἄριστον.  
 οὐδέ τις ἀθανάτων οὐδὲ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 ἤκουσεν φωνῆς, οὐδ' ἀγλαόκαρποι ἐλαίαι·

20

22. οὐδέ alterum] οὔτε Hermann 23. ἀγλαόκαρποι ἐλαίαι] ἀγλαόμορφοι  
 ἐταῖραι Ruhnken: ἀγλαόκαρπος Ἀλωάς Schütz: Ἀχαία Voss: Ἀμασία vel  
 Ἐλευσώ Mitscherlich: ἐλεῖται Huschke: Ἐλειαί Ilgen: φωνῆν εἰς ἀγλαό-  
 καρπου ἐλεινὴν Gemoll

see *H. G.* § 367. 2, Hermann *Orphica* p. 693, van Leeuwen *Mnemosyne*, 1890, p. 265 and *Ench.* p. 18–22, Eberhard *Metr. Beoð.* i. p. 23 f. The last word is usually of four syllables as in Z 2, Ω 60, ρ 399 = υ 344, and here; or five, as in σ 140 and *h. Ap.* 36 (where however see note); very rarely of three, as in μ 47. The law is more rarely broken in post-Homeric verse; examples are Hes. *Theog.* 23 Ἐλικῶνος ὑπὸ ξαθέοιο, *Theog.* 319 πνέουσιν ἀμαιμάκετον πῆρ, *Scut.* 222 ὥστε νόημ' ἐποτάτο. In *Theog.* 435 Köchly transposes ἄγωνι ἀεθλεύσων and in *Op.* 693 for φορτί' ἀμεινωθείη one MS. has φορτία μαινωθείη. Sometimes, as in ε 272 ὀφὲ δόοντα, *Theognis* 881, Tyrtæus *fr.* 7. 1 θεοῖσι φίλος, the two words are rhythmically one; but *Theognis* 931 οὐδὲ θανόντ' ἀποκλαίει, id. 981 λόγοισιν ἐμὴν φρένα θέλγους are real exceptions; cf. id. 923. In later literature the following exceptions may be noted: verse ap. Plat. *Phaedr.* 252 B, Hom. *Epigr.* vii. 1, *Orph.* *h.* liii. 3, lxxv. 5; Evenus *fr.* i. 5 (Gaisf.); Pythag. *χρυσ.* ἐπ. 6, 37, and 70; *ep.* ap. Paus. iv. 1. 8 (line 3); and often in Oppian (*Ven.* i. 190, ii. 60, 120, 202, 536, iii. 237, 244, iv. 232, 431). There are several exceptions in Diog. Laert. (*Anth. Pal.* vii. 96. 3, vii. 104. 1, vii. 126. 1); so Agath. Schol. *ibid.* vii. 568. 1.

18. πολυώνυμος: first in Hesiod and *h. Ap.* 82. Preller thinks the epithet specially appropriate to Pluto, whose titles were numerous; see Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 804, Rohde *Psyche* 192 f. For the ἐπωνυμῖαι of Pluto cf. Paus. ix. 23. 4 (on a hymn to Persephone by Pindar) ἐν τούτῳ τῷ ᾠσματι ἀλλὰ τε ἐς τὸν Ἀΐδην εἰσὶν ἐπικλήσεις καὶ ὁ χρυσήνιος, δῆλα ὡς ἐπὶ τῆς Κόρης τῇ ἀρπαγῇ. So in *h. Ap.* 82 Apollo is πολυώνυμος, i.e. has many titles in different lands. On such ac-

cumulation of titles see Lobeck *Aggl.* i. p. 401, who quotes e.g. *On. Met.* iv. 11 f., Gruppe *Culte u. Mythen* i. p. 555 n. 44, Adami p. 222 f. (where many references are collected), viii. *Introd.* The primary meaning of the word may therefore stand, in the case of gods; but, as applied to inanimate objects, πολυώνυμος is simply "famous"; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 785 (ἔδωρ), Pind. *Pyth.* i. 17 (ἀντρον).

19. χρυσεόισιν: cf. Pindar's epithet χρυσήνιος from Paus. quoted above. ὄχοισιν: in 375 δχεσφιν, which Voss and others needlessly read here.

20. ἰάχῃσε: so xxvii. 11; forms from ἰαχέω do not occur in early epic; but cf. xxvii. 7 ἰαχεῖ, Callim. *h. Del.* 146 ἰαχεύσα.

21. ὑπατον καὶ ἄριστον = T 258 (nom.).

23. ἐλαίαι: this is usually held to be corrupt, but no emendation is at all satisfactory; the conjectures, apart from their graphical eccentricity, err in endeavouring to introduce a person or persons (Demeter or the nymphs). But the categories ἀθάνατοι and θνητοὶ ἀνθρώποι are exhaustive, with the exception specified in 24. Any title of Demeter is peculiarly out of place: she heard the second and louder cry 38, 39, which sets her in motion. The reading of M ἐλαίαι runs counter to the usual notions of Greek poetical taste. This, however, is no reason for suspecting the text. In late, especially Latin, poetry inanimate nature is often personified (e.g. Verg. *Ecl.* i. 38, x. 13, and many instances given by Forbiger). We have to learn that the idea was earlier than has been supposed. The sense here would be: "neither gods nor men heard her; and the trees were deaf" (*J. H. S.* xvii. p. 50). The nearest analogies in Greek poetry are Bion i. 31 τὰν Κύπριν αἰαῖ | ὦρεα πάντα λέγοντι καὶ αἱ δρύες αἰαῖ



εἰ μὴ Περσαίου θυγάτηρ ἀταλὰ φρονέουσα  
 αἶεν ἐξ ἄντρον, Ἑκάτη λιπαροκρήδεμνος, 25  
 Ἥελιός τε ἀναξ, Ὑπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός,  
 κούρης κεκλομένης πατέρα Κρονίδην· ὁ δὲ νόσφιν  
 ἦστο θεῶν ἀπάνευθε πολυλλίστῳ ἐνὶ νηφί,  
 δέγμενος ἱερὰ καλὰ παρὰ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.  
 τὴν δ' ἀεκαζομένην ἦγεν Διὸς ἐννεσίησι 30  
 πατροκασίγητος, πολυσημάντωρ πολυδέγμων,  
 ἵπποις ἀθανάτοισι, Κρόνου πολυώνυμος υἱός.  
 ὄφρα μὲν οὖν γαῖαν τε καὶ οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα  
 λεύσσε θεὰ καὶ πόντον ἀγάρροον ἰχθυόεντα,  
 αὐγὰς τ' ἡελίου, ἔτι δ' ἤλπετο μητέρα κεδνὴν 35

24. εἰ μὴ] οἷν Wackernagel *Rh. Mus.* xliv. 531, sed cf. 78 28. πολυκλίτῳ  
 M: corr. Ruhnken cl. h. *Ap.* 347 29. δέχμενος Cobet

Ἀδωνι | καὶ ποταμοὶ κλαίουσιν τὰ πένθεα  
 τὰς Ἀφροδίτας and Theoc. vi. 74. So  
 even in prose, Lysurgus 150 νομίζοντες  
 οὖν ὧ Ἀθηναῖοι ἱκετεύειν ὑμῶν τὴν χάραν  
 καὶ τὰ δένδρα, δεῖσθαι τοὺς λιμένας. If  
 this view is thought untenable, we are  
 thrown back on Ilgen's "Elaiei or  
 "Marsh-nymphs" (= νύμφαι ἐλειονόμοι  
 Apoll. Arg. B 821, Γ 1219). In favour  
 of this, it may be noted that the Nymphs  
 form a class apart from gods and men;  
 cf. h. *Aphr.* 259. But, as Tyrrell notes,  
 νύμφαι seems absolutely required; cf.  
 Theoc. v. 17 τὰς λιμνάδας Νύμφας.

24. Περσαίου: Hecate is daughter of  
 the Titan Perses (= Persaens here) and  
 Asterie, according to Hes. *Theog.* 411,  
 Apollod. i. 2. 4. Other poets give other  
 genealogies; see Farnell *Cults* ii. p.  
 502, Preller-Robert i.<sup>1</sup> p. 322, Roscher  
 1899.

ἀταλὰ φρονέουσα: ἀταλός (the der.  
 is doubtful) seems properly to refer to  
 youthful merriment; cf. Σ 567, λ  
 39, Hes. *Theog.* 989 (others translate  
 "tender"; so Rouse in *K. Z.* 1899,  
 xxxv. p. 462, connecting the words with  
 a *priv.* and τάλ-as, i.e. "not capable of  
 endurance," cf. *E. M.* 161. 47). The  
*E. M.* explains Z 400 παῖδ' ἀταλόφρονα  
 by ἀπαλὸν φρόνημα ἔχοντα, τοῦτέστι  
 νήπιον, ἀνόητον. The sense "merry" does  
 not seem particularly suitable to Hecate  
 in this connexion. Baumeister, followed  
 by Gemoll, understands "kindly," i.e.  
 to Demeter; but there is no authority  
 for this meaning, nor is it easy to see  
 how ἀταλὰ φρονεῖν could be appropriate  
 to a κουροτρόφος (a title of Hecate), as

others assume; κουροτρόφος is not the  
 same as κούρος. Possibly the author  
 thought of Hecate as a young goddess  
 "with youthful thoughts." See also  
 L. Meyer *Griech. Et.* i. s.v. ἀταλός  
 "kindlich"; Prellwitz *Et. Wört.* p. 37  
 "jugendlich."

25. ἐξ ἄντρον: cf. Apoll. Arg. Γ 1213  
 κευθμῶν ἐξ ὑπάτων (of Hecate). No  
 particular cave is meant. Whether  
 Hecate was originally a moon-goddess,  
 or, as Farnell supposes, an earth-goddess,  
 a cave would be appropriate for her  
 home. In this hymn, at all events,  
 she is certainly a moon-goddess, as is  
 shewn by the mention of Helios in 26. So  
 Sophocles (*fr.* 480) associates Helios and  
 Hecate as sun and moon. Hecate heard  
 the cry, but did not see the rape, as it  
 was daytime, and she was therefore in  
 her cave; Helios heard (αἶεν 25), and of  
 course saw also (cf. on 70).

27. Zeus absents himself intentionally,  
 in order that he may not appear to  
 connive at the rape (cf. on 3).

28-29. Cf. h. *Ap.* 347-348.

29. δέγμενος: generally explained as  
 a perf. part., without reduplication, and  
 with irregular accent (from \*δέγμαι,  
 probably an older form of δέδεγμαi. See  
 Leaf on B 794, *H. G.* § 23). But it may  
 be a present form; Leaf remarks that  
 there is no reason for supposing that  
 the affection of χ by μ is confined to  
 aor. and perf. stems. Cobet altered to  
 δέχμενος.

35. μητέρα . . φῶλα are almost  
 certainly objects, not (as Gemoll)  
 subjects, of δψεσθαι.



ὄψεσθαι καὶ φύλα θεῶν αἰειγενετῶν,  
τόφρα οἱ ἐλπίς ἔθελγε μέγαν νόον ἀχρυνμένης περ·

ἤχησαν δ' ὀρέων κορυφαὶ καὶ βένθεα πόντου  
φωνῇ ὑπ' ἀθανάτῃ, τῆς δ' ἔκλυε πότνια μήτηρ.  
ὄξυ δέ μιν κραδίην ἄχος ἔλλαβεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαίταις 40  
ἀμβροσίαις κρήδεμνα δαΐζετο χερσὶ φίλῃσι,  
κύνεον δὲ κάλυμμα κατ' ἀμφοτέρων βάλετ' ὦμων,  
σεύατο δ', ὥς τ' οἰωνός, ἐπὶ τραφερὴν τε καὶ ὕγρην  
μαιομένη· τῇ δ' οὐ τις ἐτήτυμα μυθήσασθαι  
ἤθελεν οὔτε θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, 45  
οὔτ' οἰωνῶν τις τῇ ἐτήτυμος ἄγγελος ἦλθεν.  
ἐννήμαρ μὲν ἔπειτα κατὰ χθόνα πότνια Δηῷ

37. lacunam statuit Hermann 40. ἔλαβε M: corr. Matthiae || χαίτης et  
41 ἀμβροσίας Hermann 46. οὔτε τις οἰωνῶν οἱ ἐτήτυμος Brunck: οὐδέ  
οἱ οἰωνῶν τις ἐτήτυμος Hermann

37. ἔθελγε μέγαν νόον: M 255 θέλγε νόον (in a bad sense). Gemoll does not accept Hermann's lacuna. He explains: "so long as she hoped that her mother and the other gods would see her, she trusted (that her cry would avail) and (she called out so that) the mountains echoed." But if this is the meaning intended, the wording is most obscure. The lacuna seems necessary. The change in sense between 37 and 38, and the absence of protasis to δ', require at least another line. The case is different from those noted on 127. The sense of the lost passage, as Francke saw, is "but when she saw the earth opening to swallow her, then she despaired and shrieked loudly."

40. χαίταις: for the Attic dative cf. 205, 308, 441. Hermann reads χαίτης ἀμβροσίας.

42. κύνεον δὲ κάλυμμα = Ω 93; see on 182.

43. ἐπὶ τραφερὴν τε καὶ ὕγρην = Ξ 308, υ 98, imitated in later epic, as Opp. Ven. i. 11. For the omission of γῆν and θάλασσαν cf. h. Aphr. 123.

45. ἔθελεν: (with neg.) "had no mind" (=had not the power). ἐθέλειν implies a desire to do what is, or seems to be, in one's power to do, and so is often practically equivalent to δύνασθαι. Cf. I 353, Φ 366.

46. Bücheler and Francke reject this line. The stress on οἰωνῶν is unusual, but Gemoll compares ζῶειν h. Aphr. 221, with

accent ὤ—. There are various emendations which give a usual but characterless verse. The line is modelled on X 438.

47. ἐννήμαρ: it is generally assumed from this word that the fast at Eleusis lasted nine days. This is not improbable, and is supported by parallels; see Roscher *die Enneadischen, etc. Fristen*, 1903, p. 16 f. (*Abhandl. Sachs. Gesellsch.* xxi.), who compares a festival at Lemnos, where fire was put out for nine days (Philostr. *Her.* 19. 14); the Thesmophoria (Ov. *Met.* x. 434); the fast of Clytia (*ib.* iv. 262); the Italian Bacchanalia (Livy xxxix. 9). Roscher is probably right in explaining the number as representing an ancient week, one-third of a lunar month (*op. cit.* p. 14 f.). There is, however, no other allusion to the length of the Eleusinian fast; and in the present passage ἐννήμαρ may be purely conventional, to express a round number of days, with no special reference to the actual duration of the fast. A period of nine days or nights is common in Homer: A 53, Z 174, I 470, M 25, Ω 107, 610, 664, 784, η 253, ι 82, κ 28, υ 447, ξ 314; Hes. *Theog.* 722, 724, h. *Ap.* 91. The Sicilian festival of the two goddesses mentioned by Diod. v. 4 lasted for ten days.

Δηῷ: first here for Δημήτηρ, then often in poetry. The form is usually regarded as hypocoristic (Mannhardt *Myth. Forsch.* p. 295, Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 748, Pauly-Wissowa 2713).



στρωφᾶτ' αἰθομένας δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσα,  
οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμβροσίης καὶ νέκταρος ἡδυπότοιο  
πᾶσσαι' ἀκηχεμένη, οὐδὲ χροῖα βάλλετο λουτροῖς. 50  
ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτη οἱ ἐπήλυθε φαινολὶς Ἥως,  
ἦν τετό οἱ Ἑκάτη, σέλας ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχουσα,  
καὶ ῥά οἱ ἀγγελέουσα ἔπος φάτο φώνησέν τε·  
πότνια Δημήτηρ, ὦρηφόρε, ἀγλαόδωρε,  
τίς θεῶν οὐρανίων ἢ ἐν θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων 55  
ἦρπασε Περσεφόνην καὶ σὸν φίλον ἥκαχε θυμόν;

49. ἡ δεπότοιο M : corr. Ruhnken (cf. ο 507) 50. πᾶσαι' M : corr. Ruhnken :  
ἔσαι' Mitscherlich || βάλλετο] εἰσέπετο Mitscherlich : χροῖ' ἀτάλλετο Ilgen 51.  
φαινόλη M : corr. Ruhnken 53. ἀγγελέουσα] ἀγγέλλουσα Ruhnken : ἔγχι  
εἰσεύσα Matthiae : ἐγκονέουσα Ludwig

48. στρωφᾶτ' = N 557. The form is probably late ; see Leaf on O 666.

αἰεομένας . . ἔχουσα = η 101 (ἐχοντες). For the significance of the torches, which play so large a part in the myth and ritual of Demeter, see *Introd.* p. 10, *Lenormant* ii. p. 124 f. On the whole subject of fire-festivals see *Frazer G. B.* iii. p. 238-326, who thinks that the use of torches in such cases "appears to be simply a means of diffusing far and wide the genial influence of the bonfire or of the sunshine which it represents" (p. 313). He quotes many examples (p. 255, 313 f.) to shew that the avowed intention of torch-lighting is often to fertilise the fields, or to prevent blight, etc.

49-50. Compare the mourning of Demeter in *Callim. h. Dem.* 17 ἀσταλέα ἀποτὸς τε καὶ οὐ φάγες οὐδ' ἐλοέσσω. This, however, may be independent of the hymn.

50. βάλλετο : the editors quote Δ 536 and other passages where the act. βάλλειν has the meaning of "sprinkle," "wet." No other instance seems to occur of the middle βάλλεσθαι in this sense, unless we accept Hermann's λουτρά τ' ἐπιβαλοῦ χροῖ (for the corrupt ἐπὶ χροῖ βάλε or βάλλεν) in *Eur. Or.* 303.

51. A formulaic line (only here) similar to Z 175 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ δεκάτῃ ἐφάνη ῥοδοδάκτυλος Ἥως, and Ω 785 (φαεσίμβροτος). φαινόλις : Ruhnken compares *Sapph. fr.* 95 ἔσπερε πάντα φέρων ὅσα φαινόλις ἐσκεῖν αὖως.

52. σέλας : for a torch, *Apoll. Arg. Γ* 293, Δ 806. Here it is probably collective,

"torchlight," as the regular attribute of Hecate is a torch in either hand ; cf. the plur. χεῖρεσσι. So δᾶος = δαΐδας in the formula δᾶος μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσαι (Ω 647 and elsewhere). For the attribute of Hecate see *Roscher* 1900 f. *Farnell (Cults* ii. p. 549 f.) thinks that the torch was originally the symbol of Hecate as a chthonian deity, not as the moon, with which, however, the hymn-writer plainly identified her (see on 25). For the connexion of Hecate with Demeter and Persephone see on 440.

53. ἀγγελέουσα : Hecate (or Artemis) was called ἄγγελος at Syracuse (*Hesych. s.v.* and *Schol. on Theocr.* ii. 12), but it is unlikely that there is here any allusion to this title.

The "news" which Hecate gives is that she heard Persephone's cry—a circumstance which certainly was unknown to Demeter. Hence ἀγγελέουσα needs no emendation, and the difficulties about this part of the narrative, and the inference based on them as to the composition of the hymn, are imaginary. *E. Maass Iris, I. F.* i. 164 accepts the continuity of the text (though reading ἀγγέλλουσα, which is virtually the same as the future).

54. ὦρηφόρε : the hiatus is legitimate in the bucolic diaeresis ; *H. G.* § 382 (2). On the epithet, "bringer of the seasons," see *Mannhardt Myth. Forsch.* p. 227, who compares *Anth. Pal.* vi. 98. 1 Δηοὶ λικμαῖη καὶ ἐναυλακοφότησιν Ὠραις.

55. εἰδὼν οὐρανίων : not Homeric. For θεός a monosyllable cf. ξ 251 θεοῖσιν. So *Hes. Theog.* 44 θεῶν, and perhaps Δ 18 θεοί. Below, 259, 325.



φωνῆς γὰρ ἤκουσ', ἀτὰρ οὐκ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν,  
ὅς τις ἔην· σοὶ δ' ὦκα λέγω νημερτέα πάντα.

ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη Ἑκάτη· τὴν δ' οὐκ ἡμείβετο μύθῳ  
'Ρέλης ἡυκόμου θυγάτηρ, ἀλλ' ὦκα σὺν αὐτῇ  
ἦϊξ' αἰθομένας δαΐδας μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχουσα.

60

'Ἡέλιον δ' ἴκοντο, θεῶν σκοπὸν ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,  
στὰν δ' ἵππων προπάροιθε καὶ εἵρετο διὰ θεάων·

'Ἡέλι', αἶδεσσαι με θεὰν σύ περ, εἴ ποτε δή σευ  
ἦ ἔπει ἦ ἔργῳ κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἦνα·

65

κούρην τὴν ἔτεκον, γλυκερὸν θάλος, εἶδεῖ κυδρὴν,  
τῆς ἀδινῆν ὅπ' ἄκουσα δι' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο

57. γὰρ μὲν Wassenbergh: μὲν γὰρ Voss 58. ὦκα] ὦκα Mitscherlich: αὐ κε vel ὅς κε Voss || λέγοι pro λέγω conj. Hermann cum lacuna (ἡέλιος ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ὑπακούει): λέγειν Ludwig cum lacuna simili (ἡέλιος δύναται) 64. εἶας ὑπερ M: corr. Ludwig cl. 116: Διὸς ὑπερ Fontein: θεᾶς ὑπερ Voss: θεῆς Hermann: μ' ἐλέγχον τ' Matthiae

57. **ΦΩΝΗΣ ΓΑΡ ἤκουσ'**: the exx. of γὰρ lengthened by ictus are mostly before *ol* or *eu*: B 342, Z 38, I 377, δ 826, etc. But cf. B 39, T 49, where γὰρ before a vowel appears to be established. γὰρ *ρ'* would be simple, and the collocation of the two words is confirmed by the metre in N 352 and other passages, although in other places *ρα* may have been inserted from mistaken metrical grounds. Of course *μέν* may have dropped out here, as perhaps in 122, in which case *ἄκουσ'* would naturally be altered to *ἤκουσ'*.

58. **ὅς τις ἔην**: parenthetical; see 119, and note on *h. Herm.* 208.

**ὦκα λέγω νημερτέα**: the explanation given in *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 52 (= *λέγω πάντα σοὶ ὦκα εἶναι νημερτέα*) is improbable, as *νημερτής* must be closely connected in a predicative sense with *λέγω*; see Ebeling s.v. But the text may be correct: Hecate asseverates the truth of her statement by a common formula; cf. 433, λ 137 *τὰ δέ τοι νημερτέα εἶρω*; "I tell thee truly (all I know)." *ὦκα* is unusual with the present, but justified by the context, "and I tell it quickly." Hecate wishes to spare Demeter disappointment, by confessing her ignorance at once. Hermann's lacuna (with *λέγοι*) seems therefore unnecessary.

63. **στὰν δ' ἵππων προπάροιθε** = Ω 286, ο 150.

64. **κύ περ** recurs 116, and Ludwig's conjecture is excellent on palaeographical

grounds; cp. *h. Herm.* 308 *ἐνέχων δε M = ἐνεχ' ὤδε*. The stroke to denote *ν* in *θεᾶ* (= *θεαν*) was no doubt taken for a circumflex.

66. **ΚΟΥΡΗΝ ΤΗΝ ἔτεκον**: the antecedent is attracted to the case of the relative, as in K 416, Ξ 75, 371. *H. G.* § 267. Cf. Verg. *Aen.* i. 573 *urbem quam statuo vestra est*. This "inverse attraction" (for *τὴν κούρην*) is slightly different from the attraction of a nominative absolute to the case of the relative, as in Z 396 *θυγάτηρ . . . Ἡερῖωνος*. *Ἡερῖων*, *ὅς ἐναίε*, α 50. In θ 74 (*οἴμης τῆς*) the gen. may be partitive, or due to either of these forms of attraction.

67. **ἀδινῆν**: see Leaf on B 87. The word is often used with verbs or substantives expressing grief, where it seems to mean "loud" or "vehement." The derivation, and consequently the original meaning are obscure (Leo Meyer *Handbuch der gr. Etymologie*, 1902): Göbel's suggestion (*ἀ* intens. and *ν* *δε* 'move') is as probable as any. The primary sense would then be "quick" or "busy." Prellwitz *Et. Wört.* s.v. suggests a connexion with *ἀδῆν*.

**δι' αἰέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο** = P 425. Elsewhere *ἀτρυγέτος* is applied to the sea. The derivation and meaning are unknown. The ancients connected the word with *τρύγη*, i.e. "unharvested," "barren," or with *τρίειν*, "unconquered" (by tempests), see Ebeling. Modern



ὥς τε βιαζομένης, ἀτὰρ οὐκ ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν.  
 ἀλλὰ σὺ γὰρ δὴ πᾶσαν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κατὰ πόντον  
 αἰθέρος ἐκ δίης καταδέρκεαι ἀκτίνεσσι, 70  
 νημερτέως μοι ἔνισπε φίλον τέκος, εἴ που ὅπωπας  
 ὅς τις νόσφιν ἐμείο λαβὼν ἀέκουσαν ἀνάγκη  
 οἴχεται ἢ θεῶν ἢ καὶ θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.  
 Ὡς φάτο, τὴν δ' Ὑπεριονίδης ἡμείβετο μύθῳ·  
 ῥεῖης ἡὔκόμου θυγάτηρ, Δῆμητερ ἄνασσα, 75  
 εἰδήσεις· δὴ γὰρ μέγα ἄζομαι ἡδ' ἐλεαίρω  
 ἀχνυμένην περὶ παιδὶ ταυνοσφύρῳ· οὐδέ τις ἄλλος  
 αἴτιος ἀθανάτων, εἰ μὴ νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς,  
 ὅς μιν ἔδωκ' Ἀΐδην θαλερὴν κεκλήσθαι ἄκουιν  
 αὐτοκασιγνήτῳ· ὁ δ' ὑπὸ ζόφον ἡρόευντα 80  
 ἀρπάξας ἵπποισιν ἄγεν μεγάλα ἰάχουσαν.  
 ἀλλὰ, θεά, κατάπαυε μέγαν γόον· οὐδέ τί σε χρῆ  
 μὰψ αὐτῶς ἄπλητον ἔχειν χόλον· οὐ τοι ἀεικὴς

70. καταδέρκεται M: corr. Ruhnken 71. ὅπωπεν M: corr. Ruhnken  
 72. ἐμοῖο M: corr. post Ruhnkenium Matthiae 76. σε μέρ' Voss: μέγα σ'  
 ἄζομαι post Ruhnkenium Eberhard 77. οὐ δέ] οὐ νύ Gemoll 82. γόον]  
 χόλον Hermann

scholars have generally adopted one of these derivations. Prellwitz s.v. sees in -τριγ- the German Dorf, Eng. thorp, with the same general sense.

70. καταδέρκεαι ἀκτίνεσσι: cf. λ 16, where καταδέρκεσθαι (here intrans.) is more naturally constructed with an obj. acc. καταδέρκεται in M is a common scribe's error (e.g. K 82 ἔρχεται ἔρχεται, 115 νεμεσθήσεται νεμεσθήσεται) assisted by the similar context in λ 16, where the verb is in the third person. ὅπωπεν followed naturally.

71. The writer has a reminiscence of γ 93 κείνου λυγρὸν δλεθρον ἐνισπεῖν, εἴ που ὅπωπας (cf. 65 ἢ ἔπει ἢ ἔργῳ with γ 99).

76. μέγα ἄζομαι: unless with Ruhnken we insert σ' there is an hiatus, which however may be justified by Hes. *Theog.* 532 ταῦτ' ἀρα ἀζόμενος (this is practically the ms. tradition, as the only variant is ἀρ' for ἀρα; see Rzach's note). Curtius *Grundzüge* p. 162, Prellwitz s.v., and Fortunatov *K. Z.* xxxvi. 46 assume an initial γοᾶ which would produce hiatus. The same explanation is sometimes given of ὥς making position (*H. G.* § 397).

77. οὐδέ is suspected by Wegener and Gemoll. Puntoni (p. 52) defends the text. οὐδέ may be illogical for οὐ, but it is quite natural after the parenthetic clause δὴ γὰρ κτλ. (cf. 32). The sense of the passage is: "you shall know all (for I pity you); and you are to know that Zeus alone is to blame." See further on vii. 56. Indeed οὐδέ is hardly to be distinguished from οὐ in several Homeric passages; see Fränkel in *Album Grat. to Herwerden* p. 61 f., who quotes T 420, T 133 etc. (οὐδέ τί σε χρῆ). In II 225 (οὐδέ τις ἄλλος) the δέ has force.

79. θαλερὴν: the special epithet of a young husband or wife, like the "blossoming" bride in English ballads; so with γόνος, *h. Aphr.* 104, and with γάμος, ζ 66, v 74, *h. Pan* 35.

82-83. There is no reason to eject οὐδέ τί σε χρῆ . . χόλον. Hermann altered γόον to χόλον on the ground that the formula οὐδέ τί σε χρῆ introduces a repetition of a previous statement (H 109, T 67 etc.). But the duplication of χόλον is intolerable; and as γόος is the expression of χόλος there would be no difficulty, even if the present passage were from the old epic.



γαμβρὸς ἐν ἀθανάτοισι πολυσημάντωρ Ἀϊδωνεύς,  
αὐτοκασίγνητος καὶ ὁμόσπορος· ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμὴν 85  
ἔλλαχεν ὡς τὰ πρῶτα διάτριχα δασμὸς ἐτύχθη·  
τοῖς μεταναίεται τῶν ἔλλαχε κοίρανος εἶναι.

Ὡς εἰπὼν ἵπποισιν ἐκέκλετο, τοὶ δ' ὑπ' ὁμοκλήs  
ρίμφ' ἔφερον θοὸν ἄρμα, τανύπτεροι ὥς τ' οἰωνοί· 90  
τὴν δ' ἄχος αἰνότερον καὶ κύντερον ἵκετο θυμόν.

χωσαμένη δὴ ἔπειτα κελαϊνεφεί Κρονίῳ  
νοσφισθεῖσα θεῶν ἀγορὴν καὶ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον  
ῥ' ἔχετ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων πόλιας καὶ πύονα ἔργα,  
εἶδος ἀμαλδύνουσα πολὺν χρόνον· οὐδέ τις ἀνδρῶν 95  
εἰσορόων γίγνωσκε βαθυζώνων τε γυναικῶν,  
πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ Κελεοῖο δαΐφρονος ἵκετο δῶμα,  
ὃς τότ' Ἑλευσίνος θυοέσσης κοίρανος ἦεν.

ἔξετο δ' ἐγγυὲς ὁδοῖο φίλον τετιμημένη ἦτορ,  
Παρθενίῳ φρέατι, ὅθεν ὑδρεύοντο πολῖται,

85. τιμῆ Schneidewin : τιμῆς Hermann 87. μετὰ ναιέται M : corr. Voss :  
τῶν μετὰ ναιετάειν Valckenār : μεταναίεται Puntóni : versum post 81 posuit  
Brunck 95. γίνωσκε M : corr. Hermann 98. τετιμημένος M : corr. Ruhnken  
99. φρέατι Παρθενίῳ Porson : πὰρ εἴῳ φρέατι Wolf

85. ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμῇ, "in respect of honour"; the wording, if somewhat prosaic, is correct. The order is like that of Hes. *Op.* 74 ἀμφὶ δὲ τὴν γε. The proposed alterations (τιμῇ or τιμῆς) rest on the analogy of *h. Herm.* 390 ἀμφὶ βόεσσιν and *ib.* 172 ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμῆς (so MSS., τιμῆς Gemoll). But for ἀμφὶ with acc. cf. *h. Herm.* 57, viii. 1, xxii. 1, xxxiii. 1. These exx. are all of "speaking about," but Pind. *Isthm.* vii. 8, 9 has both dat. and acc. in a wider sense.

87. τοῖς: rightly explained by Franke as demonstrative: Hades dwells among those over whom he is lord.

88-89. Cf. Hes. *Scut.* 341-342. τανύπτεροι is to be taken with οἰωνοί, not with ἵπποι. Nothing is said in this poem about winged horses, although Gemoll compares Eur. *EL.* 466.

90. αἰνότερον καὶ κύντερον: cf. 305 f., λ 427.

92. νοσφισθεῖσα, "rejecting," as in *h. Herm.* 562 and *orac.* ap. Hendess 119. 7 νοσφισθεῖσα γέρα προτέρων τιμῶν τε παλαιῶν (of Deo).

94. ἀμαλδύνουσα: not, as in Homer, "destroying," but "disguising." Baumeister compares Apoll. *Arg.* A 834, Δ 112.

95. βαυζώνων, "low-girt," i.e. girt over the hips. The epithet, which occurs in I 594, γ 154, is apparently not synonymous with βαθύκολπος, as the ancient grammarians and most editors assume; see on *h. Aphr.* 257.

96. Κελεοῖο: this is the usual tradition for the king's name; cf. Paus. i. 39. 1 (Pamphos), Apollod. i. 5. 3. schol. on Arist. *Eq.* 695; see further in Roscher ii. 1026 f. The schol. on Nicand. *Alex.* 130 calls the king Hippothoon (the eponymous hero of the Attic tribe) with Metanira as his wife. For other accounts see Förster p. 12. There was a cult of Celeus and his daughters at Eleusis (Clem. *Alex. Protrept.* i. p. 39), and a shrine of Metanira (Paus. *l.c.*).

99. Παρθενίῳ φρέατι: for the metre of φρέατι cf. 101, 248; La Roche *Hom. Unter.* i. p. 49, *H. G.* § 373. The local dative is amply supported by examples in *H. G.* § 145; it is here not harsher than τραπέζῃ "at table" (φ 35). See further on 308 and *h. Aphr.* 173. Gemoll objects that the "Ionic" form is φρέατι (φρήατι), while in Attic φρέατι has a long. But Herodotus uses φρέαρ, and the hymn-writer might naturally



ἐν σκιῇ, αὐτὰρ ὑπερθε πεφύκει θάμνος ἐλαίης, 100  
 γρηὶ παλαιγενεῖ ἐναλίγκιος, ἥ τε τόκοιο  
 εἶργηται δώρων τε φιλοστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης,  
 οἶαι τε τροφοί εἰσι θεμιστοπόλων βασιλῆων  
 παίδων καὶ ταμίαι κατὰ δώματα ἡχήμεντα.  
 τὴν δὲ ἴδον Κελεοῖο Ἐλευσινίδαο θυγάτρες, 105  
 ἐρχόμεναι μεθ' ὕδωρ εὐήρυτον, ὄφρα φέροιεν  
 κάλπισι χαλκείησι φίλα πρὸς δώματα πατρός,  
 τέσσαρες, ὥς τε θεαί, κουρήιον ἄνθος ἔχουσαι,  
 Καλλιδίκη καὶ Κλεισιδίκη Δημῷ τ' ἐρόεσσα  
 Καλλιθόη θ', ἣ τῶν προγενεστάτη ἦεν ἀπασῶν. 110

## 107. φίλου Matthiae

adopt the epic quantity (*φρεῖα* Φ 197). On the forms of the word see Brugmann *Grundriss* ii. p. 236, 342 f., Prellwitz s. v.

The "Maiden well" is not mentioned again in the hymn; it is most probably identical with the "Flowery well," at which, according to Pamphos, Demeter sat; cf. Paus. i. 39. 1 *φρέαρ ἐστὶν Ἀθῆων καλούμενον*. ἐποίησε δὲ Πάμφως ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ φρέατι καθῆσθαι Δήμητρα κτλ. Frazer (*l.c.*) thinks it may be the spring called *Vitika*, about a mile and a half west of Eleusis, on the road to Megara. The well is not to be confused with the Callichorum, which was close to the precinct of Eleusis (see on 272), although the fame of this latter well led several ancient writers to identify it with the place where Demeter rested; cf. Callim. *h. Dem.* 16, Nicand. *Ther.* 486, Apollod. i. 5. 1; in *Orph. Arg.* 729 a river in Asia is called both Parthenius and Callichorus, probably in view of this literary tradition. The accounts of Pamphos and the present hymn no doubt follow the ancient Eleusinian tradition; see further on 200. The last hemistich is a formula: η 131, ρ 206.

101. *γρηὶ παλαιγενεῖ ἐναλίγκιος*: the corn-spirit, in the form of the last sheaf, is often called the "Old Woman," "Grandmother" etc.; see Frazer *G. B.* ii. p. 170 f. It has been suggested that in *γρηὶ* we have a survival of the otherwise nameless corn-spirit. Jevons even holds that the corn-goddess was known simply as *γραῦς*, and her daughter as *κόρη*, until the Athenians identified the two with Demeter and Persephone (p. 367, 378 f.). But it is difficult to believe

that the Eleusinian goddesses were nameless until so late a period. Indeed, as far as regards the hymn, the metamorphosis of Demeter into an old woman need have no special significance; some disguise was necessary for the purpose of the story. Compare the account of Pamphos mentioned by Paus. i. 39. 1 (*γρατὶ εἰκασμένην*). For a similar disguise cf. Γ 386, of Aphrodite, which shews that the present passage may be due to epic influence.

105. *Ἐλευσινίδαο*: son of Eleusis, the eponymous hero of the place, Paus. i. 38. 7. He was also called Eleusinus, Hyg. *Fab.* 147, Serv. on Verg. *Georg.* i. 19, *alibi*.

106. *εὐήρυτον*: (only here) formed, like *καυλήρυτον* Ψ 34, from *ἀρύω* which first occurs in Hesiod.

108-110. Pausanias causes a difficulty in this passage: in i. 38. 3 he states *καλοῦσι σφᾶς* (the daughters of Celeus) *Πάμφως τε κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ Ὀμηρος Διογένειαν καὶ Παμμερόπην καὶ τρίτην Ζαισάραν*. Puntori considers the lines interpolated, following Hermann, who, however, subsequently retained 108 reading *τρεῖς ὡσεὶ τε*. The name *Καλλιδίκη* in 146 would on this view have been substituted for another, unless the whole verse has been interpolated. An interpolation however is on general grounds highly improbable, and later than Pausanias' time out of the question; it would be more legitimate to suppose an early variant. Cf. n. crit. on 476. Gemoll thinks that the text of Paus. is corrupt, suggesting *καλεῖ δὲ σφᾶς <οὐ> κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ Ὀμηρος . . Διογένειαν κτλ.*, the gap being filled with



οὐδ' ἔγνω· χαλεποὶ δὲ θεοὶ θνητοῖσιν ὀράσθαι.  
ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰστάμεναι ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδων·

Τίς πόθεν ἐσσί, γρηῦ, παλαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων ;  
τίπτε δὲ νόσφι πόλῃος ἀπέστιχες, οὐδὲ δόμοισι  
πίλνασαι ; ἔνθα γυναιῖκες ἀνὰ μέγαρο σκιοέοντα 115  
τηλίκαι, ὡς σύ περ ὦδε, καὶ ὀπλότεραι γεγάασιν,  
αἶ. κέ σε φίλωνται ἡμὲν ἔπει ἡδὲ καὶ ἔργω.

Ὡς ἔφαν, ἡ δ' ἐπέεσσιν ἀμείβετο πότνια θεάων·  
τέκνα φίλ', αἶ τινές ἐστε γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων,  
χαίρετ', ἐγὼ δ' ὑμῖν μυθήσομαι· οὐ τοι ἀεικές 120  
ὑμῖν εἰρομένησιν ἀληθέα μυθήσασθαι.

Δωσὼ ἐμοί γ' ὄνομ' ἐστί· τὸ γὰρ θέτο πότνια μήτηρ·  
νῦν αὖτε Κρήτηθεν ἐπ' εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης  
ἤλυθον οὐκ ἐθέλουσα, βίη δ' ἀέκουσαν ἀνάγκη  
ἄνδρες ληϊστῆρες ἀπήγαγον. οἱ μὲν ἔπειτα 125

111. ἔΓΝΩΝ M: ἔΓΝΟΝ Cobet 112. δ' add. Ruhnken 115. πιλνᾶς M:  
corr. Voss: πιλνᾶ Hermann 117. φίλονται M: corr. Voss: φιλήσαιντ' Brunck  
118. ἔφασε' M: corr. Voss 119. φίλα· τίνες M: corr. Fontein (cf. Hes. Theog.  
592) 122. δῶς ἔμοι' M: Δωσὼ Passow: Δῶς μὲν Brunck: Δωρίς Ruhnken:  
Δηῶ Fontein: Δμωίς Mitscherlich: Δωίς vel Δῶας Hermann

the names Callidice etc. Preller, Baumeister, and others suppose that Paus. may have made a slip of memory, which seems the most probable solution of the difficulty.

111. ἔΓΝΩΝ: for the Homeric ἔγνωσαν. So Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 85 (136). The correct form, however, seems to be ἔγνον which Cobet restores. Compare ἔβᾶν, and ἔφᾶν 118.

113. παλαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων: a variation of the Homeric τίς πόθεν εἰς ἀνδρῶν; Bücheler's χαμαιγενέων is no improvement.

115. The form πιλνᾶς given by M being transitive (πιλνᾶ 3 sing. Hes. *Op.* 510, πιλνασαι passive Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 952), Voss's πίλνασαι, as preserving the sigma, seems preferable to Hermann's πιλνᾶ, which rests only on the analogy of δαμνᾶ *Ἐ* 199 (called Doric in schol. T *ad loc.*). The syllable αι was omitted, as in ἐπιβήσεσθ' 332, from the effect of the hiatus.

119. αἶ τινές ἐστε: parenthetical, as in 58. Demeter speaks as though she did not know their names.

122. Δωσὼ: the name is uncertain; Fontein's Δηῶ is some way off δῶς, and

as Demeter (called Δηῶ in 47) invents her story, it is natural that she should give a fictitious name. Brunck's Δῶς is not elsewhere found as a proper name, but = δῶς in Hes. *Op.* 356. This, however, requires the insertion of μέν, and preference may be given to Passow's Δωσὼ, where the vowel could easily have been lost before ἐμοί. In either case there might possibly be a mystic allusion to the corn as a "gift" to men (see Pater p. 102).

123. Νῦν αὖτε: for νῦν δέ as in χ 6. Ruhnken's νῦν δ' αὖτε, though of course common, is therefore needless. Κρήτηθεν: editors see an allusion to the early worship of Demeter in Crete, as if the writer wished to hint this fact, even in a fictitious story. For the Cretan cult see Diod. v. 77. The myth of Iasion (*ε* 125) was localised in Crete, Hes. *Theog.* 970. Miss Harrison believes in Cretan influence at Eleusis (*Proleg.* p. 565 f.). But the explanation is unnecessary; the name of Crete would naturally occur to any one who wished to give a plausible account of his parentage or travels. In *ξ* 199 f. Odysseus invents a Cretan home. Cf. also ν 256 f., τ 172 f.



νηὶ θοῇ Θορικόνδε κατέσχεθον, ἔνθα γυναῖκες  
 ἡπίρου ἐπέβησαν ἀολλέες, ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ  
 δέπνον ἐπηρτύνοντο παρὰ πρυμνήσια νηός·  
 ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ οὐ δόρποιο μελίφρονος ἤρατο θυμός,  
 λάθρη δ' ὀρμηθεῖσα δι' ἡπίροιο μελαίνης 130  
 φεύγον ὑπερφιάλους σημάντορας, ὄφρα κε μὴ με  
 ἀπριάτην περάσαντες ἐμῆς ἀποναίατο τιμῆς.  
 οὕτω δεῦρ' ἰκόμην ἀλαλημένη, οὐδέ τι οἶδα  
 ἢ τις δὴ γαῖ' ἐστί, καὶ οἳ τινες ἐγγεγάασιν.  
 ἀλλ' ὑμῖν μὲν πάντες Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες 135  
 δοῖεν κουριδίους ἄνδρας καὶ τέκνα τεκέσθαι,  
 ὥς ἐθέλουσι τοκῆς· ἐμὲ δ' αὖτ' οἰκτεῖρατε κούραι,

προφρονέως, φίλα τέκνα, τέων πρὸς δώμαθ' ἵκωμαι

127. lacunam hic posuit Hermann, postea οἱ δὲ pro ἡδὲ scripsit 128.  
 ΔΕΠΝΟΝ Δ' ΕΝΤΥΝΟΝΤΟ Voss: τ' ΕΝΤΥΝΟΝΤΟ Bücheler 132. ἀΠΟΝΟΙΑΤΟ M: corr.  
 Ruhnken 134. ἐΓΓΕΓΑΑΣΙΝ M: corr. Ruhnken 137. lacunam posuimus:  
 ἔμ' αὐτ' Fontein: ἐμὲ δ' οἰκτεῖρατε Ilgen: ἐμοὶ δ' αὐτ' εἶπατε Cobet 138.  
 ΤΕΩΝ] τέως Ruhnken

126. Θορικόνδε: the town and deme of Thoricus (Therikó) was N. of Sunium, with a harbour now called Mandri. See Leake *Demi of Attica* p. 68. It was one of the twelve independent cities of Attica until the time of Theseus (Strabo ix. p. 397). For its history and remains see Frazer on Paus. i. 31. 3.

κατέσχεθον: the construction κατασχεῖν νηὶ is not Homeric, but occurs in Herodotus and Attic (Francke).

127. Hermann's lacuna is perhaps unnecessary, considering the elliptical style of this hymn generally; cf. 317, 446. Of course a step in the narrative is omitted. For the Homeric custom of landing for meals cf. ξ 346, ι 85, κ 56, ο 499. This passage seems to be a reminiscence of that in ξ, where Odysseus escapes from the Thesprotian sailors.

128. ἐπηρτύνοντο: Francke objects to the verb, on the ground that it is not used by Homer in the middle, and should mean "fix on." But the simple verb ἀρτύνω is found in the middle, with the sense here required "prepare": cf. B 55=K 302 ἡρτύνετο βουλὴν. Homer, however, has ἐντύνεσθαι with ἀριστον, δαῖτα, δέπνον.

129. δόρποιο: used in the proper sense of supper; cf. ξ 347 δόρπον ἔλοντο with

ἐσπέριοι 344. ΔΕΠΝΟΝ in 128 must therefore be general for any meal, or perhaps for the principal meal of the day, here supper.

132. τιμᾶς (for ὄνου) is not Homeric (Herod. and Attic).

133. Demeter feigns ignorance of the name of the country, although in 126 she mentions Thoricus. But Eleusis is sufficiently far from Thoricus to justify the word ἀλαλημένη and to give colour to her feigned ignorance of the place.

137. The key to this difficult passage is τέων, which is of course interrogative. To follow οἰκτεῖρατε it would have to be relative. Therefore rather than write τέως (un-Homeric in the sense of "until") with Ruhnken, it seems better to assume a lacuna containing a verb to govern τέων, e.g. (on the analogy of the corresponding line 149) τοῦτο δέ μοι σαφῶς ὑποθήκατε, ὄφρα πύθωμαι. The termination -ωμαι coming before ἵκωμαι and ἐργάζωμαι would account for the omission. The answer, 149 f., implies a question. Attempts have been made to give τοκῆς its full metrical value, but the synzesis is probably genuine; cf. βασιλῆς Hes. Op. 263, and perhaps ἱππῆς A 151. So ἐπηγεανός (quadrisyll.) Hes. Op. 607, h. Herm. 113.



ἀνέρος ἡδὲ γυναικός, ἵνα σφίσιν ἐργάζωμαι  
 πρόφρων, οἷα γυναικὸς ἀφήλικος ἔργα τέτυκται· 140  
 καὶ κεν παῖδα νεογνὸν ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἔχουσα  
 καλὰ τιθηνόμην, καὶ δώματα τηρήσαιμι,  
 καὶ κε λέχος στορέσαιμι μυχῷ θαλάμων εὐπῆκτων  
 δεσπόσυνον, καὶ κ' ἔργα διδασκῆσαιμι γυναῖκας.  
 Φῆ ῥα θεά· τὴν δ' αὐτίκ' ἀμείβετο παρθένος ἀδμής, 145  
 Καλλιδική, Κελεοῖο θυγατρῶν εἶδος ἀρίστη·  
 Μαῖα, θεῶν μὲν δῶρα καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἀνάγκη  
 τέτλαμεν ἄνθρωποι· δὴ γὰρ πολὺ φέρτεροί εἰσιν.  
 ταῦτα δέ τοι σαφέως ὑποθήσομαι, ἡδ' ὀνομήνω  
 ἀνέρας οἷσιν ἔπεισι μέγα κράτος ἐνθάδε τιμῆς, 150  
 δήμου τε προὔχουσιν, ἰδὲ κρήδεμνα πόλλος  
 εἰρύαται βουλῇσι καὶ ἰθείησι δίκησιν.  
 ἦ μὲν Τριπτολέμου πυκιμήδεος ἡδὲ Διόκλου

144. διαθῆσαιμι γυναικός M: corr. Voss: διαθλήσαιμι Ignarra: διαθρήσαιμι  
 Bothe: διαντλήσαιμι Mitscherlich: versum partim repetit scriba 147. ἄχνη-  
 μανοί M: corr. Ruhnken: ἀχνημένοισι περ ἀνάγκη . . . ἀνθρώποις Brunck  
 148. τετλάμεν Ilgen, Brunck 153. ἡμὲν, ἢ δὲ 154. ἢ δὲ M: corr. Matthiae

140. ἀφήλικος: not in Homer. Cf. Moeris p. 82 ἀφηλικεστέραν, πρεσβυτέραν Ἀττικῶς. But ἀπήλιξ is found in Herod. iii. 14 (in compar.). In X 490 (a late passage) παναφήλιξ has a different sense.

144. δεσπόσυνον: first in Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 267 (475). διδασκῆσαιμι: for the form cf. Hes. *Op.* 64 ἔργα διδασκῆσαι. διαθ[ρ]ῆσαιμι and διαθ[λ]ῆσαιμι are of course easier changes than Voss's διδασκῆσαιμι, which also involves the alteration of γυναικός to γυναῖκας. The sense, however, is very near, and the corruption not greater than some of those known in M (p. xviii). διδασκῆσαιμι (cf. the variant in Hes. *l.c.*) would be little removed from διαθῆσαιμι.

148-9 = 216-7. Cf. Solon *fr.* 5. 64 δῶρα δ' ἄφικτα θεῶν γίγνεται ἀθανάτων, Rhian. ap. Stob. 54 φέρομεν δὲ θεῶν ἐτερόρροπα δῶρα | ἀφραδέϊ κραδίη. The early editors doubted the mood of τέτλαμεν, and Brunck's alteration was to suit an infin. (τετλάμεν). The indic. is certainly right; cf. v 311.

151. Cf. Hes. *Scut.* 105 δς Θήβης κρήδεμνον ἔχει ῥύεται τε πόλιν. κρήδεμνα: applied to the walls of Troy, a 'diadem,' *Il* 100, v 388. Compare the epithet εἰστέφανος. So B 117 πολίων κάρηνα. See also vi. 2.

153 f. Τριπτολέμου: for Triptolemus and the other princes cf. 474 f. According to Paus. i. 14. 2 Triptolemus was the son of Trochilus or (the Athenian version) of Celeus. Apollodorus (i. 5. 2) calls him the eldest son of Celeus and Metanira, but mentions other genealogies, i.e. that of Panyasis (son of Eleusis and Demeter) and that of Pherecydes (son of Oceanus and Ge). Hyginus *fab.* 147 and Serv. on Verg. *Georg.* i. 19 give a different parentage (Eleusinus and Cothonea or Cynthinia). For the later myth of Triptolemus see Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 770 f., Harrison *M. M. A. A.* p. xlix f. (and Eumolpus). The derivation *τρῆς*, *πολεῖν* must now be abandoned, as Triptolemus had no early connexion with the plough (Kern *de Tript. Aratore*, 1887; cf. Lehrs *Aristarch.*<sup>2</sup> p. 459, von Wilamowitz *Aus Kydathen* p. 132); for the name cf. Neoptolemus etc.

For Dioclus cf. Plut. *Thes.* 10 (a king of Eleusis). In 474, 477 the form is Διοκλῆς; Ruhnken compares the double Ἴφικλος, Ἴφικλῆς and others. Polyxeinus and Dolichus appear to be abstracted from titles of Pluto; for Polyxeinus (whose name is not elsewhere mentioned in connexion with Eleusis) cf. on 9 Πολυδέκτη. Dolichus is certainly an



ἤδὲ Πολυξείνου καὶ ἀμύμονος Εὐμόλποιο  
καὶ Δολίχου καὶ πατρὸς ἀγήνορος ἡμετέριοι, 155  
τῶν πάντων ἄλοχοι κατὰ δώματα πορσαίνουσι·  
τάων οὐκ ἂν τίς σε κατὰ πρῶτιστον ὀπωπὴν  
εἶδος ἀτιμήσασα δόμων ἀπονοσφίσσειεν,  
ἀλλὰ σε δέξονται· δὴ γὰρ θεοεἰκελὸς ἔσσι.  
εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις, ἐπίμεινον, ἵνα πρὸς δώματα πατρὸς 160  
ἔλθωμεν καὶ μητρὶ βαθυζώνῃ Μετανείρῃ  
εἵπωμεν τάδε πάντα διαμπερές, αἳ κέ σ' ἀνώγη  
ἡμέτερόνδ' ἵεναι μηδ' ἄλλων δώματ' ἐρευνᾶν.  
τηλύγετος δέ οἱ υἱὸς ἐνὶ μεγάρῳ εὐπήκτω  
ὀψίγονος τρέφεται, πολυεύχετος ἀσπάσιός τε. 165

154. TESTIMONIUM. Pausanias i. 38. 2 Ὁμήρῳ δὲ ἐς μὲν τὸ γένος ἔστιν οὐδὲν αὐτοῦ πεποιημένον, ἐπονομάζει δὲ ἀγήνορα ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τὸν Εὐμόλπον.

154. ἀμύμονος] ἀγήνορος Paus. ut vid. (forte ex 155) 157. ὀπωπᾶς Ignarra  
158. ἀπονοσφίσσειεν M: corr. Matthiae 160. δὲ θέλεις M: corr. Hermann

epithet of Pluto; cf. von Prott in *Ath. Mitt.* xxiv. p. 251 [πλουτο]νι δ[ολι]χοι. Elsewhere he is a son of Triptolemus (Dolichus), Eusth. 306 on B 625, Steph. Byz.; Herodian (π. μον. λέξ. p. 10) quotes a line Εὐμόλπος Δολιχὸς τε καὶ Ἴπποθόων μεγάλθυμος.

Eumolpus, like Triptolemus, is here only one of the Eleusinian chiefs; his fame as the first hierophant and founder of the priestly family is later than the hymn.

The genitives depend on ἄλοχοι, τῶν πάντων being explanatory.

154. ἀμύμονος: as Pausanias in his citation (see crit. note) expressly says that Homer calls Eumolpus ἀγήνωρ, Ruhnken and others would exchange the epithets in 154, 155, reading ἀγήνορος Εὐμόλποιο and πατρὸς ἀμύμονος. But Pausanias' quotation is probably a casual error, influenced by the next line.

156. πορσαίνουσι: probably intrans., "manage in the house." Ruhnken takes δώματα as an object, joining κατὰ with the verb.

157. πρῶτιστον is sound. For this feminine form in comparative and superlative adjectives cf. δ 442 δλοῦτατος δδμή, Hes. *Theog.* 408 (Δητῶ) ἀγανώτατον ἐντὸς Ὀλύμπου, Pind. *fr.* 152 γλυκερώτερος ὀμφά. For exx. in prose see Kühner-Blass i. p. 554 n.

159. θεοεἰκελός: the gods, when they are disguised as mortals, often shew a

nobility which excites admiration; cf. the disguise of Apollo (*h. Ap.* 464 f.), of Aphrodite (*h. Aphr.* 92 f.), and of Dionysus (vii. 17 f.).

160. εἰ . . . ἐπίμεινον = ρ 277, where of course ἐθέλεις (the proper Homeric form) is found. Hermann is probably right in restoring it here; cf. 137. For the later θέλω see on *h. Ap.* 46.

164. τηλύγετος: M. and R. on δ 11 summarise Savelsberg's view (*Rhein. Mus.* 1853) that this word = *adolescens*, "grown big" (\*τῆλιν "great"), and is applied to boys and girls from the age of about thirteen to twenty or more. Leaf on Γ 175 approves. This explanation takes no account of the present passage, where Demophon is quite an infant. Fick *Wörterbuch* i. 440 connects the word with τάλις a bride: Prellwitz s.v. sees in the latter part the root of ὑγίης etc. It is of course possible that the writer was ignorant of the real meaning, and understood the word as referring to an only son, or to one born to his parents in old age, as the ancients variously explained. Francke and Gemoll think that the sense "late-born" could not have been here meant, as ὀψίγονος follows; but pleonasm is quite in the manner of this poem; cf. πολυεύχετος and ἀσπάσιος 165, and the synonyms in 124.

165. πολυεύχετος: only here, for πολυάρετος in Homer and below 220.



εἰ τὸν γ' ἐκθρέψαιο καὶ ἤβης μέτρον ἵκοιτο,  
ρεῖά κέ τίς σε ἰδοῦσα γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων  
ζηλώσαι· τόσα κέν τοι ἀπὸ θρεπτήρια δόη.

Ἦς ἔφαθ'· ἡ δ' ἐπένευσε καρήατι, ταὶ δὲ φαεινὰ  
πλησάμεναι ὕδατος φέρον ἄγγεα κυδιάουσai.

170

ρίμφα δὲ πατρὸς ἵκοντο μέγαν δόμον, ὧκα δὲ μητρὶ  
ἐννεπων ὥς εἰδόν τε καὶ ἔκλυον. ἡ δὲ μάλ' ὧκα  
ἐλθούσας ἐκέλευε καλεῖν ἐπ' ἀπείρονι μισθῷ.

αἱ δ' ὥς τ' ἡ ἔλαφοι ἢ πόρτιες εἶαρος ὄρη  
ἄλλοντ' ἂν λειμῶνα κορεσσάμεναι φρένα φορβῇ,

175

ὥς αἱ ἐπισχόμεναι ἐάνων πτύχας ἱμεροέντων  
ἤϊξαν κοίλην κατ' ἀμαξιτόν, ἀμφὶ δὲ χαῖται  
ῶμοις αἰσسونτο κροκῆϊ ἄνθει ὁμοίαι.

τέτμον δ' ἐγγὺς ὁδοῦ κυδρὴν θεόν, ἔνθα πάρος περ  
κάλλιπον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα φίλα πρὸς δώματα πατρὸς  
ἡγεῦνθ', ἡ δ' ἄρ' ὅπισθε φίλον τετιμμένη ἦτορ  
στείχε κατὰ κρήθεν κεκαλυμμένη, ἀμφὶ δὲ πέπλος  
κνάνεος ῥαδινοῖσι θεᾶς ἐλελίζετο ποσσίν.

180

172. ὦς] ὅς Ruhnken 174. αἱ δ' ὥς τοι M: corr. Brunck || ἥαρος M (cf. 401): corr. Ruhnken 179. θεᾶν M: corr. Hermann (cf. 1) 180. φίλου Matthiae 182. κατ' ἄκρῃ M: corr. Ruhnken 183. θεᾶς M: corr. Ruhnken

168. **θρεπτήρια**: see on 223. **δοῖν**: see. Metanira: cf. 223 *δοῖν*.

170. **κυδιάουσai**: for the occasional retention of the original -*aw* etc. see *H. G.* § 55. Instances in the hymns are *h. Aphr.* 266, vii. 14, 41.

172. **ὦς**, "according as"; so 295, 416. Ruhnken's *ὅς* is quite needless.

174. It is noticeable that here and in 401 M represents the diphthong *ει* by *η*; cf. also *h. Ap.* 9. *ἥαρος* may be a genuine form (i.e. a correct transcription of a prae-Euclidean E), or it may be a confusion with *ἥρος*, *ἡρινός*. Homer only uses *ἥαρος*, Z 148, τ 518 (but see Agar in *J. P.* xxviii. 1901, p. 80 f.). For *ἥρος* cf. 455.

176. The picture of girls raising their dress to run is not found in Homer or Hesiod. The action, as Francke notes, is commonly represented in art from the seventh century, and (although Gemoll rejects the idea) it is quite possible that the writer may have been influenced by such works of art (Francke p. 26). At all events, the pictorial touch is rather

after the manner of a later poet. Baumeister compares Apoll. *Arg.* I 873 *ἀν δὲ χιτῶνας | λεπταλέους λευκῆς ἐπιγυονίδος ἀχρὶς αἶρον*. (Compare this description of maidens running by the side of the chariot with the simple statement in ν 84, 319.)

177. **ἀμφὶ . . αἵττοντο**: borrowed from Z 509 (of a horse). So *κυδιῶν* Z 509=*κυδιάουσai* 170, and Z 400 *παῖδ' ἐπὶ κόλπῳ ἔχουσα*=187 (*ὑπό*).

178. **κροκῆϊ**: only here; for the form (= *κροκέω*) cf. *κουρήϊον* (*ἀνθος*) 108, also *ἄπαξ εἰρ*. For the colour cf. *Ov. Ars amor.* i. 530 *croceas irreligata comas*.

182. **κατὰ κρήθεν**: II 548, where see Leaf, λ 588, Hes. *Theog.* 574, and *ἀπὸ κρήθεν* Hes. *Scut.* 7. The stem *κρη-* appears in *κρήδεμνον*, *κρήνη* *H. G.* § 107, n. 5. The covered head, and the *κνάνεος πέπλος* are, of course, signs of mourning; cf. Demeter *Μέλαινα* at Phigalia Paus. viii. 42, Pauly-Wissowa 2734.

183. **θεᾶς** may be restored, as in 210 M gives *θεᾶ*. For the confusion of *η* and *α* in the ms. see 147.



αἶψα δὲ δώμαθ' ἵκοντο διοτρεφέος Κελεοῖο,  
 βὰν δὲ δι' αἰθούσης, ἔνθα σφίσι πότνια μήτηρ 185  
 ἦστο παρὰ σταθμὸν τέγεος πύκα ποιητοῖο,  
 παῖδ' ὑπὸ κόλπῳ ἔχουσα, νέον θάλος· αἰ δὲ παρ' αὐτὴν  
 ἔδραμον, ἥ δ' ἄρ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἔβη ποσί, καὶ ῥα μελάθρου  
 κύρε κάρη, πλήσεν δὲ θύρας σέλαος θείοιο.  
 τὴν δ' αἰδώς τε σέβας τε ἰδὲ χλωρὸν δέος εἶλεν· 190  
 εἶξε δέ οἱ κλισμοῖο καὶ ἐδριάσθαι ἄνωγεν.  
 ἀλλ' οὐ Δημήτηρ ὠρηφόρος ἀγλαόδωρος  
 ἤθελεν ἐδριάσθαι ἐπὶ κλισμοῖο φαεινοῦ,  
 ἀλλ' ἀκέουσα ἔμμνε, κατ' ὄμματα καλὰ βαλοῦσα  
 πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ οἱ ἔθηκεν Ἰάμβη κέδν' εἰδυῖα 195

## 192. ὠραφόρος M : corr. Ruhnken

186 = α 333 (στῆ ῥα) and elsewhere. **τέγεος**, properly any roofed space, is here the *μέγαρον*.

187. **ὑπό** : we should expect *ἐπί*, as in Z 400 (Gemoll). But the variation is trivial ; in ο 469 *ὑπὸ κόλπῳ* is used though with a slightly different sense.

188-211. Preller brackets these lines as interpolated, and others eject the whole or part of the passage. Preller's reasons are quite inadequate, as Baumeister, Gemoll and others point out.

188-189. Objection has been needlessly raised to this account of Demeter's miraculous entrance, in spite of which Metanira does not seem to recognize her divinity (cf. 213-215). She seems, indeed, to suspect that her visitor is something out of the common (190), just as Demeter appears *θεοεικελος*, i.e. "noble," to the girls (159). But when her momentary fear has gone, she is ready to accept Demeter as a mortal. Compare Anchises' original scruples (*h. Aphr.* 92f.), and his acceptance of Aphrodite's denial of divinity. Even more striking is the indifference to a miracle shown by the Tyrrhenian captain in the hymn to Dionysus ; see vii. *Introd.* p. 228, and notes on *h. Dem.* 159, *h. Apr.* 465.

188. **μελάθρου κύρε κάρη** = *h. Aphr.* 173. Gemoll thinks that the present passage was borrowed from the *h. Aphr.* while Abel reverses the debt. In both places the words seem equally suitable. Gemoll argues that *μελάθρου* is properly used of the roof-timbers in the *h. Aphr.*, but improperly here for the lintel ; but this is hypercritical. Indeed, we may

suppose the goddess to have just crossed the threshold and to be standing actually in the *μέγαρον*.

189. **ΠΛΑΞΕΝ** κτλ. : miraculous light marks the presence of the gods : cf. *h. Apr.* 444 (of Apollo), *Eur. Bacch.* 1083 (Dionysus), *Ov. Fast.* i. 94 *lucidior visa est quam fuit ante domus* ; so *infra* 278.

191. **κλισμοῖο** : on the *κλισμός* see Helbig *H. E.* pp. 118, 122. It was more luxurious than the *πηκτὸν ἔδος* (= *διδῶρος* 198) which Demeter accepted. Matthiae compares *Athen.* v. 4 and τ 55 f.

193. **ΦΑΙΝΟῦ** : epithet of *θρόνος*, Λ 645. The *κλισμός* is *πολυδαίδαλος* Ω 597, and *ποικίλος* α 132, i.e. inlaid, or studded with silver (*ἀργυρόηλος*). In Θ 436 the epithet *χρῶσεος* is ideal, for the chairs of gods.

194. The last hemistich = *h. Aphr.* 156. Cf. *Verg. Aen.* xi. 480 *oculos deiecta decoros*.

195. **Ἰάμβη** : the episode of Iambe and Demeter is related by Apollod. i. 5. 1 *γραιὰ τις Ἰάμβη σκώψασα τὴν θεὸν ἐποίησε μειδιάσαι. διὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς θεσμοφόροις τὰς γυναῖκας σκώπτειν λέγουσι* : Nicand. *Alexiph.* 130 ; cf. *Diod.* v. 4, *E. M.* and Hesych. s.v. The scholia on Nicand. *l.c.*, Hephaest. p. 169, Eustath. p. 1684 attribute the invention of the iambic metre to Iambe. The connexion is absurd, although it may have been present in the mind of the writer of this hymn. As Gemoll notes, there is no proof that the Eleusinian raiillery was uttered in iambic or any other metre ; it was no doubt *impromptu*. The schol. on Nicand. *Ther.* 484 mentions Ambas as a son of Metanira who laughed



πηκτὸν ἔδος, καθύπερθε δ' ἐπ' ἀργύφειον βάλε κῶας.  
 ἔνθα καθεζομένη προκατέσχετο χερσὶ καλύπτρην·  
 δηρὸν δ' ἀφθογγος τετιημένη ἦσθ' ἐπὶ δίφρου,  
 οὐδὲ τιν' οὐτ' ἔπει προσπτύσσετο οὔτε τι ἔργω,  
 ἀλλ' ἀγέλαστος, ἄπαστος ἐδήτύος ἠδὲ ποτήτος,  
 ἦστο, πόθω μινύθουσα βαθυζώνοιο θυγατρὸς,  
 πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ χλεύης μιν Ἰάμβη κέδν' εἰδυῖα  
 πολλὰ παρασκώπτουσ' ἐτρέψατο πότνια ἀγνήν,

200

202 sq. TESTIMONIUM. Schol. Nicand. *Alex.* 130 ὅτι δὲ διὰ γλήχωνος ἐπιεν ἡ Δημήτηρ τὸν κυκεῶνα καὶ διὰ τὴν χλεύην τῆς Ἰάμβης ἐγέλασεν ἡ θεός, ἐν τοῖς εἰς Ὀμηρον ἀναφερομένοις ὕμνοις λέγεται.

196. κῶα M: corr. Ruhnken 202. χλεύης M: corr. Ruhnken 203.  
 παρασκώπτουσα τρέψατο M: corr. Voss

at the sacred rites; this suggests a connexion with Iambe, whose similarity to *ιαμβος* must be accidental. Iambe's jesting is here a mythological explanation of the banter which was a feature of the Eleusinia. No doubt the jesting was part of the primitive festival, although the literary references mostly mention the practice in connexion with the Athenian period of the Eleusinia. According to the schol. on Arist. *Plut.* 1014 the Athenian women abused one another, on their way to Eleusis in carriages; cf. also Suidas s.v. τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀμαξῶν. There was a similar custom at the *στήνια* (Athens): see Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 778. So Epidaurian women rallied at each other at the parallel festival of Damia and Auxesia (Herod. v. 83; cf. Frazer on Paus. ii. 30. 4). In these cases the raillery was peculiar to women, who were so intimately connected with agricultural rites. But at the Eleusinia there was also a custom known as *γεφυρισμός*, in which men and women alike seem to have abused and jested with the procession at a bridge on the Eleusinian road. See Arist. *Ran.* 384 f., Strabo ix. p. 400, *E. M.* p. 229, Hesych. s.v. *γεφυριστάι*, Svoronos p. 297. There was a general *αἰσχρολογία* in the Sicilian festival (Diod. l.c.). The custom is probably due to the widespread idea that abuse of a person or his belongings brings good luck (by avoiding the *φθόνος θεῶν* or the evil eye, etc.). Frazer (*G. B.* i. p. 97 and on Paus. i. 37. 3) quotes, among other examples, Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* viii. 3, Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* vii. 2. 2; a Greek sower of cummin must curse to avoid failure of the crop.

The raillery of Iambe is akin to the

indecencies associated with Baubo (Babo), who was actually worshipped at Paros (see inscr. quoted on 491) and certainly figured in the Eleusinian cult of Demeter (Harp. s. v. *Δυσάυλης*, Clem. *Alex. Protrept.* ii. 77).

199. Cf. E 879 ταύτην δ' οὐτ' ἐπεὶ προτιβάλλεαι οὔτε τι ἔργω.

200. *ἀγέλαστος*: this has been referred to the tradition that Demeter sat upon an *ἀγέλαστος πέτρα*: Apollod. i. 5. 1, schol. on Arist. *Eg.* 782, Suidas s.v. *Σαλαμῖνος*, Hesych. s.v. The situation of the stone cannot now be identified. Apollodorus places it by the Callichorum, but this is no authority, as he does not seem to follow the local tradition in regard to the resting-place of Demeter (see on 99). The stone is mentioned in a fourth-century inscr. (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1883 p. 115); it was probably near Athens, and unknown in the old Eleusinian myth; see Svoronos p. 247 f. In any case it should be noted that the word *ἀγέλαστος* has no immediate connexion with the *ἀγέλαστος πέτρα*, for Demeter is now sitting *ἐπὶ δίφρου* (198) in the house.

The latter hemistich = δ 788.

*ἄπαστος*: Callimachus (*h. Dem.* 8), who says nothing of Iambe, makes Demeter break her fast in the evening: *ἔσπερος ὅς τε πικρὴν Δαμάτρεα μῶνος ἔπεισεν*. This supports the theory that the Mystae fasted only till sunset (cf. the Mohammedan Ramadan; see Ramsay p. 126 n. 5).

202-205 bracketed by Matthiae and others, needlessly. Hermann (*Epist.* cv) objects to *μιν* followed by *πότνια ἀγνήν*, but this apposition is quite Homeric;



μειδῆσαι γέλασαι τε καὶ ἴλαον σχεῖν θυμόν·  
 ἢ δὴ οἱ καὶ ἔπειτα μεθύστερον εὐαδεν ὀργαῖς.  
 τῇ δὲ δέπας Μετάνειρα δίδου μελιηδέος οἴνου  
 πλήσας, ἢ δ' ἀνένευσ'. οὐ γὰρ θεμιτόν οἱ ἔφασκε  
 πίνειν οἶνον ἐρυθρόν, ἄνωγε δ' ἄρ' ἄλφι καὶ ὕδωρ  
 δοῦναι μίξασαν πῖεμεν γλήχωνι τερείνῃ.

205

204. σήμεν ἄτορ vel ὀργάν Mitscherlich  
 ὄργαις] ὄργή Bücheler: εὐαδ' ἑορταῖς Voss  
 Ruhnken

205. ἔβαθεν M: corr. Ruhnken ||  
 207. τοι M: corr. Matthiae: γ' οἱ

see Φ 249, ζ 48, and cf. the frequent use of the pronominal δ in apposition with a proper name. He is also offended by the inelegancy of 204 and by ὀργαῖς, 205. Francke thinks that πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ in 202 was written by an imitator of 195; but the writer of 195 may surely have repeated himself.

204. ἴλαον σχεῖν θυμόν: Hes. *Op.* 340 ὥς κέ τοι ἴλαον κραδίην καὶ θυμόν ἔχωσιν. The metre (with the last three feet spondaic) is not common, except in stereotyped endings, as in *θυνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις* (or the genitive of this formula) 11, 22, 29, 45, 55, 73, 403, and often in Homer. In 195, 202 Ἰάμβη κέν' εἰδυῖα the older epic form was of course κέννα. *Fiδυῖα* (α 428 etc.). In 302 ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ is formulaic (= E 500); so 452 κρή λευκὸν = δ 604. With the present line cf. 417, 421, 474. The number of "spondaic" verses (i.e. with the last two feet spondaic) is much greater in this hymn than the proportion in the first book of the *Iliad* (e.g.) or in the hymn to Apollo (see Schürmann *de h. in Cer. aetate* etc. p. 55 f., Francke p. 23, and see generally Eberhard *Metr. Beob.* i. p. 10 f., La Roche *Wiener Studien* xx. p. 70 f.).

205. ὄργαις, "humour," "mood," a sense common both in sing. and plur. See L. and S. Iambe, who was Demeter's companion as long as she remained in Celeus' house, "pleased her afterwards also," not merely for the moment. The double dat. (οἱ . . ὀργαῖς) presents no difficulty; for the σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος in the dat. compare A 24, Θ 129, N 82, Hes. *Scut.* 221, Herod. vii. 16.

207 f. οὐ γὰρ θεμιτόν: cf. schol. on Nicand. *Alex. l.c.* ἢ δὲ θεὸς οὐκ ἐδέξατο, λέγουσα μὴ θεμιτόν εἶναι πίνειν αὐτὴν οἶνον ἐπὶ τῇ θλίψει τῆς θυγατρὸς. Jevons (p. 379 f.) thinks that wine is here a surrogate of blood and was for this reason excluded from the non-animal sacrifices

to cereal deities. For wine as akin to blood see Frazer *G. B.* i. p. 358 f., and for bloodless offerings to Demeter or other deities of vegetation cf. e.g. Paus. viii. 42. 11. So the Eleians did not pour wine to the Despoinae. But Demeter and Persephone did not as a rule object to animal sacrifice: pigs were offered at the Attic Thesmophoria, and at Thebes (Paus. ix. 8. 1); see Schömann *Griech. Alterth.* ii. p. 232 f. And, since human blood seems, at least originally, to have been shed during the Eleusinia (see on 265), the goddesses can hardly have objected to wine as its substitute. It need hardly be noted, in fact, that abstinence from wine would be natural in any fast, such as took place in the Eleusinia.

208 f. The passage refers to the *κυκεών*, the institution of which the hymn-writer, according to his wont, ascribes to Demeter herself. The drinking of this mixture of meal and water was the actual means of communion with the goddess, and belonged therefore to the most sacred part of the ritual in the *τελεστήριον*. The mystae received certain objects from the hierophant and answered *ἐνήστευσα, ἐπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης, ἐγγενεσάμενος ἀπεθέμην εἰς κάλαθον, καὶ ἐκ καλάρου εἰς κίστην* (Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* 18, Arnob. v. 26; see Lobeck *Aglaoph.* i. p. 25, Harrison *Prolegomena* p. 155).

For the *κυκεών* in Homer see A 624 f., κ 234 f. In the latter passage it is called *σίτος*, being compounded of *ἀλφίτα*, but it is always drunk (*ἐπιον κ 237*). So Eusth. 870. 65 *εἰ καὶ μεταξύ βρωτοῦ καὶ ποτοῦ ὁ κυκεῶν εἶναι δοκεῖ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον οἷα ζωμός τις ῥοφήτος ἦν*, comparing A 640 f. Cf. *Ar. Pax* 712 *οὐκ, εἴ γε κυκεῶν' ἐπιπίοις βληχωνίαν*, schol. on Nicand. *Alex.* 128 f. (*ἐπιε*).

On the sacramental eating of corn see Frazer *G. B.* ii. p. 318 f.



ἡ δὲ κυκεῶ τεύξασα θεῇ πόρεν ὥς ἐκέλευε· 210  
δεξαμένη δ' ὀσίης ἔνεκεν πολυπότνια Δηῶ

τῇσι δὲ μύθων ἦρχεν εὖζωνος Μετάνειρα·

Χαῖρε, γύναι, ἐπεὶ οὐ σε κακῶν ἅπ' ἔολπα τοκῆων  
ἔμμεναι, ἀλλ' ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ τοι πρέπει ὄμμασιν αἰδῶς 215  
καὶ χάρις, ὥς εἰ πέρ τε θεμιστοπόλων βασιλῆων.  
ἀλλὰ θεῶν μὲν δῶρα καὶ ἀχνύμενοί περ ἀνάγκη  
τέτλαμεν ἄνθρωποι· ἐπὶ γὰρ ζυγὸς αὐχένι κεῖται.  
νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ ἴκεο δεῦρο, παρέσσεται ὅσσα τ' ἐμοί περ.  
παῖδα δέ μοι τρέφε τόνδε, τὸν ὀψίγονον καὶ ἄελπτον 220  
ὥπασαν ἀθάνατοι, πολυάρητος δέ μοί ἐστιν.  
εἰ τὸν γε θρέψαιο καὶ ἥβης μέτρον ἴκοιτο,  
ἦ ρά κέ τις σε ἰδοῦσα γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων  
ζηλώσαι· τόσα κέν τοι ἀπὸ θρεπτῆρια δοίην.

Τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν εὐστέφανος Δημήτηρ·  
καὶ σύ, γύναι, μάλα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ἐσθλὰ πόροιεν. 225  
παῖδα δέ τοι πρόφρων ὑποδέξομαι, ὥς με κελεύεις·

211. lacunam statuius nos et Puntoni: ἔνεκεν] ἔλαχεν Schaefer: ἐπέβη  
Voss: ἐνέχεεν Tyrrell: πίε πότνια Franke 215. χάρος M: corr. m. p. 220.  
πολυάρητος M: corr. Ruhnken 223. δοίην Matthiae

211. ὀσίης ἔνεκεν, "to observe the rite," as practised by the mystae. The expedients to bring the apodosis into this line are violent. ἐπέβη is far removed from ἔνεκεν, which gives admirable sense and is defended by Eur. *I. T.* 1461 ὀσίας ἔκατι. Another suggestion, πίε πότνια, is equally rash. The lacuna has Puntoni's support; it must contain the verb of drinking. The missing verse may have run somehow as follows: ἔκπιεν· ἡ δὲ λαβοῦσα δέπας θέτο ἐνθ' ἀνάειρε.

πολυπότνια: not in early epic, but cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 1156, Apoll. *Arg.* A 1125, Orph. *h.* xl. 16 (of Deo). The writer of this hymn is fond of compounds with πολυ-; cf. 9, 17, 18, 28, 31 etc.

213. χαῖρε: not here a salutation at meeting, but a courteous form of address or congratulation after some incident has occurred: Baumeister compares σ 122 (after pledging a guest in wine, = "your health"), λ 248, θ 408, 413.

ἐπεὶ οὐ σε κακῶν κτλ.; cf. *h. Aphr.* 132 οὐ μὲν γάρ κε κακοὶ τοῖνδ' ἐκόειν, and a close parallel in [Theocr.] xxv. 38

οὐ σέ γε φημι κακῶν ἐξ | ἔμμεναι οὐδὲ κακοῖσιν ἐοικότα φύμεναι αὐτόν· | οἶόν τοι μέγα εἶδος ἐπιπρέπει (possibly an imitation of this passage; but κακῶν ἐξ is in Ξ 42 and for εἶδος ἐπιπρέπει Gemoll compares ω 252).

214. αἰδῶς, "dignity," a sense not in Homer.

216-217. Cf. 147-148.

217. ζυγός: only the neut. in Homer. For the phrase cf. Hes. *Op.* 815 ἐπὶ ζυγὸν αὐχένα θείναι βοῦσί, *Theog.* 1023 ὑπὸ ζυγὸν αὐχένα θήσω, where the gender is indeterminate, but is probably neuter. Callimachus (*fr.* 467) is the first writer who certainly uses ζυγός in the sense "yoke," but Plato (*Tim.* 63 B) has the masc. for "balance."

221-223=166-168, with small variations.

223. δοίην is certainly to be retained; the mother would reward the nurse with θρεπτῆρια, when the child grew up. This is not to be confused with the θρεπτῆρια in Hes. *Op.* 188, of the return made by the child to his parents in their old age; so θρέπτρα (the Homeric form) in Δ 478, P 302.



θρέψω, κοῦ μιν ἔολπα κακοφραδίῃσι τιθήνης  
 οὔτ' ἄρ' ἐπηλυσίη δηλήσεται οὔθ' ὑποτάμνον·  
 οἶδα γὰρ ἀντίτομον μέγα φέρτερον ὑλοτόμοιο,  
 οἶδα δ' ἐπηλυσίης πολυπήμονος ἐσθλὸν ἐρυσμόν.  
 "Ὡς ἄρα φωνήσασα θυώδει δέξατο κόλπῳ

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227. ἐρέψω τ' vel ἐρέψασε' Voss : ἐρέψαι Hermann : ἐρέψουσ' Goodwin :  
 ἐρεψέμεν Agar || κοῦ servarunt Bücheler (lacuna statuta), Monro, Puntoni 228.  
 ἐπηλυσίη δηλήσεται οὔθ' ὑποταμνὸν M : ἐπηλυσίη Ruhnken : pro ὑποταμνὸν conl.  
 οὔτε τομαῖον Voss : ὑποταμνῶν Ignarra : ὑπόδαμνον et ὀρόδαμνος commendat  
 Bücheler 229. οὔλοτόμοιο Voss : οὔδοτόμοιο Bergk

227. κοῦ : objections have been raised to the crasis, which, however, is perfectly tolerable ; cf. n. on 13.

228-230. ἐπηλυσίη, "witchcraft," is certain (cf. *h. Herm.* 37), but ὑποταμνὸν and ὑλοτόμοιο are puzzling. The former has been explained as a "cut herb," used in sorcery, but the formation hardly allows such a meaning. Voss's οὔτε τομαῖον (sc. φάρμακον) is too violent. The same editor altered ὑλοτόμοιο to οὔλοτόμοιο (a non-existing word), i.e. herbs cut for harmful purposes. In the *Class. Rev.* 1895, p. 13 it was suggested that ὑποταμνὸν and ὑλοτόμοιο are superstitious paraphrases for the worm (ἐλμυς or σκώληξ), and that Demeter knows of a remedy against this children's complaint. For such paraphrases cf. Aratus 959 σκώληκες, | κείνοι τοὺς καλέουσι μελαίνης ἔντερα γαίης, and Hesiod's φερέοικος "snail," ἀρόστεος "cuttle-fish," ἰδρίς "ant." See A. B. Cook "Descriptive Animal Names in Greece," *Class. Rev.* 1894, pp. 381 f., where a large number of similar substantives or epithets are collected. If this view is correct, the translation will be : "neither shall witchcraft hurt him, nor the Undercutter (Borer) ; for I know an antidote far stronger than the Woodcutter." This involves the accentuation ὑποτάμνον, a participle used as a substantive, like ἀμειβόντες, ἀμφιφῶν, Ἐμπουσα, κελόντες. The objection is that ὑλοτόμοιο, the wood-cutter appears unsuitable as a paraphrase for the parasitic worm. In *Hermath.* i. p. 142 Davies retained ὑποταμνὸν, and suggested οὔλοτόμοιο from οὐλα "gums," i.e. gum-cutting. But as Tyrrell notes, these words are strangely formed if they denote a process. οὔλοτόμοιο should be active, and mean "gum-cutter."

Davies is, however, probably right in seeing an allusion to "teething," the

first inevitable trouble of childhood. It may therefore be suggested that the ὑποτάμνον and οὔλοτόμος, or gum-cutter, is a worm, which, according to the belief of many peoples, causes toothache. Although teething itself could hardly be attributed to a worm, the incidental aches could be referred to that agency, i.e. the absence of a worm would result in easy teething. This explanation would be more certain, if we accept the correction οὔλοτόμοιο, but it may still hold good with the retention of ὑλοτόμοιο (a general word for a worm), as suggested above.

For the worm as the cause of toothache cf. Shakespeare *Much Ado* iii. 2. 28 ; the belief is very common, e.g. in Scotland, *County Folk-Lore* iii. (Orkney), p. 140 ; India, Crooke *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of N. India* i. p. 151 (where women of the gipsy tribes know charms to extract the worm) ; Finland, Abercromby *Pre- and Proto-historic Finns* i. p. 328. Dyer *Folklore of Shakespeare* p. 273 f. gives parallels from Germany and China. In the *Geopon.* xii. 27 and 35 the same remedies are assigned to worms and toothache.

231 f. The story of Demeter nursing Demophon has a parallel in Paus. ii. 5. 5 : the children of Plemnaeus, a legendary King of Aegialeia, in Sicily, died at birth, until Demeter took pity and under the guise of a strange woman reared up a child named Orthopolis. On the close connexion between the growth of children and vegetation see the interesting chapter in Mannhardt *Myth. Forsch.* p. 351 f. "Kind und Korn." For Demeter as a goddess of healing see Rubensohn in *Ath. Mitth.* xx. p. 360 f. In the hymn, Demophon is in no present danger ; Demeter only promises to keep him in good health. According to



χερσίν τ' ἀθανάτησιν γεγήθει δὲ φρένα μήτηρ.  
ὥς ἡ μὲν Κελεοῖο δαΐφρονος ἀγλαὸν υἱόν,  
Δημοφῶωνθ', ὃν ἔτικτεν εὖζωνος Μετάνειρα,  
ἔτρεφεν ἐν μεγάροις· ὁ δ' ἀέξετο δαίμονι ἴσος,  
οὗτ' οὖν σῖτον ἔδων, οὐ θησάμενος

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### Δημήτηρ

χρίεσκ' ἀμβροσίῃ ὥς εἰ θεοῦ ἐκγεγαῶτα,  
ἥδ' ἐν καταπνείουσα καὶ ἐν κόλποισιν ἔχουσα·  
νύκτας δὲ κρύπτεσκε πυρὸς μένει ἥτε δαλόν,

232. χερσίν τ'] χείρεσιν Ilgen: χείρεσσ' Cobet 236. ἡ δ' ἡμαρ Matthiae:  
κατὰ δ' ἡμαρ Voss: lacunam primus fecit Mitscherlich quam explevit vocibus  
γάλα μητρὸς Hermann 236A. ἡματὶν μὲν γὰρ καλλιτέφανος Δημήτηρ Voss:  
ἀλλὰ μιν ἡματὶν μὲν εὐστέφανος Δημήτηρ Stoll: ἀλλὰ γὰρ ἡματα μὲν μιν  
εὐστέφανος Δημήτηρ Baumeister

Nicand. *Ther.* 485 a lizard (ἀσκαλαβώτης) had wounded Metanira's child; in Ovid *Fast.* iv. 446 f. the child (Triptolemus) is dying.

231. θυώδει' θέατο κόλῳ = Z 483 (κηώδει'), of Andromache; hence θυώδης does not refer to the divinity of Demeter, who sheds a superhuman fragrance only when she appears as a goddess (see on 277).

232. χερσίν τ': the τε, to which many editors object, seems genuine. Demeter receives the child in her bosom and her arms (not "places the child with her hands in her bosom").

234. Δημοφῶωνθ': Apollod. i. 5. 1 follows this version of the story. He mentions however Triptolemus as the elder son of Celeus, and relates the gift of the winged chariot. Demophon was finally ousted altogether by the greater fame of Triptolemus.

236. The abruptness of the text is impossible, and Hermann's supplement is recommended by the homeoteleuton.

237 f. For the story cf. Apollod. i. 5. 1 βουλευμένη δὲ αὐτὸ ἀθάνατον ποιῆσαι, τὰς νύκτας εἰς πῦρ κατετίθει τὸ βρέφος καὶ περιέχει τὰς θνητὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ. Ovid *Fast.* iv. 487 *inque foco pueri corpus vivente favilla | obruit, humanum purget ut ignis onus*. Similarly Thetis wished to make Achilles immortal, but was prevented by Peleus: cf. Apollod. iii. 13. 6 and Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 869 f. (a passage which, as Ruhnken pointed out, may be derived from the hymn) ἡ μὲν γὰρ βροτέας αἰεὶ περὶ σάρκας ἔδαιεν | νύκτα διὰ

μέσσην φλογμῷ πυρός· ἡματα δ' αὖτε | ἀμβροσίῃ χρίεσκε τέρεν δέμας, ὅφρα πέλοιτο | ἀθάνατος καὶ οἱ στυγερόν χροῖ γῆρας ἀλάλκοι.

238. καταπνείουσα: cf. Ovid *Fast.* iv. 540 *inungere dignata est os puerile suo*. | *pallor abit, subitasque vident in corpore vires*. | *tantus caelesti venit ab ore vigor*.

239. κρύπτεσκε: so Apollod. iii. 13. 6 κρύφα Πηλέως εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐγκρυβοῦσα. For the purifying effect of fire on human beings cf. Rohde *Psyche* p. 29, Mannhardt *A. W. F.* p. 52 f., Frazer *G. B.* iii. p. 312, who says "to the primitive mind fire is the most powerful of all purificatory agents." He compares the custom of modern Greek women who leap over the midsummer bonfire, crying "I leave my sins behind me." The myth of Demophon suggests, if it does not prove, that the Eleusinian children were purified by passing over fire (Jevons p. 365, *Intro.* p. 10). For such customs in the case of children see Frazer *G. B.* iii. p. 239 f. Modern Greeks still believe that newborn babies are protected from evil by the presence of fire; see Rodd *Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* p. 107 f. For the cognate idea of carrying fire over the field see on 48.

ἥτε δαλόν: this may mean "she hid him in fire as a brand is kept alight" (in the ashes); for which see ε 488 f. and n. on *h. Herm.* 234. More probably, however, we should understand "she wrapt him in flames like a lighted torch."



λάθρα φίλων γονέων τοῖς δὲ μέγα θαῦμ' ἐτέτυκτο 240  
 ὥς προθαλῆς τελέθεσκε, θεοῖσι δὲ ἄντα ἑάκει.  
 καὶ κέν μιν ποιήσεν ἀγέρων τ' ἀθάνατόν τε,  
 εἰ μὴ ἄρ' ἀφραδίῃσιν ἐϋζωνος Μετάνειρα  
 νύκτ' ἐπιτηρήσασα θυώδεος ἐκ θαλάμοιο  
 σκέψατο· κώκυσεν δὲ καὶ ἄμφω πλῆξατο μηρῷ 245  
 δείσας· ὃ περὶ παιδὶ καὶ ἀάσθη μέγα θυμῷ,  
 καὶ ῥ' ὀλοφυρομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 Τέκνον Δημοφῶν, ξείνη σε πυρὶ ἐνὶ πολλῷ  
 κρύπτει, ἐμοὶ δὲ γόον καὶ κήδεα λυγρὰ τίθησιν.  
 Ὡς φάτ' ὀδυρομένη· τῆς δ' αἶε δῖα θεάων. 250  
 τῇ δὲ χολωσαμένη καλλιστέφανος Δημήτηρ  
 παῖδα φίλον, τὸν ἄελλπον ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔτικτε,  
 χεῖρεςσ' ἀθανάτησιν ἀπὸ ἔο θῆκε πέδονδε,

240. λάθρα ἑῶν Spitzner: λάθρη ἑῶν Abel: κρύβδα φίλων Baumeister  
 248. ζείνη c' ἥδ' ἐν πυρὶ πολλῷ Hermann: σε πυρὸς μένει οὐλῶ Schneidewin  
 253. ἄπω M: corr. Matthiae || εἶκε] γ' ἥκε Matthiae: ἔθεν ἥκε Cobet

240. λάθρα occurs only in a doubtful fragment of Euripides (1117 v. 28 Dind.); it is corrected in *Hel.* 835 (λάθρ' οὐδαμοῦ). ἐῆ for φίλῃ was read by Zenodotus in I' 244, but the alteration seems too violent here; much more so κρύβδα φίλων.

241. προαλῆς, "early - growing," only here; for the form cf. ἀμφιθαλῆς X 496, and εὐθαλῆς common in poetry after Homer.

The last hemistich = Ω 630 with γάρ (for δέ) which Voss wrongly restores here. The sense requires δέ, and the hiatus in the bucolic diaeresis is legitimate.

242. ἀγέρων: see on *h. Aphr.* 214.

244 f. ἐπιτηράσασα: she watched to see how the nurse made the child thrive, and thus broke the taboo. The magic could only be worked in secrecy, although the writer implies rather than expresses this (258 f.). In fact it is doubtful whether he understood the real nature of the taboo in the myth; he lays stress only upon Demeter's anger (251, 254), as if she renounced her design of her own will. In the Achilles legend, Apollodorus (*l.c.*) is more explicit: Θέτις κωλυθεῖσα τὴν προαίρεσιν τελεῖσθαι. Apollonius vaguely states that Thetis left Peleus, as soon as she heard him cry, and rushed into the sea, χωσαμένη (Δ 877); the schol. on *Ar. Nub.* 1068 similarly

says ἡ δὲ λυπηθεῖσα ἐχωρίσθη. Curiosity in seeing a forbidden sight is punished in the classical myth of Cupid and Psyche; for other examples of this world-wide motive see Hartland *Science of Fairy Tales* pp. 270 f.

245. κώκυσεν: the language of Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 872 is similar: ἦκε δ' αὐτὴν | σμερδαλέην ἐσιδὼν μέγα νήπιος.

ἄμφω πλῆξατο μηρῷ: cf. M 162, ν 198.

246. ἄσση: for the quantity of the first vowel cf. ν 68 ἄσαν, Δ 340 ἄσσοιο δὲ μέγα θυμῷ. In 258 the α is short, for which cf. II 685, T 113, 136, *h. Aphr.* 253.

248. The trochaic caesura in the fourth foot is not uncommon, when the caesura is preceded by a monosyllable (μέν, δέ, γε, etc). Instances like that in 17 (where see note) are different. For the quantity of the ι in πυρὶ see on 99. No emendation is necessary.

252. ἔτικτε: the omission of the mother's name is awkward, as Demeter is the subject of the main sentence; but there is no real difficulty, especially as τῆς and τῇ immediately precede.

253. ἀπὸ ἔο εἶκε: cf. M 205 ἀπὸ ἔθεν ἦκε, ι 461 ἀπὸ ἔο πέμπε. Here Cobet reads ἀπὸ ἔθεν ἦκε, which Gemoll approves, as θῆκε with -δε is remarkable; it may be added that a verb expressing violent



ἐξανελούσα πυρός, θυμῷ κοτέσασα μάλ' αἰνῶς,  
καὶ ῥ' ἄμυδις προσέειπεν ἐϋζωνον Μετάνειραν

255

Νήιδες ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀφράδμονες οὐτ' ἀγαθοῖο

αἶσαν ἐπερχομένου προγνώμεναι οὔτε κακοῖο

καὶ σὺ γὰρ ἀφραδίῃσι τεῆς νήκεστον ἀάσθης.

ἴστω γὰρ θεῶν ὄρκος, ἀμελίκτον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ,

ἀθάνατον κέν τοι καὶ ἀγήραον ἥματα πάντα

260

παῖδα φίλον ποίησα καὶ ἄφθιτον ὅπασα τιμὴν

νῦν δ' οὐκ ἔσθ' ὥς κεν θάνατον καὶ κῆρας ἀλύξαι.

τιμὴ δ' ἄφθιτος αἰὲν ἐπέσσεται, οὔνεκα γούνων

ἡμετέρων ἐπέβη καὶ ἐν ἀγκοίνῃσιν ἴαυσεν.

ὄρησιν δ' ἄρα τῷ γε περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν

265

256. φράδμονες commendat Bücheler : καὶ velit delere Hermann 257. προ-  
γνώμενοι M : corr. Matthiae 258. μήκιστον M : corr. Voss 261. ποιήσασα M :  
corr. Ruhnken 262. κῆρας] γῆρας Huschke 263. ἄφθιτον M : corr. Ruhnken  
265. τοῦ γε Fontein

action would seem more appropriate to Demeter's anger : cf. Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 674 τὸν μὲν ἄρ' ἀρπάγῃν χαμάδις βάλε κεκληγῶτα.

254. ἐξανελούσα πυρός : Apollodorus, seemingly following a different tradition, says τὸ μὲν βρέφος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός ἀνηλώθη. In Ovid's account, the mother takes the child from the fire.

κοτέσασα : in Homer κοτεσσαμένη.

256 f. The editors compare *Orph. fr.* xxxii. μηδαμὰ μηδὲν | εἰδότες, οὔτε κακοῖο προσερχομένοιο νοῆσαι | φράδμονες, οὐτ' ἀποθεῖν μάλ' ἀποστρέψαι κακότητος | οὐτ' ἀγαθοῦ παρεόντος ἐπιστρέψαι τε καὶ ἔρξαι | ἱδρῖες, ἀλλὰ μάτην ἀδαήμενες ἀπρονήτοι. The resemblance can hardly be accidental, but it by no means follows that the Orphic poet read φράδμονες here, as Bücheler infers (so Tyrrell). For the quantity of the first syllable in ἀφράδμονες cf. ο 444 ἐπιφράσσειτ' ὀλεθρον : Hes. *Op.* 655 προπεφραδμένα : Hes. *Theog.* 160 ἐπεφράσατο : h. *Ap.* 388 ἐφράζετο, and regularly Ἀφροδίτη. La Roche *Hom. Unters.* i. p. 10, *H. G.* § 370.

258. ΝΗΚΕΣΤΟΝ : the reading of M μήκιστον might possibly be defended as a superlative of μέγ' ἀάσθης : cf. also Eur. *Hērpp.* 818 τὰ μάκιστ' ἐμῶν κακῶν. But Voss's correction, based on Hes. *Op.* 283, is easy and highly probable, if not certain.

259. ἴστω γάρ κτλ. : cf. O 36-38, ε 184-186 (with M. and R.'s note) ; Leaf on B 755. On the position of ὄρκος (the

object of the oath) before Στυγὸς ὕδωρ cf. Apoll. *Arg.* Γ 714 f.

262. ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ . . ΑΛΥΞΑΙ = Φ 565, p 547, χ 66. Hence Huschke's γῆρας should not be received, although Apollonius has γῆρας ἀλάλκοι (see on 237).

265-267. The text is certainly sound (with the sole correction of συναῖξοντο to συναῖξουσ', for which cf. B 381, Ξ 149, 448) : "when Demophon is a man, the Eleusinians will always be fighting with one another." Editors have assumed a lacuna before 265 and after 267, or at all events after the lines. It was supposed that the lost passage or passages referred to the death of Demophon, or to his leadership in the war, or mediation between the parties. This supposition is quite gratuitous ; 265 simply marks the time, "when he has grown to manhood," and has no closer connexion with the preceding or succeeding lines. There is no trace in myth or history of an Eleusinian civil war ; hence Matthiae (followed by Baumeister) substituted Ἀθηναῖοι for ἐν ἀλλήλοισι, assuming that Demophon was the leader of the Eleusinians in their war against Athens. The corruption is most improbable, not to mention the further difficulty that tradition made Eumolpus, not Demophon, the leader of the Eleusinians (Thuc. ii. 15, Isocr. *Paneg.* 19, Apollod. iii. 15. 4, Lycurg. *in Leocr.* 24, Paus. i. 38. 3). There are so few allusions to early Eleusinian history in Greek literature,



παῖδες Ἑλευσινίων πόλεμον καὶ φύλοπιν αἰνῆν  
αἰὲν ἐν ἀλλήλοισι συνάξουσ' ἥματα πάντα.  
εἰμὶ δὲ Δημήτηρ τιμάοχος, ἥ τε μέγιστον  
ἀθανάτοισι θνητοῖσι τ' ὄνεαρ καὶ χάρμα τέτυκται.

267. *συναυξήσουσ'* M: corr. Ignarra: ἀλλήλοισιν ἀέξουσ' Voss || ἐν ἀλλήλοισι] Ἀθηναίοισι Matthiae 269. ἀθανάτοισι θνητοῖσιν ὄνεαρ M: ἀθανάτων Stoll *Jahns Jahrb.* 79, p. 322: θνητοῖσι τ' ὄνεαρ χάρμα τ' ἐτύχεν Ruhnken: πᾶσι τέτυγμαi Bücheler: κᾶρμα τέτυκται Tyrrell: καὶ πολὺ χάρμα Agar: θνητοῖς τ' ὄνιαρ Voss: ὄνεαρ Ilgen, Schulze: ὄνιαρ Hermann

that it would not be surprising if mention of a civil war were found in this passage only. But Creutzer was no doubt right in explaining the lines by reference to the *βαλλήτης*, or sham fight, which is expressly connected with Demophon by Hesychius s.v., ἐορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν ἐπὶ Δημοφῶντι τῷ Κελεοῦ ἀγομένη. Lobeck (*Aglaoph.* p. 206) quotes an anonymous verse in Artemid. i. 8 ταύροις ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ παῖδες Ἐφεσίων ἀγωνίζονται καὶ ἐν Ἀττικῇ παρὰ ταῖς θαῖσι ἐν Ἑλευσίνι κούροι Ἀθηναῖοι περικελλομένων ἐναντιῶν; but it is not clear whether this line has any connexion with the *βαλλήτης*. According to A. Mommsen and Lenormant the *βαλλήτης* took place at the end of the festival. It may, however, have been a ceremony during the initial stage of purification (see *Introd.* p. 10). The rite was like that at Troezen (Paus. ii. 32. 2, called *λιθοβόλια*). See Gruppe *G. Myth.* p. 901. Similar customs are quoted by Bather in *J. H. S.* xiv. 253, Jevons p. 292. It need not be supposed that the origin of such *λιθοβόλια* was always the same; in the present case the *mystae* may have stoned one another to draw blood as a means of communion with the Corn-goddess, or the blood may have been thought to increase the fertility of the land. The latter idea is probably at the root of some, if not all, of the numerous parallel examples which shew that fights, either sham or more serious, have taken place to ensure a good harvest. This, as a European custom, was first clearly demonstrated by Mannhardt *B. K.* p. 548 f.; for instances from savage tribes see Frazer on Paus. ii. 30. 4. As often, the meaning of the rite was lost at Eleusis, where the mock-battle was supposed to commemorate an early civil war.

265. ὥρῃσιν: the editors (mostly adopting Fontein's τοῦ γε), understand this as "in his riper years." But τῷ γε is to be retained and ὥρῃσιν taken in the proper sense of the plural, "when

the years revolve for him in their seasons." Cf. *h. Aphr.* 102 ὥρῃσιν πάσῃσι, *infra* 399, *h. Ap.* 350.

267. αἰὲν . . ἥματα πάντα: Baumeister, understanding the reference to be to an actual war, is obliged to explain this as an epic formula vaguely indicating a "long time." But it has its regular meaning "for ever"; the *βαλλήτης* takes place every year.

268. τιμάοχος: only here and in *h. Aphr.* 31, which Gemoll claims to be the original passage.

269. ἀθανάτοισι is made necessary by similar formulas: e.g. 11, 21, 45, 403; hence Stoll's ἀθανάτων must be rejected. There remains the difficulty of ὄνεαρ, which can scarcely be a disyllable with synizesis; in Hes. *Op.* 462 the mss. have εἶαρι πολεῖν, but Pollux (i. 223) rightly gives ἔαρι (ēa). The synizesis of ηε is no authority for that of εια (see on 137). It seems best therefore to remove the diphthong, with Ilgen, and read ὄνεαρ, the form accepted by Schulze *Quaest. Ep.* p. 228 and Solmsen *K. Z.* 32, 292, who calls it "sprachlich tadello." This could be a trisyllable by the correction of θνητοῖσιν to θνητοῖς τ'; but it is nearer to the manuscript to read θνητοῖσι τ' ὄνεαρ. For the synizesis compare (besides Hes. *Op.* 462 quoted above) *Op.* 492 μήτ' ἔαρ γιγνόμενον, Mimmerm. 2 and Chaerem. *fr.* 42 (ἔαρος a trochee). If ὄνεαρ is to be retained, with its full value — — —, it must contain the whole of the fourth foot; this involves the lengthening of the last syllable by position, as is done by the conjectures of Ruhnken and others. The legitimacy of this use was the subject of a discussion in the *Class. Rev.* Dec. 1896, Feb.-Apr. 1897. The result was entirely to justify the use in Homer and Hesiod, although undisputed examples are not common in early epic, and very rare in later hexameters. For the most recent discussion on the subject see Leaf *II.* vol. ii. App. p. 634 f.



ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι νηόν τε μέγαν καὶ βωμόν ὑπ' αὐτῷ 270  
 τευχόντων πᾶς δῆμος ὑπαὶ πόλιν αἰπύ τε τείχος,  
 Καλλιχόρου καθύπερθεν, ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῷ·  
 ὄργια δ' αὐτῇ ἐγὼν ὑποθήσομαι, ὥς ἂν ἔπειτα  
 εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες ἐμὸν νόον ἰλάσκοισθε.  
 Ὡς εἰποῦσα θεὰ μέγεθος καὶ εἶδος ἄμειψε, 275  
 γῆρας ἀπωσαμένη, περί τ' ἀμφί τε κάλλος ἄητο·  
 ὁδμὴ δ' ἱμερόεσσα θυέντων ἀπὸ πέπλων  
 σκίδνατο, τῇλε δὲ φέγγος ἀπὸ χροὸς ἀθανάτοιο

274. ΝΗΟΝ corr. Ruhnken || ἰλάσκησε Schäfer, Weber (Schanz *Beitr. z. hist. Synt.* iv. 1884) 275. τε καὶ Ruhnken cl. h. Aphr. 82

270. There is no proof that there was a "temple" of Demeter at Eleusis, apart from the hall of initiation, which cannot properly be called a νηός. Strabo, it is true, speaks of a ἱερὸν as well as the μυστικὸς σηκός (ix. p. 395), but the word ἱερὸν need not imply a building; it may=τέμενος. As Frazer remarks (on Paus. i. 38. 6, p. 511) "no later writer" (than the hymn) "and no inscription yet discovered speaks of such a temple." Various attempts have been made to identify this supposed temple with some of the pre-Persian remains discovered by the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society. Frazer (*l.c.* p. 509) doubtfully suggests that it may have been on the site of the later hall of initiation, where walls of Eleusinian marble have been unearthed. Remains of another early building, probably a temple, have been discovered north of the hall, and separated from it by a rock-cut staircase, leading up to the terrace. This building has also been thought to be the old temple of Demeter. It is possible that the νηός served also as a hall of initiation, which would of course be sacred to Demeter. In this case the building may be identified with the walls above-mentioned, which belong to a building older than the age of Pisistratus; but it is impossible to judge of the form of this building from these scanty remains, or to conjecture how far it was a prototype of a later hall (probably built by Pisistratus), and of the enlarged Periclean hall. See Philios p. 65, 74, who also identifies the νηός with the primitive τελεστήριον; Svoronos (p. 345 f.) places the νηός on the brow of the hill, but this seems negatived by ὑπαὶ πόλιν.

271. πόλιν αἰπύ τε τείχος: i.e. the acropolis, the fortifications of which (τείχος) have been traced on the low hill above the hall of initiation. The actual town lay at the foot of the hill, and extended to the sea.

272. Καλλιχόρου: see on 99; this well was not identified until 1892, when excavations shewed it to be situated by the great Roman propylaea, just outside the precinct. The well-mouth is surrounded by concentric circles, which no doubt served as marks for the Eleusinian woman who danced round the water in honour of the goddess (Paus. i. 38. 6).<sup>4</sup> For references to the discovery see Philios p. 57 f., and Svoronos p. 252.

274. εὐαγέως: the adv. in Apoll. *Arg.* B 699, etc. εὐαγής is not found in early epic. For exx. of εὐαγής, εὐαγέως in ritual see Dieterich *de hymnis Orph.* 1891, p. 34. ἰλάσκησε: for the opt. after ὑποθήσομαι cf. p. 250, *H. G.* § 306. The mood expresses a less certain result than would be indicated by ἰλάσκησε, which Schäfer reads.

275. μέγεθος καὶ εἶδος = *h. Aphr.* 82.

276. περί τ' ἀμφί τε: cf. B 305 ἀμφί περί κρήνην, *h. Apoll.* 271 ἀμφιπεριφθινύθει, Theocr. vii. 142 περί πίδακος ἀμφί μέλισσαι.

κάλλος ἄητο: modelled on Hes. *Sc.* 7 f. τῆς καὶ ἀπὸ κρήθεν . . . τοῖον ἄηθ' ὁλόν τε πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης.

277. ὁδμὴ κτλ. Fragrance is a sign of divinity: cf. Theognis 9, Aesch. *P. V.* 115, Eur. *Hipp.* 1391, Verg. *Aen.* i. 403, Ov. *Fast.* v. 375.

278. φέγγος: see on 189. With this passage cf. Bacchyl. xvii. 102 ἀπὸ γὰρ ἀγλαῶν λάμπε γυνίων σέλας | ὥστε πυρὸς (of the Nereids).



λάμπε θεᾶς, ξανθαὶ δὲ κόμαι κατενήνοθεν ὦμους,  
 αὐγῆς δ' ἐπλήσθη πυκινὸς δόμος ἀστεροπῆς ὥς. 280  
 βῆ δὲ διέκ μεγάρων, τῆς δ' αὐτίκα γούνατ' ἔλυντο,  
 δηρὸν δ' ἄφθογγος γένετο χρόνον, οὐδέ τι παιδὸς  
 μνήσατο τηλυγέτοιο ἀπὸ δαπέδου ἀνελέσθαι.  
 τοῦ δὲ κασίγνηται φωνὴν ἐσάκουσαν ἐλεινὴν,  
 καδ' δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' εὐστρώτων λεχέων θόρον· ἡ μὲν ἔπειτα 285  
 παῖδ' ἀνὰ χερσὶν ἐλούσα ἐφ' ἐγκάθθετο κόλπῳ,  
 ἡ δ' ἄρα πῦρ ἀνέκαί, ἡ δ' ἔσσυτο πόσσ' ἀπαλοῖσι  
 μητέρ' ἀναστήσουσα θυώδεος ἐκ θαλάμοιο.  
 ἀγρόμεναι δέ μιν ἀμφὶς ἐλούεον ἀσπαίροντα  
 ἀμφαγαπαζόμεναι· τοῦ δ' οὐ μειλίσσετο θυμός· 290  
 χειρότεραι γὰρ δὴ μιν ἔχον τροφοὶ ἢ δὲ τιθήναι.  
 Αἱ μὲν παννύχια κυδρὴν θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο,

279. θεᾶς M: corr. Hermann: πανθὲ δὲ κόμη Ruhnken 280. αὐτῆς M:  
 corr. Ruhnken 284. ἐλεινὴν M: corr. Ruhnken: κασίγνήτη φώνῃν ἐσάκουσ'  
 ἐλεινὴν Hermann 287. πυρὰν ἔκαι' M: corr. Ruhnken 289. ἐλούειον]  
 ἐλούοντ' Mitscherlich: ἔλουσιν ἀπ' Ilgen: ἔλουσιν τε σπείρων τε vel σπάργον τε  
 Bücheler: ἐλώφεον Ludwig 291. καὶ τιθήναι Tyrrell

279. **κατενήνοθεν**: properly sing. Hence Ruhnken and others read ξανθὴ δὲ κόμη. But, as Franke well remarks, the writer may easily have taken the archaic form for a plural. There is no reason to suppose a genuine *schema Pindaricum*, with Baumeister.

280. **αὐτῆς**: for Ruhnken's simple correction cf. Soph. *Phil.* 1190 αὐταῖς mss., while the scholia preserve αὐγαῖς.

281. **γούνατ' ἔλυντο**: H 16 λύντο δὲ γυῖα: N 85 γυῖα λέλυντο, and often λύτο γούνατα.

283. **ἀπὸ δαπέδου**: Hesych. ii. 253 quotes the parallel form ῥάπεδον, which occurs in Xenophanes i. 1, and an inser. from Paros (*I. G.* A. 401 = Roberts *Epigr.* 17); δάπεδον therefore stands for the original ῥάπεδον (or for δῦάπεδον Prellwitz *Et. Wört.* s.v. δα-) and the metre is not due to false analogy (as Gemoll supposes), but was, at least originally, justified by pronunciation. In λ 598 Aristotle *Rhet.* iii. 11 read ἐπὶ δάπεδόνδε for the vulgar ἐπειτα πεδόνδε. La Roche *Hom. Unters.* i. p. 49.

284. **ἐλεινὴν**: the Attic form is accepted by most editors after Ruhnken; it does not occur elsewhere in epic. Rutherford (*New Phryn.* p. 160) rejects ἐλεινός in Attic prose; the form is due to late usage.

285. **εὐστρώτων**: only here and in *h. Aphr.* 157 ἐς λέχος εὐστρωτων.

289. **ἐλούειον**: called an "impossible" form by Gemoll. It is a false formation, but is not to be ejected on that account. Cf. Schulze *Quaest. Ep.* p. 65 n. 1, Smyth *Ionic Dialect* p. 535, Solmsen *l.c.* p. 13, *K. Z.* 29, 98. Ludwig needlessly objects to the washing of the child. The women perform one of the duties of a nurse, in place of Demeter. It is perhaps unnecessary to press the phrase further, and to point out that the child would be covered with wood-ash. This motive, however, is expressly mentioned in a very similar passage (of the Nymphs and Bacchus), *Anth. Pal.* ix. 331 αὶ Νύμφαι τὸν Βάκχον, ὅτ' ἐκ πυρὸς ἤλατο κούρος, | νύβαν ὑπὲρ τέφρης ἀρτι κυλιόμενον.

291. **τροφοὶ** and **τιθήναι**, "those who cared for and nursed him," are here synonymous. Cf. *τιθηνομένην* (142) used by Demeter in her disguise as a *τροφός* (103). Tyrrell's suggestion ἢ δὲ τιθήνη is no improvement. Cf. *Orph. h.* x. 18 *τροφὸς ἢ δὲ τιθήνη*.

292. **παννύχια**: the origin of the *παννυχίς* is almost certainly indicated in this word (Preller). Gemoll notes that the ignorance of Celeus as to what has happened until the morning points to a mystery. Most of the sacred ceremonies



δείματι παλλόμεναι· ἅμα δ' ἡοὶ φαινομένην  
 εὐρυβίη Κελεῶ νημερτέα μυθήσαντο,  
 ὥς ἐπέτελλε θεά, καλλιστέφανος Δημήτηρ. 295  
 αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' εἰς ἀγορὴν καλέσας πολυπείρονα λαὸν  
 ἦνωγ' ἡὔκόμῳ Δημήτερι πίονα νηὸν  
 ποιῆσαι καὶ βωμὸν ἐπὶ προὔχοντι κολωνῷ.  
 οἱ δὲ μάλ' αἰψ' ἐπίθοντο καὶ ἔκλυον αὐδήσαντος,  
 τεύχον δ' ὥς ἐπέτελλ'. ὁ δ' ἀέξετο δαίμονος αἴση. 300  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τέλεσαν καὶ ἐρώησαν καμάτοιο,  
 βάν ῥ' ἔμεν οἴκαδ' ἕκαστος· ἀτὰρ ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ  
 ἔνθα καθεζομένη μακάρων ἀπὸ νόσφιν ἀπάντων,  
 μίμνε πόθῳ μινύθουσα βαθυζώνιοιο θυγατρός.  
 αἰνότατον δ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐπὶ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν 305  
 ποίησ' ἀνθρώποις καὶ κύντατον, οὐδέ τι γαῖα  
 σπέρμ' ἀνίει· κρύπτειν γὰρ ἐϋστέφανος Δημήτηρ.  
 πολλὰ δὲ καμπύλ' ἄροτρα μάτην βόες εἰλκον ἀρούραις,  
 πολλὸν δὲ κρὶ λευκὸν ἐτώσιον ἔμπεσε γαίῃ.  
 καὶ νύ κε πάμπαν ὄλεσσε γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων 310

295. ὥς] ὅς· Fontein      296. πολυπάμονα Gemoll      301. ἐτέλεσαν M :  
 corr. Valckenr.: καὶ omitti iub. Bücheler      302. βάν δ' M : corr. Wytténbach  
 304. γυναικὸς M : corr. m. p.      306. ἀνθρώποις M : corr. Ruhnken

during the whole course of the Eleusinia were carried on at night. In the very earliest period the worship of Demeter Thesmophoros at Eleusis, as elsewhere, was probably confined to women (Foucart p. 78, Jevons p. 379, Ramsay p. 127); and the hymn clearly shews the important part played by the women, even in a later stage of the Eleusinian religion. For women as mainly or exclusively concerned in agriculture see Jevons p. 239-242. Even when a share in agriculture falls to the lot of the men, the place of women in festivals concerned with sowing, reaping, etc. is often predominant; for examples see Frazer *G. B.* i. p. 35, ii. p. 203, etc.

293. δέματι παλλόμεναι: the same phrase in an oracle ap. Herod. vii. 140 (Hendess 111. 10).

296. πολυπείρονα, "countless:" literally "with many boundaries," formed on the analogy of ἀπείρων. Cf. *Orph. Arg.* 33 πολυπείρονας ὁμούς.

301. Matthiae thinks that the rest of the hymn, from this line, was put together from fragments of the hymn seen by Pausanias, but the *vv. ll.* in

Paus. only point to natural and quasi-clerical errors, see Preface p. xli.

302. ξανθὴ Δημήτηρ = E 500. The epithet may have originally referred to the colour of ripe corn, as the "hair" of Demeter (cf. 454 κομήσειν ἀσταχέσσιν, Euseb. *P. E.* v. 34 οἱ δὲ ἐκόμωσαν Δήμητρι), although, of course, in the hymn Demeter is purely anthropomorphic; see Mannhardt *Myth. Forsch.* p. 234.

305. ἐπὶ χθόνα: for the accusative see on xxv. 3. The worship of Demeter and Cora in Triphylia was thought to be explained by the alternation of good and bad years (τάχα διὰ τὰς ὑπεναντιότητας) according to Demetrius of Scepsis ap. Strab. 344 καὶ γὰρ εὐκαρπὸς ἔστι καὶ ἐρυσίβην γεννᾷ καὶ θρίον ἢ Τριφυλία· διότι ἐντὶ μεγάλης φορᾶς πυκνὰς ἀφορίας γίνεσθαι συμβαίνει κατὰ τοὺς τόπους.

308. ἀρούραις: for the local dat. (like οὔρεσι etc.) cf. E 137 ἀργῷ, and see on 99. Here the dat. is used with a verb of motion; *H. G.* § 145 (6). There is a different const. in K 353 ἐλκέμεναι νεοῖο βαθεῖης πηκτὸν ἄροτρον.

310. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 180 Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων.



λιμοῦ ὑπ' ἀργαλῆς, γεράων τ' ἐρικυδέα τιμὴν  
καὶ θυσιῶν ἡμερσεν Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντας,  
εἰ μὴ Ζεὺς ἐνόησεν ἐφ' τ' ἐφράσσατο θυμῷ.

Ἴριν δὲ πρῶτον χρυσόπτερον ὦρσε καλέσσαι  
Δήμητρ' ἠΰκομον, πολυήρατον εἶδος ἔχουσαν.

315

ὧς ἔφαθ'· ἡ δὲ Ζηνὶ κελαϊνεφέϊ Κρονίωνι  
παίθετο καὶ τὸ μεσηγὺν διέδραμεν ὠκα πόδεσσιν.

ἴκετο δὲ πτολίεθρον Ἐλευσίνος θυοέσσης,  
εὗρεν δ' ἐν νηῷ Δημήτερα κυανόπεπλον,  
καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

320

Δήμητερ, καλέει σε πατὴρ Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα εἰδὼς  
ἐλθέμεναι μετὰ φύλα θεῶν αἰειγενετάων.

ἀλλ' ἴθι, μηδ' ἀτέλεστον ἐμὸν ἔπος ἐκ Διὸς ἔστω.

Ὡς φάτο λισσομένη· τῆς δ' οὐκ ἐπεπείθετο θυμός.

αὐτὶς ἔπειτα πατὴρ μάκαρας θεοὺς αἰὲν ἐόντας

325

πάντας ἐπιπροΐαλλεν· ἀμοιβηδὶς δὲ κίοντες

κίκλησκον καὶ πολλὰ δίδον περικαλλέα δῶρα,

τιμὰς θ', ἃς κ' ἑθέλειτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἐλέσθαι·

ἀλλ' οὐ τις πῆσαι δύνατο φρένας ἡδὲ νόημα

312. **θυσιῶν]** **θυέων** Hermann 313. **ἐφράσατο** M: corr. Ilgen 314. **ἴριν]**  
**ἦρην** M: corr. Ruhnken 315. **δημήτρ'** M: corr. Ruhnken || lacunam hic  
statuit Wyttenbach 317. **μεσσηγὺ** M: τὸ **μεσσηγὺ** Ilgen 319. **εὗρε** M: **εὔρε**  
**δ' ἐνὶ** Ruhnken 324. **τῆς]** **τῆ** Hermann 325. **πατὴρ** add. Valckenār  
in ed. Ruhnkeniana a. 1780 || **θεοὺς μάκαρας** **Ζεὺς** Fontein, Wassenberg: **αὐτὶς**  
**ἔπειτ'** ἄρ **Ζεὺς** Voss: **ἔπειτα ἄναξ** van Gent 328. **κεν ἔλοιτο** et **θεοῖσι** Her-  
mann cl. 444; pro **ἐθέλειτο** proposuimus **βόλοιτο** 329. **οὐδὲ** M: corr. Brunek

312. **θυσιῶν**: so 368. The word is not Homeric (for *θυέων* which Hermann gratuitously read).

314. **Ἴριν** . . . **χρυσόπτερον** = Θ 398; see on *h. Ap.* 107. Iris is here employed as a messenger to gods on earth, while Hermes is sent to the underworld (335). Cf. Maass *Ἴρις I. F.* i. 157 sq.

315. **πολυήρατον** . . . **ἔχουσαν** = Hes. *Theog.* 908 (*ἔχουσα*).

316. **ὧς ἔφαθ'**: the use of this formula after an indirect speech is not Homeric, but occurs in Hes. *Op.* 69, *infra* 448, *Apoll.* Δ 236, 1119. Wyttenbach's lacuna is not needed; cf. on 127.

317. Cf. *h. Ap.* 108.

319. **κυανόπεπλον**: not in Homer, and in the hymns only here, and in 360, 374, 442 of Demeter. In Hes. *Theog.*

406 it is a general epithet of Leto, with no special reference to mourning, as in this hymn (cf. 183).

321. **ἄφθιτα εἰδὼς**: only here, for *ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδὼς h. Arkt.* 43, where see note.

325. Valckenār's addition of *πατὴρ* is preferable to the other suggestions, as it retains *θεοὺς* in *synizesi*, which is probably the cause of its omission, unless this is simply due to "haplography" in -τα, πα-.

328. Hermann's *ἔλοιτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι* (on the analogy of 444) does not account for *ἐλέσθαι* in place of *θεοῖσιν*. The suggestion *βόλοιτο* rests on Δ 319, where one family of mss. (e) has *δὴ ἐθέλει* for *δὴ βόλεται*. *ἐθέλοι* might produce *ἐθέλειτο* which otherwise it is difficult to explain.



θυμῷ χωομένης, στερεῶς δ' ἡναίνετο μύθους. 330  
οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτ' ἔφασκε θυώδεος Οὐλύμποιο  
πρὶν γ' ἐπιβήσεσθαι, οὐ πρὶν γῆς καρπὸν ἀνήσειν,  
πρὶν ἰδοὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἐὴν εὐώπιδα κούρην.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε βαρύκτυπος εὐρύτοπα Ζεὺς,  
εἰς Ἑρεβος πέμψε χρυσόρραπιν Ἀργειφόντην, 335  
ὄφρ' Αἶδην μαλακοῖσι παραιφάμενος ἐπέεσσιν  
ἀγνὴν Περσεφόνειαν ἀπὸ ζόφου ἡρόεντος  
ἐς φάος ἐξαγάγοι μετὰ δαίμονας, ὄφρα ἐ μήτηρ  
ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδοῦσα μεταλήξειε χόλοιο.  
Ἑρμῆς δ' οὐκ ἀπίθησεν, ἄφαρ δ' ὑπὸ κεύθεα γαίης 340  
ἔσσυμένως κατόρουσε, λιπὼν ἔδος Οὐλύμποιο.  
τέτμε δὲ τὸν γε ἄνακτα δόμων ἔντοσθεν ἑόντα,  
ἥμενον ἐν λεχέεσσι σὺν αἰδοίῃ παρακοίτι,  
πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένη μητρὸς πόθῳ· ἢ δ' ἔπ' ἀτλήτων 345  
ἔργοις θεῶν μακάρων μητίσseto βουλῇ.†  
ἀγχοῦ δ' ἰστάμενος προσέφη κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης·

331. ποτε φάσκε M: corr. Hermann 332. ἐπιβίσεσθ' M: corr. Voss || οὐ] ἢ  
Voss 333. πρὶν γ' Ruhnken 337. ἀπὸ] ὑπὸ Voss 339. μεταλλήξειε  
Matthiae 343. παρακοίτῃ M 344. ἡδ' M: corr. Voss || ἐπ' ἀτλήτων]  
ἀτελέστων Ruhnken: ἔτ' ἀπλητον vel ἀποτληοῦ Ilgen: ἔτ' ἄληκτον Voss: ἐπ'  
ἀλιτρῶν vel ἀπατηλῶν Mitscherlich: ἐπ' ἀλάστοις Hermann 345. ἔργοις θεῶν]  
ὄργισείῃς Ignarra: ἔργοις ἀθανάτων μακάρων μνήseto βουλῇ Ruhnken: ἔργοις  
μακάρων ὁλοῇ Hermann: δεινῇ μνήseto βουλῇ Voss 346. κρατερὸς M:  
corr. Ruhnken, cf. 377

331. **εὐώδεος**: applied to Olympus in *h. Herm.* 322. It appears to be a favourite word with the writer of this hymn: cf. 231, 244, 288, 355, 385. The meaning here may be literally "fragrant with incense" (which ascends to heaven), or perhaps simply "sweet-smelling" as in 231. See further on *h. Herm.* 231.

337. **ἀγνή**: specially an epithet of Persephone: λ 386, *infra* 439. She was worshipped as Ἀγνή in Messenia, Paus. iv. 33. 4; cf. the inscr. of Andania. ἀγνή is also frequent with Demeter, Hes. *Op.* 465, *supra* 203, Archil. 120. So ἀγναὶ θεαὶ of both goddesses *C. I. G.* 5431, 5643. Rohde *Psyche* p. 192, Roscher i. p. 1813 f., Pauly-Wissowa 2754.

ἀπό may here be retained, though Voss pointed out that in the Homeric formula the prep. is ὑπό: cf. Φ 56, Hes. *Theog.* 653.

339. **μεταλλήξειε**: the spelling is philologically correct, as λήγω makes

position in I 191, θ 87. According to Didymus in schol. A, Aristarchus read the single liquid in the Homeric passages I 157, 261, 299. On the other hand it should be noted that M constantly neglects a double consonant; cf. 14, 40, 158, 313 in this hymn.

344, 345. Baumeister's despair at this passage still holds good. ἐπ' ἀτλήτων might possibly be construed "in such intolerable circumstances" if the neglected position ἀτλήτων is permissible (there is no instance in Homer except *σχετλη*, La Roche *Homer. Unters.* i. p. 4 and 16; but cf. Pind. *Ol.* viii. 20 and 77, Emped. 14). But it is hard to believe that epic, or any Greek usage admits of the translation. Of the conjectures, ἀποτληοῦ is the best; if written ἀποτληου, the resulting word is not worse than M's other corruptions; e.g. ἐπηλσίῃσι for ἐπηλυσίῃ 228.

In the next line a word of the quantity υ — has perhaps fallen out,



"Αἰδη κυανοχαῖτα, καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσω,  
 Ζεὺς με πατὴρ ἤνωγεν ἀγανὴν Περσεφόνειαν  
 ἑξαγαγεῖν Ἑρέβουσφι μετὰ σφέας, ὄφρα ἐ μήτηρ  
 ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδοῦσα χόλου καὶ μήνιος αἰνῆς 350  
 ἀθανάτοις παύσειεν· ἐπεὶ μέγα μῆδεται ἔργον,  
 φθῖσαι φύλ' ἀμενῆνὰ χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων  
 σπέρμ' ὑπὸ γῆς κρύπτουσα, καταφθινύθουσα δὲ τιμὰς  
 ἀθανάτων. ἡ δ' αἰνὸν ἔχει χόλον, οὐδὲ θεοῖσι  
 μίσγεται, ἀλλ' ἀπάνευθε θυώδεος ἔνδοθι νηοῦ 355  
 ἦσται, Ἐλευσίνος κραναὸν πτολίεθρον ἔχουσα.  
 "Ὡς φάτο· μείδησεν δὲ ἄναξ ἐνέρων Ἀἰδωνεύς  
 ὀφρύσιν, οὐδ' ἀπίθησε Διὸς βασιλῆος ἐφετμῆς.  
 ἐσσυμένως δ' ἐκέλευσε δαΐφρονι Περσεφονείῃ·  
 ἔρχεο, Περσεφόνῃ, παρὰ μητέρα κυανόπεπλον, 360  
 ἥπιον ἐν στήθεσσι μένος καὶ θυμὸν ἔχουσα,  
 μηδέ τι δυσθύμεινε λίην περιώσιον ἄλλων.  
 οὐ τοι ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀεικὴς ἔσσομ' ἀκοίτης,  
 αὐτοκασλὴνῃτος πατρὸς Διός· ἔνθα δ' εὐῶσα

348. σε M: με Wytttenbach	349. ἐρέβουσφι Franke	351. παύσειεν]
Λήζειεν Hermann cl. 410	357. ἀνέρων M: corr. Ruhnken	362. εὐσεύμαινε
M: corr. Ruhnken    φύλην pro λίην atque ἄλλως pro ἄλλων coni. Wytttenbach		
363. ἄκοιτις M: corr. Ruhnken	364. ἰοῦσα M: corr. Ruhnken	

owing to θεῶν in *synizesi* (cf. 325); this may have been χαλεπήν (with βουλήν), the dative βουλήν having been written afterwards to ease the construction. *μητίσσο* is not a Homeric form for *μητίσατο*, which should probably be restored; cf. *h. Ap.* 322, 325 *a*.

348. M's reading σε is just possible, as ἀγειν, ἐξάγειν could mean "let go," "turn out." But the parallel passage 335 f. makes με practically certain.

349. Ἑρέβουσφι: Franke's correction is easy (cf. I 572, Hes. *Theog.* 669, where some MSS. have ἐρέβουσφι), but perhaps unnecessary, if the peculiarities of our tradition of the hymn (κατενέροθεν with plur. 278, παύσειεν neut. 351) are to be preserved. So the form εἰστίκει 452 is defensible.

351. παύσειεν is no doubt genuine although the act. for the middle παύσαιντο is remarkable. Compare, however, Hes. *Sc.* 449 παῦε μάχης. In δ659 there is overwhelming MS. support for *μνηστῆρες* . . . παύσαν ἀέθλων, where most editors read *μνηστῆρας*. So *Ar. Ran.* 580 παῦε παῦε

τοῦ λόγου. Tyrrell considers the use to be a mark of lateness (p. 39).

352. χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων = *h. Aphr.* 108 (where see note).

357. μείδῃσεν: Hades "smiled," anticipating the success of his plan to keep Persephone (372 f.). ὀφρύσιν: generally with ὑπὸ or ἐπὶ in Homer (*νεύειν* etc.), but cf. *i* 468, *μ* 194. So without a prep. *Pind. Pyth.* ix. 65.

362. The line is quite genuine, in spite of Bücheler's objection (*imperite corrata verba*). Gemoll thinks that *μοι* is required, but the sense is quite clear without it. The object of Persephone's anger is plain from 344 πᾶν ἀκαζόμενῃ. Hades carefully avoids saying "come back" (as Gemoll thinks he ought to say); Persephone will find out in due time the necessity of returning. She has not yet eaten the pomegranate, and he therefore uses the ambiguous futures ἔσσομαι etc., which suit equally well the choice or the necessity of returning.

περιώσιον ἄλλων = *Pind. Isthm.* iv. 3.



δεσπόσσεις πάντων, ὅπόσα ζῶει τε καὶ ἔρπει,  
τιμὰς δὲ σχήσησθα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι μεγίστας,  
τῶν δ' ἀδικησάντων τίσις ἔσσεται ἡματα πάντα,  
οἳ κεν μὴ θυσίοισι τεδὸν μένος ἰλάσκωνται,  
εὐαγέως ἔρδοντες, ἐναίσιμα δῶρα τελοῦντες.

365

Ὡς φάτο· γήθησεν δὲ περίφρων Περσεφόνηα,  
καρπαλίμως δ' ἀνόρουσ' ὑπὸ χάρματος· αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' αὐτὸς  
ροίης κόκκον ἔδωκε φαγεῖν μελιηδέα λάθρῃ

370

365. δεσπόσεις M: corr. Voss: δεσπόσσης Wolf: δεσπόσης Ruhnken 366.  
σχήσειςα Boissonade, Hermann: σχήσεα Bergk P. L. G. iii. 96: σχήσεις εἰμ' ἔν Voss: ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμὰς ἔχηςα Ruhnken: τιμὰς δ' αἰὲν ἔχηςα Hermann  
368. ἰλάσκονται M: corr. Valckenār 371. αὐτὸς] αὐτῇ Voss: ἔδης Schnei-  
dewin 372. λάθρῃ] δαίτα Ruhnken

365. δεσπόσεις: not in early epic. Like ἀδικεῖν (367) it is chiefly Attic, but also found in Herodotus. The word may be suggested, as Baumeister notes, by the title Δέσποινα, under which Persephone was worshipped at many places, especially in Arcadia; Paus. viii. 37. 9, Immerwahr *die Kulte u. Myth. Ark.* i. p. 120.

366. σχήσειςα: since there is no instance of the termination -σθα or -θα in a future, while the aorists βάλησθα, πάθησθα, εἴπησθα are Homeric (Kühner-Blass ii. § 209. 3), it seems better to keep the spelling of M and regard σχήσησθα as the subjunctive of the otherwise late aorist ἔσχησα. The subjunctive will be of the nature of the type δύσομαι εἰς Ἀἴδαο καὶ ἐν νεκρέσσι φαείνω (H. G. § 275 f.), which in Homer occurs constantly in combination with futures and is practically indistinguishable from them in meaning; see *h. Ap.* 1. σχήσειςα which most recent editors prefer is called a "verbildete Form" by Schulze K. Z. 33. 317.

367. τῶν δ' ἀδικησάντων: "those who have wronged thee" (by not paying due honour) will be punished all their days (i.e. by the Furies, for whose relation to Hades and Persephone see I 454 with Leaf's note and 571). There is no allusion to punishment after death, although the fate of the uninitiated is not happy in the underworld (cf. 481 f.); line 365 shews that the reference is here to the living.

368. εὐαίσιμα: the Attic form (for θυσίησι) may well be original in this hymn.

371. αὐτός, (Hades) "himself," in contrast to Persephone; or possibly "with his own hands."

372. ροίης κόκκον ἔδωκε: Apollodorus (i. 5. 3) follows: ροίᾱς ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ φαγεῖν κόκκον. In *Ov. Met.* v. 535 f. Persephone of her own accord picks the fruit in a garden, and eats seven seeds. There is a widespread belief that the living may visit the underworld and return safely, provided that they abstain from the food of the dead. The Finnish hero Väinämöinen refuses to drink in Manala, the place of the dead (*Kalevala* xvi. p. 293). In S. Africa there is a similar story: a man visits spiritland and is warned to return before he meets one who will give him food (Leslie *Among the Zulus and Amatongas* p. 121). In New Zealand a Maori woman was thought to have come back from the dead, having by the advice of her father refused the food which the dead people offered her (Shortland *Traditions of New Zealand* p. 150). The last story is quoted by Tylor *Prim. Cult.* ii. p. 51, who gives a parallel among the Sioux of N. America. Several similar tales are collected by Hartland *Science of Fairy Tales*, ch. iii. (among the ancient Danes, in the Banks islands, and in the Hervey islands). Hartland remarks that there is the same objection to eating the food of the fairies (cf. Rhys *Celtic Folklore* i. p. 290; see also *Folk-Lore* viii. p. 380; *County Folk-Lore* iii. (Orkney and Shetland), p. 25, 27). Some other references are given by Frazer on Paus. viii. 37. 7; cf. also *Folk-Lore* x. p. 300 f. (Japan). The basis of the belief is the idea that a



ἀμφὶ ἐ νωμήσας, ἵνα μὴ μένοι ἥματα πάντα  
αὖθι παρ' αἰδοίῃ Δημήτερι κυανοπέπλῳ.

ἵππους δὲ προπάροιθεν ὑπὸ χρυσεῖσιν ὄχεσφιν  
ἐντυεν ἀθανάτους πολυσημάτων Ἀἰδωνεύς.

ἡ δ' ὀχέων ἐπέβη, παρὰ δὲ κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης

375

### 373. ἀμφὶς νωμήσας Santen

common meal unites the partakers in a close bond; hence the sanctity of the relation between host and guest in primitive society. By eating any food in the underworld, Persephone established a bond with the dead. But there is no doubt a special significance in the particular food—a pomegranate—although its precise meaning has been disputed. According to one view, the fruit, from the blood-red colour of the inside, is a symbol of blood and death. A pomegranate tree was planted over the graves of Menoeceus, a suicide (Paus. ix. 25. 1), and the unlucky Eteocles (in the latter case by the Erinyes, Philostr. *Imag.* ii. 29, i. 4). It was believed to have sprung from the blood of Dionysus Zagreus (Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* ii. 19). The fruit was therefore appropriate to the dead. Probably, however, it is here rather symbolical of marriage and fertility, from the multitude of its seeds; cf. Herod. iv. 143 ὅσοι ἐν τῇ ροῇ κόκκοι. It was the emblem of Hera, probably as goddess of marriage; the fruit expedited birth, Plin. *N. H.* xxiii. 107; cf. *ib.* 112 (of its flowers) *sistrunt potu menses feminarum*. It was an attribute of Aphrodite (see Murr *die Pflanzenwelt in d. Gr. Myth.* p. 50 f., Roscher *Lex.* 2090, Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 763). Pausanias (ii. 17. 4) refuses to discuss the meaning of the fruit in the hand of the Argive Hera. The mystae at Eleusis abstained from eating it (Porphy. *de Abstin.* iv. 16) as did the Thesmophorizusae (Clem. Alex. *l.c.*), and the banqueters at the Halao (schol. Lucian *dial. meretr.* vii. 4; see Harrison *Proleg.* p. 148). The Arcadians would not bring the pomegranate into the temple of Despoina (Paus. viii. 37. 7). According to this view, the pomegranate would symbolise, not so much Persephone's general union with the dead, as her special union with Hades. In actual custom, the Greeks made wedding-cakes of sesame (διὰ τὸ πολύγονον, ὥς φησι Μένανδρος schol. Arist. *Pax* 869).

For the pomegranate as an attribute

of Persephone and Pluto in art see Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 763 n. 2, Bötticher *Baumkultus* ch. 38.

It does not appear, however, that the writer of the hymn attached any particular meaning to the pomegranate (unless, like Pausanias, he was afraid to divulge a mystery). Apollodorus does not offer any explanation, while Ovid (*Met.* v. 532) simply says *sic Parcarum foedere cautum est*.

373. ἀμφὶς ἐ νωμήσας: the sense is obscure, owing to the peculiar use of νωμᾶν. The meanings of the verb fall mainly under two heads (1) "distribute," of food etc., (2) "wield" or "handle" (α) weapons etc., (β) of the mind, "turn over." Hermann first read ἀμφὶς νωμήσας (after Santen) translating *seorsum tribuens*, i.e. apart from Hermes. Gemoll follows this view. Hermann afterwards retained ἀμφὶ (with ἐ for εἰ after Ruhnken) and understood "dividing it into two parts" (one of which he himself ate). Either ἀμφὶς or ἀμφὶ εἰ might bear this sense, but the participation by Hades in the food is not mentioned elsewhere in this or any other version of the myth. Nor is such participation required according to folklore; the living have only to eat the food offered by the dead, not share it with them, to prevent their return. Voss's explanation *dum eam prope se traheret*, is quite impossible; nor can we assume *tnesis*, "embracing her," a sense which ἀμφινωμᾶν could not bear, although it might be used of a nurse "handling" a baby.

The most probable view is to take νωμᾶν figuratively. Ilgen translated "turning it (εἰ) over in his mind," but a far better sense is given by retaining εἰ (as accented in M), and translating after Matthiae "peering round him," = παπτήνας, cf. Δ 497 ἀμφὶς ἐ παπτήνας (cf. also O 241 ἀμφὶς ἐ γινώσκων ἐτάρους). For this sense of νωμᾶν cf. Herod. iv. 128 νωμέοντες . . . σίτα ἀναίρεομένους "observing them foraging." Plat. *Crat.* 411 D τὸ νωμᾶν καὶ τὸ σκοπεῖν ταῦτόν. Eur. *Phoen.* 1255 μάντεϊς δὲ μῆλ' ἐσφαζόν,



ἡνία καὶ μάστιγα λαβὼν μετὰ χερσὶ φίλῃσι  
 σεῦε διέκ μεγάρων· τὼ δ' οὐκ ἄκοντε πετέσθην.  
 ῥίμφα δὲ μακρὰ κέλευθα διήνυσαν, οὐδὲ θάλασσα  
 οὐθ' ὕδωρ ποταμῶν οὐτ' ἄγkea ποιήεντα  
 ἵππων ἀθανάτων οὐτ' ἄκριες ἔσχεθον ὄρμήν,  
 ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν βαθὺν ἡέρα τέμνον ἰόντες.  
 στήσῃε δ' ἄγων ὅθι μέμνεν εὐστέφανος Δημήτηρ,  
 νηοῖο προπάροιθε θυώδεος· ἡ δὲ ἰδοῦσα  
 ἦϊξ' ἡῦτε μαινὰς ὄρος κάτα δάσκιον ὕλη.  
 Περσεφόνῃ δ' ἐτέρ[ωθεν ἐπεὶ ἶδεν ὄμματα καλὰ]

379. δι' ἐκ M: corr. Baumeister 381. οὐτ' ἄρ' ὕδωρ Hermann: οὔτε  
 ὕδωρ Suhle 384. ἀγών' M: corr. Ruhnken 386. μαινὰς] κεμιάς Ruhn-  
 ken || ὕλη M: corr. Ruhnken: ὄρεος κατὰ δάσκιου ὕλην Voss 387. de folio  
 35<sup>mo</sup> lacero vide praefationem f. xvi; supplementa plerumque dedimus Alfredi  
 Goodwin || περσεφόνῃ δ' ἐτέρ M: τέρω m: ἐτέρωθεν Ilgen: ἀρ' ἄρματος  
 αἵτασα Hermann: ἐπεὶ ἶδε καλὰ πρόσωπα Voss

ἐμπύρους τ' ἀκμάς | ῥήξεις τ' ἐνώμων where  
 the scholiast paraphrases ἐπεσκόπουν and  
 παρετήρουν; perhaps προσενώμα Soph.  
*Philoct.* 716, and in an intermediate  
 construction Eur. *Phoen.* 1563 τάδε  
 σώματα—δμματος αὐγαῖς σαῖς ἐπενώμας;  
 schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ διεσκόπεις. Hades cast  
 glances about him to see whether his  
 action is seen by any one, especially  
 Hermes, who was commissioned by Zeus  
 to restore Persephone to the upper world,  
 and would have thwarted his design.  
 λάθρη: the rhythm and the parallel  
 passage 411 (αὐτὰρ ὁ λάθρη ἐμβαλέ μοι  
 ροῆς κόκκον) shew that this word is to  
 be taken with ἔδωκε, not νωμήσας. It  
 may mean "without the knowledge  
 of Hermes," "secretly," or perhaps  
 "treacherously," i.e. Persephone did  
 not realize the result of eating. For  
 the latter sense of λάθρη cf. p. 80. See  
 further on 413.

379. διέκ μεγάρων: Gemoll rightly  
 notes that the realm of Hades is thought  
 of as a huge house; cf. Γ 322 δῶναι δόμον  
 "Αἶδος εἶσω etc. Otherwise the entrance  
 of horses into the μέγαρον would be  
 impossible.

τὼ δ' οὐκ ἄκοντε πετέσθην: the  
 common Homeric formula, with ἀέκοντε,  
 which, however, is not to be read in the  
 later hymn; cf. 413. With the passage  
 generally cf. E 364-7.

381. ὕδωρ has always *v* short in *thesi*  
 in early epic; hence Hermann suggested  
 οὐτ' ἄρ' ὕδωρ. But Baumeister quotes

*Batr.* 97, *Apoll. Arg.* Δ 290 and other  
 later passages in support of the text.

382. οὐτ' ἄκριες is remarkable, accord-  
 ing to Gemoll, between ἵππων ἀθανάτων  
 and ἔσχεθον ὄρμήν. He does not note,  
 however, that ἄκριες (as) always forms  
 the fourth foot in epic; see Ebeling.  
 The unusual position is moreover justified  
 by the great stress laid on ἄκριες, cf.  
 αὐτῶν "over the very mountains" (383).

384. στήσῃε δ' ἄγων: from B 558.

386. ἄτε μαινὰς: the editors quote  
 X 460 μαινάδι ἴση (of Andromache). So  
 Z 389 μαινομένη εἰκνία; cf. (of Demeter  
 herself) *Ov. Fast.* iv. 457-8. In the  
 hymn, as no doubt in Homer, μαινὰς  
 may be simply "a mad woman," with  
 no reference to the "maenads"; in any  
 case this passage does not imply that  
 there was as yet any Dionysiac influence  
 at Eleusis.

ὕλη: Ruhnken's correction of ὕλης is  
 in accordance with Homeric usage, which  
 requires the singular; the genitive may  
 have arisen from a mistaken view that  
 ὄρος ὕλης could stand for ὄρος ὕλην.  
 The ms. reading, however, would be  
 more easily explained if the dat. plur.  
 ὕλης were original. This form is found  
 in Anacreon *fr.* 51 δστ' ἐν ὕλης (so  
 Bergk; ὕλαις schol. *Pind. Ol.* iii. 52,  
 ὕλη Athenaeus and Aelian). Otherwise  
 the plur. does not seem to occur before  
 Dion. Hal. *de Thuc.* 6; see Zachariae  
*K. Z.* xxxiv. p. 453 f. It seems safer to  
 retain the singular.



μητρὸς ἑῆς, κατ' [ἄρ' ἢ γ' ὄχρεα προλιπούσα καὶ ἵππους]  
 ἄλτο θέει[ν, δειρῇ δέ οἱ ἔμπεσεν ἀμφιχυθεῖσα·]  
 τῇ δὲ [φίλην ἔτι παῖδα ἑῆς μετὰ χερσὶν ἐχούσῃ] 390  
 α[ἵψα δόλον θυμός τιν' ὄτσατο, τρέσσε δ' ἄρ' αἰνῶς]  
 παυομ[ένη φιλότητος, ἄφαρ δ' ἐρεῖνετο μύθῳ·]  
 Τέκνον, μή ῥά τί μοι σ[ύ γε πάσσαο, νέρθεν ἐοῦσα,]  
 βρώμης; ἐξαῦδα, [μὴ κεῖθ', ἵνα εἶδομεν ἄμφω·]  
 ὥς μὲν γάρ κ' ἀνιοῦσα π[αρὰ στυγεροῦ Ἀΐδαο] 395  
 καὶ παρ' ἐμοὶ καὶ πατρὶ κελ[αινεφεί Κρονίωνι]  
 ναιετάοις, πάντεσσι τετιμ[ένη ἀθανάτοι]σιν.  
 εἰ δέ, πτᾶσα πάλιν σύ γ' ἰοῦσ' ὑπ[ὸ κεῖθεσι γαίης]

388.  $\overline{\mu\rho\varsigma}$  ἑῆς κατ M: κατ m: κατεναντίον ὥκα μάλ' ὥστ' οἰωνός Ilgen: κατοροῦς ὀχέων ἄπο παμφανοῶντων Voss 389. ἄλτο θέει M: θεῖν m: ἄλτο θέειν κύσε δ' οἱ κεφαλὴν καὶ χεῖρε λαβοῦσα Ilgen 390. τῇδε M: ἥδε m: τῇ δὲ κατὰ βλεφάρων χαμάδις θερμὸν ῥέε δάκρυ Ilgen 391. ἂ M et m: ἀμφαπαπαζομένη· θαλερὴ δὲ οἱ ἔσχετο φωνή Ilgen: ἀμφοτέρηαι δὲ χερσὶν ὑφ' ἡμερος ὥρσε ῥόιοι Hermann 392. παομε ex M eruit Goodwin: antea suppletum est ὥπερ δὲ δὴ μιν ἀπειρομένη πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν Ilgen: κουρήν μὲν Bücheler 393. τέκνον μὴ ῥ' ἀτίμοιο legit Goodwin: μὴ ῥά τίμοιο ἐπάσω τῆς εἰν αἶδαο Voss: μὴ ῥά τί μοι πάσσει ἐνέρων παρ' ἄνακτι Ilgen 394. βρώμης ἐξαῦδα M: βρώμης Voss: μὴ κεῖθ' ἵν' ἴδωμαι ἀληθές Ilgen: ἵνα εἶδομεν ἄμφω Hermann 395. ὥς μὲν γάρ κε νέουσα η M: κεν ἐοῦσα παρ' ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισι Bücheler: κ' ἀνιοῦσα corr. plerique: κ' ἀνιοῦσα μένοιο τέκος (ἄνω Bothe) ἡματα πάντα Ruhnken: κ' ἀνιοῦς ἐκ ταρτάρου κερόεντος Ilgen: τ' ἀνιοῦσα παρὰ κρατεροῦ ἄνακτος Puntoni 396. κελαινεφεὶ κρονίωνι suppl. m: κελαιόου solum M 397. ναιετάει M: τετιμ . . . σιν M: τετιμμένη ἀθανάτοισι m: τετιμμένη Ruhnken cf. Apoll. 522 398. εἰ δὲ πτᾶσα πάλιν ἰοῦσ' ὑπ M: ὑπὸ κεῖθεσι γαίης m: σύ γ' addidimus: εἰ δ' ἐπάσω Wytttenbach: εἰ δὲ τι πάσσαο πάμπαν Goodwin: αὐτίς add. Ruhnken: εἰ δ' ἐπάσω τι πάλιν μὲν ἰοῦσ' ὑπὸ κεῖθεσι Bücheler

392. παυομένη: M has παομ . . , but the confusion of α and αν is common in mss., e.g. Νάστης Νάστης B 867, Φασιάδην Φαυσιάδην A 578, καλὸν καυλὸν II 338, ἀγὴν αὐγὴν Aratus 668, Herod. ii. 111. Ignarra's excellent correction συναξουσ'

for συναυξήσουσ' (= συνα(ν)ξήσ') in 267 rests partly on this principle.

398. The corrections ἐπάσω or τι πάσσαο no doubt give the sense, but it is rather violent to suppose such a desperate corruption as πτᾶσα in M, especially when the scribe had no difficulty with πάσσαρ' 50 and πάσασθαι 413. πτᾶσα was first defended in the *Class. Rev.* March 1901, <σύ γ'> being

supplied to complete the line. The ellipse of the verb of the second protasis in a double condition is occasionally found: I 42 εἰ δέ τοι αὐτῷ θυμὸς ἐπέσσεται ὥς τε νέεσθαι, ἔρχεο—εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτοί, φευγόντων κτλ. (I 262 εἰ δέ, σὺ μὲν μὲν ἀκουσον is only similar in form). In later authors exx. are fairly common: Plat. *Euthyd.* 285 c, *Symp.* 212 c. So εἰ δ' οὖν Soph. *Ant.* 722. πτῆναι is not Homeric, but ἐξέπτῃ occurs in Hes. *Op.* 98, *Batr.* 208, 211, πτᾶσα in Herod. π. διχρ. 289. 24. The line thus gains in vividness: "but if so, you will have to fly back"; cf. λ 208. If ἰοῦσα following πτᾶσα is awkward, it would be possible to read ἐοῦσ', as in 364, 395.



οἰκήσεις ὥρέων τρίτατον μέρ[ος εἰς ἐνιαυτόν,]  
 τὰς δὲ δύω παρ' ἐμοί τε καὶ [ἄλλοις ἀθανά]τοισιν. 400  
 ὁππότε δ' ἄνθεσι γαῖ' εὐώδε[σιν] εἰαρινο[ισι]  
 παντοδαποῖς θάλλει, τότ' ἀπὸ ζόφου ἡρόεντος  
 αὐτὶς ἄνει μέγα θαῦμα θεοῖς θνητοῖς τ' ἀνθρώποις.

καὶ τίνι σ' ἐξαπάτησε δόλῳ κρατερ[ὸς Πολυδ]έγμων;  
 Τὴν δ' αὖ Περσεφόνη περικαλλὴς ἀντίον ἤϋδα. 405  
 τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ σοι, μήτηρ, ἐρέω νημερτέα πάντα·  
 εὐτέ μοι Ἑρμῆς ἦ[λθ'] ἐριούνιος ἄγγελος ὤκυν  
 παρ πατέρος Κρονίδαο καὶ ἄλλων οὐραυνίων  
 ἐλ[θεῖν] ἐξ Ἑρέβενος, ἵνα μ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἰδοῦσα  
 λήξαις ἀθανάτοισι χόλου καὶ μῆνιος αἰνῆς, 410  
 αὐτίκ' ἐγὼν ἀνόρουσ' ὑπὸ χάρματος, αὐτὰρ ὁ λάθρη

399. οἰκήσεις ὥρέων τρίτατον μέρ M: ὥρέων τριτάτην μοῖραν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν  
 m: ὥρέων Ilgen: ὥρων Ruhnken: in fine scripsere μέραν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν Hermann:  
 παρ' ἀκοίτῃ Fontein: εἰν αἶδαο Bücheler 400. καὶ . . . <sup>σι</sup>τοι M: ἄλλοις ἀθανά-  
 τοις m 401. ὁππότε δ' ἄνθεσι γαῖα εὐώδε . . . ηαρινο . . . M: reliqua  
 supplevit m: εἰαρινοῖσι Matthiae 402. εἰάλλη Voss 403. ἀνεῖ M: corr.  
 Wyttenbach: post h. v. lacunam posuit Ruhnken: supplevit λέγον δ' ὅπως  
 ἦλεος ὑπὸ ζόφον ἡρόεντα Hermann: εἰπὲ δὲ πῶς c' ἤρπασεν nos 404. καί  
 τιν' ἐξαπάτησε M: corr. Ruhnken: καὶ τινά ρ' Matthiae: litteras δε πολυδ  
 refecit m 406. ἐρέω M: ἐρώ m 407. ἦλε' ἦ . . . M: suppl. Mitscherlich:  
 μοι ἐρμῆς ἐρι . . . m 409. ἐλε<sup>σι</sup> M: refecit m: ἐλεεῖν μ' Ilgen 411.  
 αὐτὰρ M: εἶσαρ Ruhnken: αὐτίκ' Ilgen: ἄν τ' ἄρ' Mitscherlich: αἰψ' ἄρ'  
 Hermann || αὐτὰρ ὁ M: corr. Ruhnken: λάθρη legi in M testatus est Goodwin,  
 repetivit m: ὄρ' αὐτός Ruhnken: ὄρ' ὄρως Schneidewin

399. Ilgen's ὥρέων (for ὀρέων M) is nearest to the ms., and preserves an Ionic form and Homeric synizesis; cf. ἐρέω 406, Κρονίδεω 414. εἰς ἐνιαυτόν: the supplement of m can hardly be an invention of the scribe, and the lexx. give instances of the distributive force of εἰς, "every year." See L. and S. s.v. ii. 2.

The division of time is followed by Apollod. i. 5. 3. Περσεφόνη δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτόν τὸ μὲν τρίτον μετὰ Πλούτωνος ἡραγάσθη μένειν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν παρὰ τοῖς θεοῖς. The third part of the year is of course the winter season, when the corn is below the earth. The editors note the old division of the year into three seasons. According to another account (Ovid *Fast.* iv. 614, *Met.* v. 567, Hygin. *fab.* 146) the year is divided into two equal periods of six months each. See Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 763 n. 3, where it is remarked that

Apollo was thought to spend six months in Delos and Lycia respectively, according to Delian tradition, whereas the Delphians believed him to be present among them for nine months.

401. ὁππότε . . . εἰάλλει: the pres. indic. with ὁππότε ("as soon as") is rare; but cf. σ 408 κατακέλετε οἰκαδ' ἵοντες, | ὁππότε θυμὸς ἄνωγε. The subj. θάλλη ("when-ever") is read by Voss and Gemoll.

403. Here the construction is clearly broken, and a lacuna of a line is necessary.

406. ἐρέω: disyll. in Hes. *Op.* 202; but without synizesis below 416.

409. ἐλεεῖν after ἦλε (407) has been suspected; but the repetition is not offensive. The infin. depends on ἦλθεν ἄγγελος, which implies a command. Bücheler compares A 715 ἄγγελος ἦλθε . . . θωρήσσεσθαι and Ω 194.

411. The repetition of αὐτὰρ in one line is hardly possible; probably in the



ἔμβαλέ μοι ροιῆς κόκκον, μελιηδέ' ἔδωδῆν,  
 ἄκουσαν δὲ βίῃ με προσηνάγκασσε πάσασθαι.  
 ὥς δέ μ' ἀναρπάξας Κρονίδεω πυκινὴν διὰ μῆτιν  
 ὄχετο, πατρὸς ἐμοῖο, φέρων ὑπὸ κεῦθεα γαίης, 415  
 ἔξερέω, καὶ πάντα διίξομαι ὥς ἐρεεῖνεις.  
 ἡμεῖς μὲν μάλα πᾶσαι ἀν' ἡμερτὸν λειμῶνα,  
 Λευκίππη Φαινὼ τε καὶ Ἥλέκτρη καὶ Ἰάνθη,  
 καὶ Μελίτη Ἰάχῃ τε Ῥοδεία τε Καλλιρρόῃ τε,  
 Μηλόβοσῖς τε Τύχῃ τε καὶ Ὠκυρὸῃ καλυκῶπις, 420  
 Χρυσῆς τ' Ἰάνειρά τ' Ἀκάστῃ τ' Ἀδμήτῃ τε,  
 καὶ Ῥοδόπῃ Πλουτῷ τε καὶ ἡμερόεσσα Καλυψῷ,  
 καὶ Στύξ Οὐρανίῃ τε Γαλαξάυρῃ τ' ἐρατεινῇ,  
 Παλλὰς τ' ἐγρεμάχῃ καὶ Ἀρτεμῖς ἰοχέαιρα,

417. TESTIMONIUM. Paus. iv. 30. 4 πρῶτος δὲ ὢν οἶδα ἐποίησατο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ὀμηρὸς Τύχης μνήμην, ἐποίησατο δὲ ἐν τῷ ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς τὴν Δήμητραν, ἄλλας τε τῶν Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατέρας καταριθμούμενος, ὡς ὁμοῦ Κόρη τῇ Δήμητρος παῖζοιεν, καὶ Τύχην ὡς Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ ταύτην παῖδα οὔσαν. καὶ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ ἔπη·

ἡμεῖς μὲν μάλα πᾶσαι ἀν' ἡμερτὸν λειμῶνα  
 Λευκίππη Φαινὼ τε καὶ Ἥλέκτρη καὶ Ἰάνθη  
 Μηλόβοσῖς τε Τύχῃ τε καὶ Ὠκυρὸῃ καλυκῶπις.

416. ὦς] ὅς Fontein 418. Ἰάνη τ' Ἥλέκτρη τε Hes. Theog. 349 419.  
 Ῥεία M: corr. Ruhnken ex Hes. l.c. 351 || v. om. Paus. l.c. 420. μηλοβόστι  
 τε ex μηλοβοειν vel μηλοβόθῃ τε correctum M: emendavit Ruhnken cll. Hes.  
 l.c. 354 et Paus. l.c. || ὠκύρην M: corr. Ruhnken ex Hes. l.c. 360 Paus. l.c.  
 421. ἀκατάστῃ M: corr. Ruhnken cl. Hes. l.c. 356 423. ταλασαύρῃ M: corr.  
 Ruhnken ex Hes. l.c. 353

first place it has expelled another particle, which now can hardly be recovered. So Σ 203 αὐτὰρ Ἀχιλλεύς ὄρτο δίφιλος ἀμφὶ δ' Ἀθήνῃ, where several mss. have αὐτὰρ ἀθήνῃ. Ruhnken's εἶθαρ and Ilgen's αὐτίκ' are equally near to αὐτὰρ: the sense might be better given by ἦτοι.

413. ἄκουσαν . . βίῃ . . προσηνάγκασσε. In 372 (ἔδωκε φαγεῖν) nothing is said of the compulsion on which Persephone here insists. Plainly Hades did not use actual force or compulsion of any kind, especially as Hermes was present. Persephone only means that she had no wish to eat, and could not refuse the food. Nor would it be unnatural for her to overstate the case, from a desire to avoid blame for her thoughtlessness. There is no reason with Mitscherlich and Bücheler to suspect the line as a late interpolation. For the pleonasm cf. the Homeric βίη ἀέκοντος A 430 etc.

417f. The list of the Oceanids is borrowed, in the main, from Hes. Theog. 349 f., from which passage, together with the quotation of Paus. iv. 30. 4, the names in the text are restored. The writer has taken 16 out of the 41 names in Hesiod, adding Leucippe, Phaeno, Melite, Iache, and Rhodope. Of these, Melite appears as a Nereid in Hes. Theog. 246 and in the interpolated passage Σ 42. For the meaning of the names see Goettling-Flach on Hes. l.c., Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 552.

424. The verse has been needlessly suspected. In 5 only the Oceanids are mentioned; but this is quite natural, as they form the greater part of Persephone's companions. Nor is it an objection that Pallas and Artemis end the list; in fact they may well be considered to occupy the place of honour. Not to quote modern analogies, it may be pointed out that the list of nymphs in Hes. Theog.



παίζομεν ἥδ' ἄνθεα δρέπομεν χεῖρεσσ' ἐρόεντα, 425  
 μίγδα κρόκον τ' ἀγανὸν καὶ ἀγαλλίδας ἥδ' ὑάκινθον,  
 καὶ ῥοδέας κάλυκας καὶ λείρια, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι,  
 νάρκισσόν θ' ὃν ἔφυσ' ὥς περ κρόκον εὐρεῖα χθών.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ δρεπόμην περὶ χάρματι, γαῖα δ' ἔνερθε  
 χώρησεν, τῇ δ' ἔκθορ' ἀναξ κρατερὸς Πολυδέγμων. 430  
 βῆ δὲ φέρων ὑπὸ γαῖαν ἐν ἄρμασι χρυσείοισι  
 πόλλ' ἀεκαζομένην, ἐβόησα δ' ἄρ' ὄρθια φωνῇ.  
 ταῦτά τοι ἀχρυνμένη περ ἀληθέα πάντ' ἀγορεύω.  
 Ὡς τότε μὲν πρόπαν ἡμάρ ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσai  
 πολλὰ μάλ' ἀλλήλων κραδίην καὶ θυμὸν ἵαινον 435  
 ἀμφαγαπαζόμεναι, ἀχέων δ' ἀπεπαύετο θυμός.

426. κροκόεντα γανὸν M: corr. Voss: κρόκου τε γάνος Valekenär: κρόκω  
 κύανον Fontein 427. ῥόδα ἐς M: corr. Heyne alii: ῥόδα ἐκ Valckenär  
 428. ὥς περ κρόκον] ἐμοὶ δόλον vel περίπλοκον Mitscherlich: μοι ἐς δόλον  
 Jacobs: ὑπέροκτον Bothe: ἐύροκτον Ilgen: κροκόεντά περ Matthiae: ὥσπερ κόνιν  
 vel αἰπὺν δόλον Hermann: ὑπέροκτον vel υπερήφανον Voss: ὑπέρτατον Spitzner  
 429. δρεπομένη M: corr. Ruhnken: αὐτὰρ δρεπομένη Matthiae 430. τῇ]  
 τῆς Brunck, Fontein

349-361 is closed with the name of Styx  
 ἢ δὴ σφεων προφερεστάτη ἐστὶν ἀπασέων.  
 Pallas and Artemis are present according  
 to most versions: cf. Eur. *Hel.* 1315,  
 Diod. v. 3, Paus. viii. 31. 2, Stat. *Achill.*  
 ii. 150, Claud. *Rapt. Pros.* i. 228, ii. 205 f.  
 (where they try to defend Proserpine).  
 Ovid does not mention either the Oceanids  
 or other companions by name. For the  
 epithet of Pallas cf. Παλλάδι τ' ἐγχεμάχη  
 in *orac.* ap. Hendess 79. 6.

For καί making position see on *h.*  
*Apbr.* 13.

428. ὥς περ κρόκον: this is difficult,  
 but no doubt genuine; the emendations  
 are all wild. The meaning might be  
 "as (abundantly as) the crocus." This,  
 however, would be very prosaic; nor is  
 there reason to suppose, with Ilgen, that  
 the crocus was so much more abundant  
 than the narcissus as to serve for a literary  
 comparison. On the contrary, Aristotle  
 (*Mir. Ausc.* 111) instances the local  
 profusion of crocus on the promontory  
 of Pelorias in Sicily as exceptional.  
 Probably, therefore, the reference is to  
 the colour of the miraculous flower, the  
 hymn-writer having in mind the yellow  
 Narcissus *tazetta* (see on 12). Sibthorp  
 (*Flora Graeca* vol. iv. s.v.) quotes Dioscor.  
 4. 161 (158), where the *tazetta* is said to  
 have κοῖλον κροκοειδές. For the com-

parison cf. 178 κροκήν ἄνθει ὁμοίαι, of  
 yellow hair. A similar expression in  
 Theocr. v. 131 πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ὥς ῥόδα  
 κίσθος ἐπανθεῖ also refers to colour. The  
 "yellow" *tazetta* is thus distinguished  
 from the *N. poeticus*, which Dioscorides  
 also mentions.

429. αὐτὰρ, to which Ilgen and Gemoll  
 object, is used in a continuative, not an  
 adversative sense. περὶ χάρματι, "for  
 joy," a use of *περ*, lit. "compassed by"  
 not found in Homer but fairly common  
 in later poetry. See L. and S., and add  
 to the exx. there quoted Apoll. *Arg.* I  
 866 δόδυνή πέρι.

431. ἄρμασι χρυσείοισι: the short  
 vowel before *χρ* is rare, according to La  
 Roche, *Hom. Unters.* i. p. 41, who allows  
 as a certain instance in Homer only Ψ  
 186 ῥοδόντι δὲ χρίεν. But the shortening  
 is probable in several other passages, e.g.  
 Ω 795, θ 353. See Agar in *Class. Rev.*  
 April 1901. In the Hymns cf. *h. Ap.*  
 293, 439, *h. Herm.* 332, viii. 1, *Orph. h.*  
 lv. 18.

433. Cf. η 297 ταῦτά τοι ἀχρυνμένους περ  
 ἀληθείην κατέλεξα, and γ 254.

434. The first hemistich = A 601, the  
 second X 263, *h. Herm.* 391. The  
 repetition of θυμός in three lines is ugly;  
 Bücheler suspects a cento.







τὴν τριτάτην μὲν μοῖραν ὑπὸ ζόφον ἡρόοντα,  
 τὰς δὲ δύο παρὰ μητρὶ καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν.  
 ὥς ἔφατ'· οὐδ' ἀπίθησε θεὰ Διὸς ἀγγελιάων.  
 ἐσσυμένως δ' ἤϊξε κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων,  
 εἰς δ' ἄρα Ῥάριον ἔξε, φερέσβιον οὐθαρ ἀρούρης 450  
 τὸ πρίν, ἀτὰρ τότε γ' οὐ τι φερέσβιον, ἀλλὰ ἔκηλον  
 εἰστίηκει πανάφυλλον· ἔκευθε δ' ἄρα κρὶ λευκὸν  
 μῆδεσι Διήμητρος καλλισφύρου· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 μέλλεν ἄφαρ ταναοῖσι κομήσειν ἀσταχύεσσιν,  
 ἦρος ἀεξομένοιο, πέδῳ δ' ἄρα πίνονες ὄγμοι 455  
 βρισμένον ἀσταχύνων, τὰ δ' ἐν ἐλλεδανοῖσι δεδέσθαι.  
 ἐνθ' ἐπέβη πρῶτιστον ἀπ' αἰθέρος ἀτρυγέτοιο·  
 ἀσπασίως δ' ἴδον ἀλλήλας, κεχάρηντο δὲ θυμῷ.  
 τὴν δ' ὦδε προσέειπε Ῥέη λιπαροκρήδεμνος·

446. post h. v. lacunam statuit Hermann 450. εἰς δ' ἄρα ρίον M: corr.  
 Ruhnken 451. ἀλλ' ἀπέτηλον Ruhnken alii 452. εἵπτηκε M: ἐστῆκει  
 Hermann 454. ἀσταχύεσσιν] ἀνθερίκεσσι Ruhnken 456. βρυσέμεν M: corr.  
 Ruhnken

448. ὥς ἔφατ': see on 316. ἀγγε-  
 λιῶων: Homer uses the dat. after  
 ἀπιθεῖν (cf. 358), but the gen. is defensible,  
 as οὐκ ἀπίθησε = ἐπέκλυεν (cf. ε 150 Ζηνὸς  
 ἐπέκλυεν ἀγγελιάων).

450. Ῥάριον: according to Herodian  
 π. μ. λ. 35, Bekker *An.* 693. 11 Ῥάρος  
 (and therefore its derivatives) should  
 be written with *spir. lenis*, Ῥάρος, but  
 the authority is perhaps insufficient.  
 For the Rharian plain cf. Paus. i. 38.  
 6 τὸ δὲ πεδῖον τὸ Ῥάριον σπαρήναι πρῶτον  
 λέγουσι καὶ πρῶτον αὐξῆσαι καρπούς, καὶ  
 διὰ τοῦτο οὐλαῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαι σφισι  
 καὶ ποιεῖσθαι πέμματα ἐς τὰς θυσίας καθέ-  
 στηκεν. "The plain Rharium seems to  
 have been in the immediate vicinity of  
 Eleusis, but on which side it would be  
 difficult to determine" (Leake *Top.*  
*Ath.* ii. p. 159); Lenormant places it  
 on the north side (*Cont. Rev.* 38. 134).  
 For the word see Plut. *coni. praec.* 42;  
*Marmor Parium* 25, and an inscr. in  
 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1883 p. 119 f., which give the  
 usual termination of the name as Raria  
 or Rharia. Steph. Byz. also recognizes  
 Rharian: Ῥάριον· πεδῖον ἐν Ἐλευσίνι, καὶ  
 Ῥάρια γῆ. Herod. l.c. quotes Ῥαρίδος  
 Δηοῦς.

450. φερέσβιον: first in Hes. *Theog.*  
 693. Apollodorus in schol. *Genev.* on  
 Φ 319 gives the word as παρ' Ὀμήρω.  
 See Preface p. 1. On the word cf.

Solmsen *l.c.* p. 20 f. οὐθαρ ἀρούρης =  
 I 141; cf. also xxx. 9.

451. ἔκηλον: not *immutum ab aratro*  
 (as Baumeister translates), but "idle";  
 the "work" of the field being to produce  
 crops. Cf. Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 1247 εὐκῆλῳ  
 δὲ κατείχετο πάντα γαλήνῃ.

453-456. Two seasons are described:  
 spring, when the ears are green; and  
 harvest-time, when the rich furrows are  
 laden with the ripe ears, cut and lying  
 on the ground, while other ears (τὰ δ')  
 have already been bound into sheaves  
 (Franke). Gemoll quotes Hes. *Scut.* 288 f.  
 οἱ γε μὲν ἥμων | αἰχμῆς ὀξείῃσι κορωνίεντα  
 πέτηλα | βριθόμενα σταχύνων, ὥσῃ Δημή-  
 τερος ἀκτὴν, | οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἐν ἐλλεδανοῖσι δέον.  
 But the original is rather Σ 552 f. δράγ-  
 ματα δ' ἄλλα μετ' ὄγμον ἐπήτρυμα πίπτον  
 ἔραζε, | ἄλλα δ' ἀμαλλοδετῆρες ἐν ἐλλεδα-  
 νοῖσι δέοντο. In the latter passage, as in  
 the hymn, there are two distinct scenes in  
 the harvesting: (1) reaping, (2) binding;  
 but in the hymn the completion of each  
 operation is described, whereas in the  
*Iliad* the operations are still in progress  
 (compare βρισμένον, which implies corn  
 already cut, with the imperf. πίπτον, and  
 δεδέσθαι with δέοντο).

455. ἦρος: the form is found in  
 Alcaeus *fr.* 45 and other lyric poets.

456. On ἐλλεδανοῖσι cf. Solmsen *Unter-  
 suchungen* p. 244.



Δεῦρο τέκος, καλέει σε βαρύκτυπος εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς 460  
 ἐλθέμεναι μετὰ φύλα θεῶν, ὑπέδεκτο δὲ τιμὰς  
 [δωσέμεν, ἅς κ' ἐθέλησθα] μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.  
 [νεῦσε δέ σοι κούρην ἔτεος π]εριτελλομένοιο  
 [τὴν τριτάτην μὲν μοῖραν ὑπὸ ζόφον ἤ]ερόεντα,  
 [τὰς δὲ δύο παρὰ σοί τε καὶ ἄλλοις] ἀθανάτοισιν. 465  
 [ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη τελέ]εσθαι· ἐφ' δ' ἐπένευσε κάρητι.  
 [ἀλλ' ἴθι, τέκνον] ἐμόν, καὶ πείθεο, μηδέ τι λήν  
 ἀ[ζηχὲς μιν]έαινε κελαινεφεί Κρονίῳ·  
 αἶψα δὲ κα[ρπὸν ἄ]εξε φερέσβιον ἀνθρώποισιν.  
 Ὠ[s ἔφατ', οὐ]δ' ἀπίθυσεν ἐυστέφανος Δημήτηρ, 470  
 αἶψα δὲ καρπὸν ἀνῆκεν ἀρουράων ἐριβόλων.  
 πᾶσα δὲ φύλλοισιν τε καὶ ἀνθεσιν εὐρέϊα χθὼν  
 ἔβρισ'· ἡ δὲ κιούσα θεμιστοπόλοις βασιλεῦσι  
 δεῖξε, Τριπτολέμῳ τε Διοκλεῖ τε πληξίππῳ,  
 Εὐμόλπου τε βίῃ Κελεῶ θ' ἡγήτορι λαῶν, 475  
 δρησμοσύνην θ' ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πᾶσι,

474. TESTIMONIUM. PAUS. II. 14. 3 οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτε Ὀμηρος παρήκεν αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν, ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ὀμήρῳ πεποιημένα ἐς Δήμητρα. ἐν δὲ αὐτοῖς καταλέγων τοὺς διδασχέντας ὑπὸ τῆς θεοῦ τὴν τελευταίην Δυσσύνην οὐδένα οἶδεν Ἑλεσύνιον, ἔχει δὲ οὕτω τὰ ἔπη·

δεῖξεν Τριπτολέμῳ τε Διοκλεῖ τε πληξίππῳ

Εὐμόλπου τε βίῃ Κελεῶ θ' ἡγήτορι λαῶν

δρησμοσύνην ἱερῶν καὶ ἐπέφραδεν ὄργια πᾶσιν.

462. ΔΩΣΕΜΕΝ ἅς ΚΕ ΘΕΛΗΣΘΑ *m* : ΜΕΤ' ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙΣ ΕΒΟΙΣΙ *M* : ἅς ΚΕΝ ἔΛΟΙΟ Ilgen

463. ΝΕΥΣΕ . . . ἔτεος π *addit m* 464. ΤΗΝ . . . ΖΟΦΟΝ ἢ *m* : ΕΡΟΕΝΤΑ *M*

465. ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙΣΙΝ solum *M* : versum restituit Ruhnken : post h. v. versus 449-453 repetivit *M* : expunxit *m* 466. ΕΣΘΑΙ· ΕΩ Δ' ΕΠΕΝΕΥΣΕ ΚΑΡΗΤΙ *M* ante quae δύο

ΔΕ ΠΑΡ ΣΟΙ ἔς *m* : corr. Goodwin : ὥς τοι ὑπέσχετ' ἔσεσθαι Hermann : καὶ εοῖ αὐτῷ ἔσεσθαι vel ᾧ ἐνὶ οἴκῳ ἔσεσθαι Bücheler 467. ἈΛΛ' ἸΘΙ ΤΕΚΝΟΝ suppl. *m*

468. ΑΖΗΧΕΣ ΜΑΙΝΕ *m* 469. ΑΪΨΑ ΔΕ ΚΑ *m* 470. Ὡς ἔφατ' οὐδ *m* 471.

ΑΪΨΑ ΔΕ ΚΑ refecit *m* 474. ΔΕΙΞΕΝ *M* ut videtur (Δ' . . . ) et Paus. : ΕΪΠΕ *m*

476. ΧΡΗΣΜΟΣΥΝΗΝ *M* : ΔΡΗΣΜΟΣΥΝΗΝ Pausanias || ΚΑΛᾶ *M* : Πᾶσιν Pausanias

462. *m*'s supplement κ' ἐθέλησθα was probably formed from κ' ἐθέλοιτο 328, which is anomalous. ἐθέλησθα, however, is a correct form (γ 92 etc.) and may stand ; it is as good as ἔλοιο, which Ilgen reads from 444.

471 f. For the gifts of husbandry and religion imparted by Demeter to Attica cf. Isocr. iv. 28.

473. ἔβρις' : here with dative, in 456 with gen. The two constructions, as also the act. and pass. forms of the verb, appear to be about equally common.

476. ΔΡΗΣΜΟΣΥΝΗΝ is ἀπαξ λεγ. in this sense, and possibly δρησμοσύνην (ο 321) is the correct form. But Hesych. and the *E. M.* recognize δρησμοσύνη, explaining by θεραπεία, ὑπηρεσία. The reading of *M* χρησμοσύνη might be defended, as the meaning "arrangement" seems possible ; see L. and S. s.v., and cf. χρηστήριον in the sense of "victim." Pausanias' variant πᾶσι is to be preferred to καλᾶ. πᾶσι naturally leads to another enumeration of names, and excuses the repetition in 476, to which many commentators



Τριπτολέμω τε Πολυξείνῳ τ', ἐπὶ τοῖς δὲ Διοκλεί,  
σεμνά, τά τ' οὐ πῶς ἔστι παρεξίμεν [οὔτε] πυθέσθαι,  
οὔτ' ἀχέειν· μέγα γάρ τι θεῶν σέβας ἰσχάνει αὐδήν.  
ὄλβιος ὃς τὰδ' ὅπωπεν ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων·

480

477. TESTIMONIUM. Paus. i. 38. 3 τὰ δὲ ἱερὰ τοῖν θεῶν Εὐμολπος καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες δρῶσιν αἱ Κελεοῦ· καλοῦσι δὲ σφᾶς Πάμφως τε κατὰ ταῦτά καὶ Ὅμηρος Διογένειαν καὶ Παμμερόπην καὶ τρίτην Σαίσάρην.

477. lacunam hic statuit Ruhnken ob filias Ceiei a Paus. l.c. commemoratas :  
suppl. Voss

ὄργια παιδί

πρεσβυτέρης Κελεοῖο περίφρονι Διογενείῃ

Παμμερόπῃ τ' ἐρατῇ καὶ Σαίσάρῃ ἔσοχα καλῇ

478. παρ<sup>εν</sup>εῖν . . . M : scriptum est ut videtur οὔτε πυθέσθαι : πυθέσθαι  
add. m, reliqua obscuravit : παρ<sup>εν</sup>εῖμεν Matthiae : παρ<sup>εν</sup>εῖμεν Ruhnken : παρ<sup>εν</sup>ω-  
οῖμεν Ilgen 479. ἀχέειν] οὔτε χανεῖν Mitscherlich : χέειν Bothe : ἡχέειν  
Gemoll : κοεῖν Agar || c . . . c M : ἄχος m : ἄρος Valckenār : εἰσας Cobet

object. If the text of M is correct, the addition of σεμνά to καλά would be very awkward. There is perhaps an echo in an inser. Έφ. Άρχ. iii. 81 ὄργια πᾶσιν ἐφαίνε βροτοῖς (of a priest).

478 f. The reason for strict secrecy in the Eleusinia has been variously explained: in many cases secret rites belong to a conquered people, who wish to preserve their religious practices from their conquerors; this explanation has been applied to the Eleusinia, which may have been "Pelagian" (Gardner p. 333 f.). But the cause may rather be due to the nature of religion: as Ramsay (p. 125) remarks, "it was a condition of their good effect that they (the Mysteries) should not hereafter be lightly spoken of"; cf. Strabo 467 ἡ κρίσις ἡ μυστικὴ τῶν ἱερῶν σεμνοποιεῖ τὸ θεῖον. See further Jevons p. 360 f., who believes that the silence imposed on the initiated was not for concealment (there was little to conceal), but to prevent pollution.

478. παρ<sup>εν</sup>εῖμεν : Agar (*Class. Rev.* 1896, p. 388) revives Ruhnken's παρ<sup>εν</sup>εῖμεν, not in the sense of "neglect," but "divulge." παρ<sup>εν</sup>εῖμεν must mean "transgress," "overstep," and will stand if ἀχέειν means "give out." See next note.

πυθέσθαι : cf. Paus. i. 38. 7 τοῖς οὐ τελευθεῖσιν, ὁπόσων θέας εἰργονται, δῆλα δῆπου μὴδὲ πυθέσθαι μετεῖναι σφισιν.

479. ἀχέειν, "divulge." The existence of this form was maintained by Buttmann (*Lexilogus*, Engl. tr. p. 178 f.) here, and in *h. Pan* 18, where the mss.

give ἐπιπροχέονσα χέει. It is apparently defended by Hes. *Scut.* 93 ἦν ἄτην ἀχέων, and Ion *fr.* 39 ὕμνον ἀχέων (mss. ἀχαιῶν), Moschion *fr.* 187 ἀχῆσεται. Zenodotus read the same form instead of ἰάχων Σ 160, and apparently supposed it to be an equivalent in sense (although the schol. understands "grieving"). Of the conjectures, there is nothing to be said for χανεῖν, and ἡχέειν would not become ἀχέειν. See generally Schulze *K. Z.* 29. 247 sq., who however does not admit ἀχέειν here, while he reads ἀχέει in *h. Pan*.

480 f. This is the earliest allusion to the happiness of the initiated after death; cf. Pind. *fr.* 137 ὄλβιος ὅστις ἰδὼν κέω' εἶσ' ὑπὸ χθόν'. οἶδε μὲν βίον τελευτάν, | οἶδεν δὲ δῖοςδοτον ἄρχαν, Soph. *fr.* 719 ὥς τρισὺλβιοι | κείνοι βροτῶν, οἳ ταῦτα δερχθέντες τέλη | μόλωσ' ἐς "Αἶδον· τοῖσδε γὰρ μόνοις ἐκεῖ | ζῆν ἔστί, τοῖς δ' ἄλλοισι πάντ' ἔχει κακά, Eur. *H. F.* 613, Isocr. *Panegy.* 28, Plato *Phaed.* 69 c, [Plato] *Axioch.* 371 D, Cic. *Leg.* ii. 14, Aristid. *Or.* xiii., xix. For other references see Lobeck *Aglaoph.* i. p. 69, Foucart *Recherches*, etc. p. 53; Dieterich *Nekyia* p. 64. In this passage, as in Pindar, Sophocles, Euripides and others, it seems to be distinctly claimed that mere initiation procures happiness in a future state; nothing, at all events, is said about the necessity of a virtuous life. Foucart (*Recherches*, etc. p. 65 f.) thinks that the object of the mysteries was essentially practical: the mystae were taught how to avoid the



ὅς δ' ἀτελὴς ἱερῶν, ὅς τ' ἄμμορος, οὐ ποθ' ὁμοίον  
αἶσαν ἔχει φθίμενός περ ὑπὸ ζόφῳ εὐρώεντι.

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάνθ' ὑπεθήκατο δῖα θεάων,  
βάν ῥ' ἔμεν Οὐλυμπόνδε θεῶν μεθ' ὁμήγουριν ἄλλων.

ἔνθα δὲ ναιετάουσι παρὰ Διὶ τερπικεραυνῷ 485

σεμναί τ' αἰδοῖαί τε· μέγ' ὄλβιος ὃν τιν' ἐκείναι

προφρονέως φίλωνται ἐπιχθονίῳ ἀνθρώπων·

αἶψα δέ οἱ πέμπουσιν ἐφέστιον ἐς μέγα δῶμα

Πλοῦτον, ὃς ἀνθρώποις ἄφενος θνητοῖσι δίδωσιν.

Ἄλλ' ἄγ' Ἐλευσίνος θυοέσσης δῆμον ἔχουσαι, 490

καὶ Πάρον ἀμφιρύτην Ἀντρωνά τε πετρήεντα,

481. ὁμοίῳ] ὁμοίῳ Fontein 484. θέων M: corr. Ruhnken 487.  
φιλῶνται M: corr. Voss 488. μέγαν M: corr. m. p. || δῶμον M: corr.  
Ruhnken 490. ἀλλὰ ελεουσίνος M: corr. Ruhnken: ἴλασ' Hermann

dangers which beset the soul in its descent to Hades. He proves that such practical instructions formed part of the Orphic religion (p. 66 f.); but it is a most improbable hypothesis that the ἀπόρρητα at Eleusis were a kind of "guide to Hades." Orphic doctrines did not obtain a hold on the Eleusinia until a later period than the date of this hymn. In any case, however, it is clear that, in the general opinion of the early mystae, actual communion with the deities of the underworld was the main, if not the only, essential to salvation. That this belief persisted, is evident from the criticism of Diogenes: τί λέγεις, ἔφη, κρείττονα μοῖραν ἔξει Παταικίων ὁ κλέπτης ἀποθανὼν ἢ Ἐπαμεινώνδας, ὅτι μεμύηται (Plutarch *de aud. poet.* 4). See Rohde p. 271 f. The belief could, of course, be paralleled from the history of other religions. Serious and educated thinkers, at least in later times, believed that initiation in the Eleusinian or other mysteries was an incentive to virtue (e.g. Andoc. *Myst.* 31, Diod. v. 49; see Ramsay p. 125, Gardner p. 401); but Rohde (p. 275) considers that the language of Andocides (i.e. μεμύηθε . . . ἵνα τιμωρήσῃτε μέν τοὺς ἀσεβοῦντας, σφύζετε δὲ τοὺς μηδὲν ἀδικούντας) is quite exceptional.

ὀπωπεν: the word suggests the ἐποπτεία, but no doubt refers more generally to all the sights seen by μύσται and ἐποπταί alike (if the distinction between the two classes of initiated is as old as the hymn).

484 = Ψ 142 (ἀψ ἔμεν).

486. μέγ' ὄλβιος κτλ.: cf. xxx. 7 (with 489 cf. xxx. 12, and with 494 cf. xxx. 18).

489. Plutus is son of Demeter and Iasion, Hes. *Theog.* 969 f. Cf. *scolium* in Athen. xiv. 694 Πλοῦτον μητέρ' Ὀλυμπίαν αἰδῶ | Δήμητρα στεφανηφόροις ἐν ὦραις, | σέ τε, παῖ Διός, Φερσεφόνη; see Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 767 n. 5 and 780, Svoronos p. 387 f. The name of Plutus follows those of Demeter and Cora in a prayer, Arist. *Thesm.* 296. Demeter is πλουτοδότρια in *Orph. h.* 40. 3.

ἄφενος: neuter, as always in Homer (in Ψ 299 there is a variant ἀφενον). Only here in the Hymns.

490-495 are considered a later addition by Hermann and others.

490. For confusions caused by ἀγ' or ἄγε cf. H 299, Σ 314, h. *Ap.* 165.

491. The special cult of Demeter at Paros is attested by the title *Δημητριάς* applied to the whole island (Nicanor ap. Steph. Byz. s.v. Πάρος); cf. Herod. vi. 134. The island was colonized from Crete, one of the oldest centres of the cult (see on 123). According to the schol. on Arist. *Av.* 1764, Archilochus composed a hymn to Demeter at Paros. The cult is also known by an inscr. from Paros (*Ath. Mitth.* xvi. p. 6), δημητρι θεσμοφορωι και κορη και δι ευβουλει και βαβοι (= Βανβοῖ). Cf. also Boeckh *C.I.G.* 2557, and *B. C. H.* i. p. 135. 54. An ear of corn and the head of Demeter are common types on the coinage; Head *Hist. Num.* p. 417. See further Pauly-Wissowa 2722 f.

Ἀντρωνά ('Αντρῶνας in Demosth.



πότνια, ἀγλαόδωρ', ὠρηφόρε, Διοῖ ἄνασσα,  
 αὐτὴ καὶ κούρη περικαλλὴς Περσεφόνηια,  
 πρόφρονες ἀντ' ὧδ' ἄβροτον θυμὴρ' ὀπάξειν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

495

494. ὄπαζε M: corr. Voss: πρόφρων δ' . . . ὄπαζε Ruhnken (et ἔχουσα 490)  
 cl. xxx. 18

x. 9, cf. Strabo 432 and Scylax 63 Müller): a Thessalian town, mentioned in the Catalogue B 697, opposite Oreus in Euboea, not elsewhere mentioned for the worship of Demeter. But in B 696 the neighbouring Pyrasus is called Δήμητρος τέμενος (cf. Strabo 435), so that the cult no doubt prevailed along the Pagasaeon gulf in very ancient times. There is thus no difficulty in the mention of these places by an early Attic or Eleusinian poet.

494, 495=xxx. 18, 19. ὦδ' ἄβ: the contracted form first in *h. Ap.* 20. ὀπάζειν: this correction of ὄπαζε (cf.

Φ 217 ῥέξε ῥέξειν, Hes. *Op.* 611 ἀπόδρεπε -εν -ειν) is slighter than to write πρόφρων δ' for πρόφρονες (on the analogy of xxx. 18). For the infin. in liturgy see Adami *de poet. scenicis* p. 243 and Smyth *Greek Melic Poets* p. 500, who compare Soph. *Ant.* 1144, and the song of the Elean women ἐλθεῖν, ἡρώ Διδύνσε (Smyth p. 154). On the general Homeric use of the infin. for imper. see Hentze in *B. B.* xxvii. 1902, p. 106 f.

495. σείο. The writer returns to Demeter, the subject of the hymn, although the previous lines include Persephone in the invocation.



### III

## HYMN TO APOLLO

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I. *Subject*.—The poet sings of Apollo, at whose approach even the gods tremble; but Leto rejoices in her strong son. She visited many isles and cities before his birth, but all feared to receive her, except Delos, to whom Leto promised that Apollo should love the island beyond all others. Leto's delivery was stopped by the jealousy of Hera; but finally Eilithyia came, and the goddess brought forth her son, who forthwith burst his swaddling-clothes and claimed his prerogatives—the lyre, the bow, and the gift of prophecy. Many cities and lands are his, but chiefly he delights in Delos, where the Ionians are gathered together with song and dance in his honour. Most famous is the chorus of Delian women, whom the blind Chian poet begs to remember him; he will never cease to sing of Apollo, Leto's son.

Apollo went to Pytho; and thence to Olympus, where he accompanies on his lyre the dance of the gods. His success in love could furnish many themes for song, but the singer chooses the story of the god's search for an oracular temple. He left Olympus and passed southward through many peoples until he



reached the spring of Telphusa, near Haliartus. There he wished to found his oracle; but the nymph dissuaded him and suggested Crisa; he complied, and his temple was built beneath Parnassus. Hard by was a fountain, where he met a dragon which ravaged the place. This monster had reared Typhaon, whom Hera bore in wrath with Zeus. Apollo slew the dragon and gained his title of Pythius. Angry with Telphusa for her treachery in sending him to a place infested by the dragon, he returned to her and stopped her water with a shower of rocks from an overhanging cliff. Then he bethought him of a priesthood, and saw Cretans sailing from Cnossus. He met them in the form of a dolphin, and diverted the course of their ship to Crisa, where he revealed himself as a god. The Cretans built an altar on the shore and followed him to Pytho. Apollo promised that they should live on the offerings of pilgrims, but warned them that if they fell into evil ways they would be subjected to the dominion of others.

II. *The composition of the hymn.*—The hymn to Apollo, in its present form, may be read as a continuous poem. But the continuity lies only on the surface, and even the most casual reader cannot fail to be struck by the abrupt transition at v. 179, after a passage in which the Chian poet appears to take leave of his audience and to finish his theme. Accordingly, from the time of Ruhnken, the hymn has been divided into two parts, commonly known as the "Delian" and "Pythian" hymns. Gemoll very properly refuses to bisect the document, on the ground (1) that it was considered a single poem at least as early as the second century A.D.; (2) that many of the arguments against its original unity must be discounted; and (3) that even if there has been a conflation, the division into *two* parts is unscientific, as the present hymn may well contain more than two fragments or complete poems. Gemoll indeed allows that the hymn does not convey the impression of unity; but, as his arguments are mainly directed against its disintegration by Ruhnken and subsequent editors, it is necessary to examine the evidence afresh, and to consider how far Ruhnken's position is sound.

A. *External evidence.*—Thucydides (iii. 104) cites lines 146–150 as ἐκ τοῦ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος, and adds ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου ἐς τὰδε τὰ ἔπη (quoting 165–172). Here the ἔπαινος may obviously mean, not the whole hymn, but that part of it which contains the eulogy on the Delian women. Aristides,



however (ii. 558), quotes 169 f., using the words *καταλύων τὸ προοίμιον*; and, if he quoted at first-hand, it would be a clear proof that in the second century A.D. there was a hymn to Apollo, which ended with the invocation of the Delians by the blind Chian. Against this Hermann reasonably argues that Aristides was simply quoting from Thucydides (compare *προοίμιον* in both authors), and wrongly took *τοῦ ἐπαίνου* in Thucydides to mean *τοῦ προοιμίου*.<sup>1</sup> The probability that Aristides did not know the hymn at first-hand is increased by the fact, observed in connexion with the *Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία*, that all his quotations from Solon are found in that treatise (see Sandys p. liv); there is thus a strong presumption that he was generally unfamiliar with the less-known early poetry. Moreover, that the hymn was a single document by the time of Aristides is proved by the citations of his contemporaries, i.e. Pausanias (x. 37. 5 *Ὅμηρος ἔν τε Ἰλιάδι ὁμοίως καὶ ὕμνῳ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα*) and Athenaeus (22 c, quoting v. 515, *Ὅμηρος ἢ τῶν Ὀμηριδῶν τις ἐν τῷ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ὕμνῳ*).<sup>2</sup> The testimony of later writers (Eustath. 1602. 25, and Steph. Byz. 618 *ἐν τῷ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ὕμνῳ*) confirms the earlier authorities.

There is therefore nothing in the language of Thucydides to suggest that he knew of a "Delian" hymn ending at line 178, and on the other hand, as Gemoll observes, the historian would hardly have written *τοῦ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος*, if he had been acquainted with more than one Homeric hymn to Apollo. As the so-called "Pythian" hymn is certainly much older than Thucydides, the inference is that the unity of the document extends back to the end of the fifth century B.C. at the latest. Gemoll further suggests that Aristophanes, as he seems to quote from both the first and last parts of the hymn (see on 114 and 443), recognised a single hymn. This argument is of little value in itself, for Aristophanes might, of course, have cited from two hymns as much as from one;<sup>3</sup> but it may be conceded that, if

<sup>1</sup> For a parallel in language cf. [Dem.] *Evot.* 33 *αὐτοῦ καταλύσειν μοι δοκῶ τὸν ἔπαινον*, followed by twenty-four chapters.

<sup>2</sup> So Kaibel's text without variant. On a false reading *ὕμνοις* an argument, quoted even by Gemoll (p. 114), was based for the existence of two separate hymns as late as the second century A.D.

<sup>3</sup> The same criticism may be applied to Gemoll's argument based on *h.* xxvii. (xxvi. in his ed.), in which there are reminiscences from both parts of the hymn to Apollo. But as *h.* xxvii. is almost certainly older than Thucydides (Gemoll is too cautious in placing it merely "before Alexandrine times," p. 116), the argument and the criticism of it are alike needless.



Thucydides was unaware of the existence of separate Delian and Pythian parts, his contemporary and fellow-countryman was equally ignorant.

B. *Internal evidence*.—(1) The separatists assume that vv. 165 f. are obviously the end of one hymn, and 179 f. belong to another. This view is accepted in the present edition for the reasons stated on p. 63 f.; but, as Gemoll points out, the arguments commonly brought forward are not in themselves conclusive. The "farewell" to the Delian women (χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς κτλ. 166) might mark the close of a digression in the hymn, not the end of the whole hymn; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 963 where a similar formula marks a transition to another subject. Again, vv. 177–178 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οὐ λήξω κτλ. are not necessarily a formula of conclusion, although, of course, they are quite appropriate to that position;<sup>1</sup> the two lines might have served to introduce Apollo's later exploits, after the digression on the Delians.

(2) Kiesel and Baumeister favour the theory of an early Delian and later Pythian hymn, on the ground of a similarity of structure and subject matter which they detect in the two parts. For example, Baumeister compares 1–13 with 182–206, 19 f. with 207 f., the wanderings of Leto with the journey of Apollo, the jealousy of Hera with that of Telphusa, the Delian with the Pythian festival. Of these "pairs," only the first (1–13 and 182–206) is at all striking; and, in any case, it need not follow that these parallel passages are by different authors; a poet may repeat himself, as well as copy another.

(3) The unity of the hymn has been denied on artistic and literary grounds. One fact is certain, that the earlier part of the hymn was recited at a Delian festival to an Ionian audience. But at 182 the poem leaves Delos, which is not mentioned again, and passes to quite different episodes in Apollo's career, chief of which is the foundation of the Dorian oracle at Pytho. It may be argued that there is no reason why the Chian bard should not have dealt with these later achievements; he need not have been so parochial as to exclude from his Delian hymn all myths which do not bear on the god's connexion with the island. Again, if it be urged that some final reference to Delos might be expected at

<sup>1</sup> Gemoll strangely thinks the lines impossible for an ending, as the poet expressly says οὐ λήξω. But the natural meaning will be that Apollo will be the

theme of many hymns on other occasions; cf. *h. i.* 17 f. See also Abel in *Zeitschr. f. Oester. Gymn.* xxviii. (1887) p. 23 f.; and Weiss *de digammo* p. 42.



the end of the whole poem, an answer is ready that such criticism is purely subjective, and that we must not force ancient documents to comply with modern ideas of artistic propriety. Even if there is a natural break at 178, the same author (i.e. the Chian poet) may have composed the rest of the hymn as a separate rhapsody; in this he handled myths, foreign, it is true, to Delos, but not foreign to his subject, which is after all not Delos, but Apollo.

But, when all these conservative arguments have been allowed their due weight, it is still practically impossible to reverse the judgment of Ruhnken and his followers. The fatal objection to the theory of unity rests on historical and mythological grounds. As has been conceded above, there is no *prima facie* impossibility in supposing that a bard at Delos handled the theme of Apollo's victory over the dragon at Pytho. But the circumstances of the Delian *panegyris* must be borne in mind: it was an assembly of Ionians (152); a certain non-Ionic element was indeed present, but these aliens came chiefly from the Aegean islands (see on 157), and the festival was, in fact, essentially insular. The character of the "Delian" part of the hymn is entirely in keeping with this insularity; Phoebus has many temples, and travels far and wide (141 f.); but his heart is in Delos (146), which he loves more than any other island, and more than the *mainland* (139). It is difficult to agree with Dr. Verrall's theory as to the meaning of the whole hymn (see below, p. 68); but he is undoubtedly right in laying stress on the fundamental difference between the Ionian religion of Apollo at Delos, and the Dorian religion at Pytho. In Dr. Verrall's words (p. 17), the Delian hymnist's "range of view, and the government of his god are strictly limited, according to his own full and exact description (30-44, 142-145), to the Aegean archipelago. Even the coast of the surrounding land he treats merely as a framework enclosing the beloved islands; he mentions scarcely a point in the coast which is not peninsular, and within the sea-line knows nothing except what might be seen from the sea. His Ionians are mariners exclusively (155), and have a deity like themselves."<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the Delian cult was not only Ionian and insular, but also in part oracular (see on 81); and it is barely conceivable

<sup>1</sup> See further on 20-24.



that a poet, who adopted the exclusive standpoint of the Delians, should have devoted the rest of his hymn (three times as large as the first part) to the praises of a rival Dorian oracle. At the present day we are apt to take a wrong perspective of early Apolline religion—a perspective natural enough, inasmuch as it rests on authority which, though not so old as the hymn, is still ancient. Callimachus composed a catholic and eclectic hymn to Apollo, in which local and racial distinctions are blurred; still earlier, in the age of faith, Pindar and Aeschylus honoured Delos and Delphi equally, and tried to harmonise the two rival cults,<sup>1</sup> following, perhaps, the example of statesmen like Pisistratus and Polycrates, who respected both the shrines (Suid. s.v. Πύθια καὶ Δήλια, Πύθιον, and ταῦτά σοι). But we cannot look for a quixotic spirit in a poet who must have preceded the age of Pindar by several generations, and who sang to an Ionian audience assembled in honour of a local and tribal god.

The “Pythian” part of the hymn, on the other hand, is Dorian and continental in its outlook (see below, p. 67 f.). Without laying undue stress on the niceties of style, a critic cannot fail to notice its inferiority; and few will probably dissent from the judgment of Mr. Lang, who sees in the hymn to Apollo “the work of a good poet, in the earlier part; and in the latter part, or second hymn, the work of a bad poet, selecting unmanageable passages of myth, and handling them pedantically and ill” (p. 19). His theme—the foundation of the most famous oracle in the world—offered a splendid opportunity; but the hymn shows, by sins of omission and commission alike, that its writer could not rise to the level of his subject. Dr. Verrall (p. 6 f.) remarks that he passes over in silence almost everything characteristic of Pytho—the chasm, the tripod, the omphalos, the crowds of worshippers, the priestess herself. To these omissions may be added the silence of the hymn on the purification of Apollo from blood-guiltiness, which was a primitive and important article of the Pythian religion.<sup>2</sup> There is no explicit reference to the pre-Apolline worship of Gaea or Themis (see on 300), and no word of Poseidon, who, unlike Dionysus, was at Pytho at an early date. This neglect of opportunities is ascribed by Dr. Verrall to the insincerity of the “compiler” of the present document; but it

<sup>1</sup> See on 214.

<sup>2</sup> On the sacred drama representing this idea see Frazer on Paus. ii. 7. 7.



may rather be due to the taste, or want of taste, of a writer who seems to have been chiefly interested in miracles and etymological speculation. Very different is the spirit of the blind Chian, who describes the birth of Apollo and the glories of the Delian festival with so much strength and vivacity.

It therefore follows that the hymn is a compilation of *at least* two originally independent poems. Some scholars (as Baumeister) are content with this bisection; but they eliminate from the second hymn the episode of Typhaon (305–355), which is sometimes regarded as a later addition. The passage, however, bears no signs of late workmanship: it is a fragment of genuine antiquity, although it has been forced into its present context with some violence.<sup>1</sup> The hymn has thus been pieced together from three different sources; and, this being its history, there is of course a possibility that its component parts may have been even more numerous. Various German critics, from the time of Groddeck, have argued for this disintegration. None of these speculations, however, are more than plausible at best; nor are they recommended by any historical or mythological difficulties. Groddeck, for example, considered 1–13 to be a separate poem or fragment. But there is absolutely no reason why the Chian poet should not have composed this passage as the exordium of his hymn at Delos. Again, Baumeister rightly rejects Hermann's view that the latter part of the hymn (from 207) is the product of two interwoven poems, in honour of Apollo Pythius and Telphusius respectively. Baumeister's criticism of Hermann is to the point: *librarios castigat, ubi poeta erat castigandus*. Other attempts to dismember the hymn will be noted in the commentary.

IV. *Date*.—The hymn to Apollo (or at least the Delian part) is probably the oldest in the collection, but its age cannot be fixed with exactness. The date and authorship are, indeed, expressly mentioned by the scholiast on Pind. *Nem.* ii. 2, where the hymn is attributed to Cynaethus of Chios, who "first rhapsodized the poems of Homer at Syracuse, in the sixty-ninth Olympiad" (504 B.C.). The blind Chian may have been Cynaethus; we have, at all events, no reason to doubt the correctness of the scholiast's tradition in this respect; but the date is certainly far

<sup>1</sup> See on 305 f.



too low. The evidence of history in connexion with the Ionian assembly, is usually brought forward as an argument for an early period; and this argument is of some weight, though not in itself conclusive. The *panegyris* must have become famous by the beginning of the eighth century B.C., when the Messenians are said to have sent a secret embassy to Delos, and a hymn was composed for them by Eumelus of Corinth (Paus. iv. 4. 1). The Delian hymn to Apollo might therefore belong to this century, in which case it would be contemporary with some of the rejected epics. At this time, the Ionians on the coast of Asia Minor and in the islands attained the height of their prosperity. Duncker (*History of Greece* vol. ii. ch. 9) thinks that the hymn must be earlier than 700 B.C., when the Ionians suffered a shock from the invasion of Cimmerians. But the invaders did not reach the islands, although they ravaged a great part of Asia Minor; the festival was not apparently interrupted, and its splendour was even increased in the time of Polycrates and Pisistratus. It was not before the defeat of the Ionians by Persia that it declined in prestige, until it was revived by the Athenians at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war.<sup>1</sup> History, therefore, would allow any date to the Delian hymn between the eighth century (or even earlier) and the time of Pisistratus. But the lower limit is impossible on other grounds; for, as we have seen, "the hymn to Apollo" is attributed to Homer by Thucydides, and probably also by Aristophanes. The first part of the hymn must thus be considerably older than the fifth century. This conclusion is supported by archaeological evidence, which points to a date not subsequent to 600 B.C. (see App. i. p. 309). The language, which has been exhaustively treated by various German scholars,<sup>2</sup> has words and forms which do not occur in Homer; but on the whole it is "Homeric" in character, and seems to belong to a period when epic literature, if in its decline, was still a living force. On the question of a "living" digamma see p. lxxi.

<sup>1</sup> On the festival see Grote part ii. ch. 12, who dates the (Delian) hymn before 600 B.C.; Abbott part i. ch. 16; Gilbert *Deliaca* p. 42; Burekhardt-Biedermann *der homer. Hymnus auf d. Del. Apoll.* p. 19. The dedicatory inscriptions found at Delos (collected by Hoffmann *der ionische Dialekt* i. pp.

19, 20, 30, 31) appear to go back to 600 B.C.

<sup>2</sup> Windisch *de hymnis Hom. majoribus* p. 5 f.; Christensen *de hymno in Apoll. Hom.*; Priem *der hom. Hymn. auf den delisch. Apoll.*; Eberhard *die sprache der hom. Hymnen, and Metrische Beobach. zu d. hom. Hymnen.*



The age of the non-Delian part is equally uncertain. The episode of Typhaon has been thought later than Stesichorus, as he, and not the author of the hymn, is mentioned in the *E. M.* 772, in connexion with the genealogy of Typhaon. This argument, however, is quite worthless (see p. liii, and note on 306). The fragment is in the style of the *Theogony*, and, as far as can be judged from style, may belong to the early Hesiodean school. The "Pythian" part may be later than the Delian, but here again the evidence is inconclusive. On the other hand Fick (*B. B.* xvi. p. 21) holds that Cynaethus, the author of the Delian hymn, probably took the Pythian hymn as his model. An early date is required by the absence of the place-name Delphi, and by the fact that chariot-races seem to have been still unknown at Pytho.<sup>1</sup> The *terminus ante quem* must therefore be placed at 586 B.C., when these races were instituted (see further on 542). The temple built by Trophonius and Agamedes was standing in the poet's time (cf. 299); it was burned in 548 B.C. (Paus. x. 5. 5). The Pythian hymn cannot therefore be later than the beginning of the sixth century, and may be much older.<sup>2</sup>

V. *Place of composition.*—The locality is settled for the Delian hymn by the statement of the poet himself, who was an Ionian from Chios, and recited at Delos (172). This, of course, proves nothing for the rest of the hymn, since its unity cannot be accepted. According to the common view (see Baumeister p. 115), the first hymn is the work of a Homerid, the second belongs to the Hesiodean school. Gemoll, on the other hand, very properly remarks that there are reminiscences of Hesiod in the Delian part, and that the whole document shows the influence of Homer.<sup>3</sup> All that can be inferred from internal evidence is, that the author of the Pythian part was familiar with Delphi, whose situation is accurately described (283); further, the episode of Telphusa and the reference to the curious custom at Onchestus

<sup>1</sup> Mahaffy (*Greek Lit.* i. p. 147) rejects this argument on the ground that chariot-races were never held at Delphi itself, but on the plain; so it may always have been supposed that Apollo chose Delphi to avoid disturbance. But when chariot-racing was instituted, it must have been done by favour of the god, who could not have been thought to object to any part of his own festival. The argument is therefore valid.

<sup>2</sup> Verrall accepts the old theory that v. 542 alludes to the First Sacred War, in which case the date would be not earlier than 586 B.C., nor much later. But the passage, if not a late addition, may be otherwise explained (see note *ad loc.*).

<sup>3</sup> Gemoll quotes v. 121; there are also possible reminiscences at 62, 81, 93, 169 f. The Pythian part is full of Homeric formulae; see Windisch p. 11.



are distinctly local, and seem to prove that the poem was composed on the mainland, and probably in central Greece. Its nearest analogy is the *Shield of Heracles*, which, if not genuinely "Hesiodean," is certainly Boeotian. The tone of this poem is thoroughly Apolline; the contest takes place in the precinct of the Pagasaean Apollo (*Scut.* 70); the god favours Heracles, and finally causes the bones of the vanquished Cynus to be washed away, because he plundered pilgrims on their way to Pytho (*Scut.* 480). As the Pythian hymn is so much concerned with Apollo's progress along the sacred way from Euboea to Delphi (see 214 f., 280), the local and religious interest of the two poems seems parallel. No stress can be laid (as against this view) on the misplacement of Boeotian localities (239 f.), whether this is due to ignorance or carelessness.

VI. *Present state of the hymn.*—As has been shown above, the hymn in its present composite form was known to the Greeks in the time of Pausanias and probably even of Thucydides. It would be interesting to know the date and nationality of the "editor"; and in this connexion Dr. Verrall has suggested an ingenious theory. In his view the hymn is a cento, divisible into at least four distinct parts, of which the oldest was a Delian hymn; an Athenian, under the dynasty of Pisistratus, collected from other sources, or added from his own pen, materials to form the present document. The compiler was influenced by religious and political motives, his object being to diminish the dignity of the Pythian oracle, and magnify the Delian cult of Apollo. The whole hymn, as there arranged, was an anti-Delphian "religious pasquinade." This hypothesis cannot here be fully criticised; but most readers of Dr. Verrall's article will probably fail to be convinced that the hymn is not a genuine attempt to honour the Pythian, as well as the Delian, Apollo. At the same time, it is quite possible that the compiler was an Athenian in the age of Pisistratus. If we could unhesitatingly accept the tradition that the tyrant ordered a recension of "Homer," the hymn to Apollo might have been edited, as well as the genuine Homeric poems, being itself classed as Homeric by common opinion. But the tendency of modern scholarship is to reject the tradition as unfounded.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps more natural to look for the editor in

<sup>1</sup> The tradition is accepted by Leaf (*Il.* vol. i. p. xvii f.), but Monro (*Od.* vol. ii. p. 402 f.) brings strong arguments on the other side.



a place where the two great myths of Apollo—the birth at Delos and the fight with the Pythian dragon—were first united. This place was possibly Tegyra (see on 16); and Hiller von Gärtringen (in Pauly-Wissowa 2538) suggests that not only was the Pythian hymn of Boeotian origin, but that the whole composition was put together in Tegyra or elsewhere in Boeotia.

VII. *The hymn in relation to later literature.*—While the other hymns in the collection were very generally neglected by ancient authors, the hymn to Apollo must have been widely known and appreciated from early times. It seems to have served as a model for more than one of the shorter Homeric hymns (see xxvii and xxviii). In the sixth century B.C., Theognis shows the influence of at least the Delian part (see on 117 and 118). Pindar has possible reminiscences of both parts, but this is more doubtful.<sup>1</sup> The hymn had become a classic by the end of the fifth century, when Thucydides treats it as historical evidence of value, and Aristophanes' quotations imply that it was familiar to an Attic audience. The Alexandrian poets made free use of it in their revival of hymn-writing: the chief debtor was perhaps Callimachus, in his own hymns to Apollo and Delos (see on 19, 119, 135, 383, 396), but Apollonius and Theocritus also laid it under contribution (see on 119, 487). The seventeenth idyll of Theocritus is clearly inspired by the Delian hymn.

<sup>1</sup> The passages quoted by Gemoll from Pindar may be quite independent; see on 73, 189.



### III

#### Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα

Μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο,  
ὃν τε θεοὶ κατὰ δῶμα Διὸς τρομέουσιν ἰόντα·  
καὶ ῥά τ' ἀναΐσσουσιν ἐπὶ σχεδὸν ἐρχομένοιο  
πάντες ἀφ' ἐδράων, ὅτε φαίδιμα τόξα τιταίνει.  
Λητὼ δ' οἷη μίμνε παραὶ Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ,

5

TESTIMONIUM. *Certamen Homeri et Hes.* 303 Rzach διέπλευσεν εἰς Δῆλον εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν, καὶ σταθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν κερατινὸν βωμόν, λέγει ὕμνον εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ μνήσομαι οὐδὲ λάθωμαι Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκάτοιο.

ῥηθέντος δὲ τοῦ ὕμνου οἱ μὲν Ἴωνες πολίτην αὐτὸν κοινὸν ἐποιήσαντο. Δῆλιοι δὲ γράψαντες τὰ ἔπη εἰς λεύκωμα ἀνέθηκαν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερῷ.

TITULUS.—τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμήρου ὕμνοι εἰς ἀπόλλωνα litteris rubris M: ὁμήρου ὕμνος. εἰς ἀπόλλωνα DL: ὁμήρου ὕμνοι. εἰς ἀπόλλωνα EHS ed. pr. (α<sup>ος</sup> add. ES): εἰς ἀπόλλωνα J: ἐς ἀπόλλω H: tit. om. K: ὕμνοι ὁμήρου· εἰς τὸν ἀπόλλωνα p (ὕμνος εἰς V) 3. r' codd.: corr. Hermann || ἐπὶ σχεδὸν α<sup>α</sup>DV: ἐπισχεδὸν cet. 4. τιταίνει Barnes 5. μίμνε Schneidewin || παρὰ ed. pr.

1-13. See *Introd.* p. 65. Apollo enters the presence of the gods with bended bow; see on 4. This seemingly threatening attitude has been variously interpreted; according to Baumeister he is returning from the chase; Hermann assumes that the god is angry. But probably the poet merely wished to express the majesty of Apollo (Ilgen).

1. *μνήσομαι* is probably aor. subj., like *λάσωμαι*. For the subjunctive as an emphatic future in principal clauses see *H. G.* § 274 f. With the first person in affirmative sentences the subj. expresses a resolution on the part of the speaker; cf. I 121. It is possible that *μνήσομαι* is fut. indic. There is a similar doubt in B 488, δ 240 οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μνησσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω, ζ 126 πειρήσομαι ἤδὲ ἰδωμαι, μ 383 δύσομαι εἰς Ἀἶδα καὶ ἐν νεκύεσσι φαείνω, ν 215 ἀριθμήσω καὶ ἰδωμαι. Cf. also on *h. Dem.* 366.

3. So the gods rise on the entrance of Zeus, A 533, and of Hera, O 84.

*ἐπὶ σχεδόν*, for which cf. χ 205 ἐπ' ἀγχίμολον . . ἦλθεν, is rightly preferred by Peppmüller to ἐπισχεδόν, which is only found in Apollonius.

4. For *τιταίνει* Barnes and Gemoll read *τιταίνῃ*, perhaps rightly; cf. *H. G.* § 289. The words cannot be equivalent to *τεταμένα ἔχει*, but must mean "when he bends his bow" (in the attitude of a shooter).

5. *μίμνε*: the imperf. is difficult to explain, as the aorists following it do not differ materially in time from the presents *καθίζουσιν*, *χαίρει* (12). The imperf. cannot therefore have the force of the pluperf., as Baumeister suggests. Gemoll's explanation (imperf. of "repetition") must stand although Homeric analogies appear to be wanting (see, generally, *H. G.* § 78. 2). Cf. *h. Pan* 29.



ἦ ῥα βίον τ' ἐχάλασσε καὶ ἐκλήϊσε φαρέτρην,  
καὶ οἱ ἀπ' ἰφθίμων ὤμων χεῖρεςσιν ἐλοῦσα  
τόξον ἀνεκρέμασε πρὸς κίονα πατρὸς ἐοῖο  
πασσάλου ἐκ χρυσεύου· τὸν δ' εἰς θρόνον εἰσεν ἄγουσα.  
τῷ δ' ἄρα νέκταρ ἔδωκε πατὴρ δέπαϊ χρυσεῖω 10  
δεικνύμενος φίλον υἱόν, ἔπειτα δὲ δαίμονες ἄλλοι  
ἔνθα καθίζουσιν· χαίρει δέ τε πότνια Λητώ,  
οὔνεκα τοξοφόρον καὶ καρτερόν υἱὸν ἔτικτεν.  
Χαῖρε, μάκαιρ' ὦ Λητοί, ἐπεὶ τέκες ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,  
'Απόλλωνά τ' ἄνακτα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν, 15  
τὴν μὲν ἐν Ὀρτυγίῃ, τὸν δὲ κραναῇ ἐνὶ Δῆλῳ,

6. ἦ ῥα] ὄφρα Bücheler 7. λ ρεσσιν L 8. ἀνεκρ μασε L: τόσα μὲν  
Stoll: τόσα τ' Schneidewin || πρὸ EL 9. ἤσεν M 11. δὲ om. ρH 12.  
π τῆα L 14. μάκαιρα Λητοί M

6. Bücheler reads ὄφρα for ἦ ῥα, making Apollo the subject of ἐχάλασσε and ἐκλήϊσε. The common reading is preferable.

8. τόξον: the "bow" must include the quiver, which alone, to speak properly, is hung on the back of Apollo. πρὸς κίονα πατρὸς ἐοῖο is briefly put for "the pillar against which stood his father's seat." So Arete sits κίονι κεκλιμένη, ζ' 307, and Odysseus sits πρὸς κίονα μακρὴν, ψ 90. In both cases the pillar is near the hearth, and appears to be the place for the master or mistress of the house. In θ 65 f. the herald puts a seat for Demodocus against a pillar, on which he hangs the lyre of the minstrel.

10. νέκταρ: cf. the scene of the gods drinking nectar in Δ 1 f.

11. Gemoll objects to the usual punctuation (adopted in the text), on the ground that the order should be ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτα, and that in O 86 all the gods pledge Hera. He therefore punctuates at the end of the line, supplying a verb for δαίμονες from δεικνύμενος. But the point is that the gods remain standing until Apollo is seated; and this is best brought out by the punctuation of the text. ἔνθα is emphatic in this position: "then and not till then," *tum demum*.

13=126.

14-18. This invocation has been suspected by many commentators, who think that it is the beginning of a hymn to Leto (or a complete hymn). According to Ilgen it may have been interpolated

owing to the similarity of χαίρει δέ τε πότνια Λητώ to χαῖρε κτλ. But there is no good reason why Leto should not be honoured in a hymn addressed to her son, and the invocation is not unsuitable at this place.

14. μάκαιρ' ὦ Λητοί: for the formulaic order cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 565 μάκαρ ὦ Πιερία, Ar. *Nub.* 1205 μάκαρ ὦ Στρεψιάδες, *Orph. h.* iii. 12 μάκαιρ' ὦ Νύξ. The position of ὦ is Homeric; e.g. Δ 159, δ 26, θ 408, σ 122, υ 199, xxvi. 11. The order is not found in Attic prose. (In Plat. *Euthyd.* 271 c Stallbaum reads θαυμασία, ὦ Κρίτων for θαυμάσι' ὦ Κρίτων.) For later poetry cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 239. 1 ἀγρονόμ' ὦ Πάν.

15. It is natural to mention both the children of Leto, although the hymn is addressed to one of them. Artemis is joined with Apollo in the invocation at 165, where see note.

16=Orph. *h.* xxxv. 5. Ὀρτυγίη: hardly the Syracusan Ortygia, as Fick (*Odyssee* p. 281) supposes, although that place was closely associated with Artemis; see Pind. *Nem.* i. 1 f., *Pyth.* ii. 7. Delos itself was anciently called Ortygia (schol. Apoll. *Arg.* A 419, Athen. ix. 392 D and in Alexandrian poetry e.g. Callim. *h. Ap.* 59, followed by Verg. *Aen.* iii. 124, Hesych. s.v. Ὀρτυγία, Eust. 1558), but the islands are here expressly distinguished; cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 273 Ἄρτεμι Δᾶλον ἐχουσα καὶ Ὀρτυγίαν ἐρέεσσαν. We may here follow Strabo (x. 5. 5), who identifies Ortygia with Rheneia. The Ortygia of ο 404 is unknown. For further references see Preller-Robert i.



κεκλιμένη πρὸς μακρὸν ὄρος καὶ Κύνθιον ὄχθον,  
ἀγχοτάτω φοίνικος ἐπ' Ἴνωποῖο ρέεθροις.

Πῶς τ' ἄρ σ' ὑμνήσω πάντως εὖνμνον ἔοντα;  
πάντῃ γάρ τοι, Φοῖβε, νομὸς βεβλήγεται ᾧδῃς,

20

17. πρὸ L || κεκλιμένη Lenz 18. ὑπὶ νόποιο M: ὑπ' ἰνώποιο S ed. pr.: ὑπινόποιο α: ὑπ' ἰνόποιο vel ὑπὶ νόποιο p: ὑπ' οἰνώποιο α: ἐπ' Reiz, F. C. Matthiae 19. γάρ vel γὰρ codd.: corr. Barnes || πάντως α: πάντοcs M: πάντων p 20. νομοὶ Barnes: νόμοι Matthiae || πεπλήχεται Matthiae: νόμος μεμελῆται ἀοιδᾶς vel νόμοι μεμελῆγat ἀοιδᾶς vel νομοὶ μεμελῆγat ἀοιδοῖς Hermann: νομὸς μεμελῆται ἀοιδοῖς Schneidewin: textum servant Maittaire, Franke

p. 297, Farnell *Cults* ii. p. 433, Jebb on Soph. *Trach.* 214. Farnell (*ib.* p. 465) and von Schoeffer (*de Deli ins. rebus*) favour Strabo's identification.

Apollo was also supposed to have been born at other places where the localities possessed, or were given, a verbal resemblance to the Delian sites: at Ephesus (Tac. *Ann.* iii. 61 *esse apud se . . lucum Ortygiam*; see below 117); at Tegyra near Orchomenus, where a mountain was called Delos, and the birth was localised between the streams called Phoenix and Elaia (Plut. *Pelop.* 16, *de defect. or.* 412 B, Ael. *V. H.* v. 4).

The hymn evidently represents the birth as taking place on the mountain, at the early sanctuary known as the grotto (Lebègue p. 49, 54, 75, Jebb *J. H. S.* i. p. 47); in later times, beginning with Theognis, the scene of the birth was transferred to the plain below, and the *Ἄλμνη* took the place of the Inopus (Lebègue p. 95 f.). The transference was no doubt due to the building of the first temple of Apollo in the plain. Cf. Appendix i.

17. Κύνειον: on the derivation see Fick *B. B.* xxi. p. 271.

18. φοίνικος: see on 117.

ἐπ' Ἴνωποῖο ρέεθροις: the preposition ὑπ' is just possible, in the loose sense of "near"; cf. Apoll. *Arg.* B 794 ὑφ' εἰαμεναῖς Ἰπλίοιο. There are, however, no certain examples of ὑπό with a river in Homer; in B 616 ὅσσον ἐφ' Ἰρμίνῃ is clearly right (ὑφ' a minority of MSS.); in Φ 87 all MSS. have ὑπὸ Σατνιόεντι, which Strabo corrects to ἐπὶ (xiii. 605); the vulgate probably arose from ignorance that Satnioeis was a river (Z 34, Ξ 445). ὑπό might indeed suit a mountain-torrent in the literal sense, "under" its waters, but this does not apply to the Inopus, whose position has been identified by an inscription (*B. C.*

*H.* vii. p. 329 f.; see App. i. p. 307). For the Inopus cf. Callim. *h. Art.* 171, *Del.* 203, 263, Lycophr. 576, Paus. ii. 5. 3. The name occurs in inscriptions; there was an official called *ἰνωποφύλαξ* or *κρηνοφύλαξ*, *B. C. H.* xiv. p. 487; cf. *B. C. H.* vii. p. 330. Ἴνωπός is probably connected with *ἰνάω* *ἰνώω* and their cognates, one of the senses of which is "to flow" or "pour"; cf. Fick *B. B.* xxii. p. 62, Meister *K. Z.* xxxii. p. 136 f. Johansson *I. F.* iv. p. 135. 6 thinks the latter part contains ὄρ = water. The spelling *ἰν-* in some mss. of Callim. *h. Art.* l.c., *Anth. Pal.* vi. 273. 1, Lycophr. l.c., and Suidas has no authority in inscriptions, and may have resulted from a false derivation (*ἰνός*, *ἰνωπός*).

19. τ' ἄρ: cf. 207, So A 8 etc. The line is illustrated by Callim. *h. Ap.* 30 οὐδ' ὁ χορὸς τὸν Φοῖβον ἐφ' ἐν μόνον ἤμαρ ἀείσει, | ἔστι γὰρ εὖνμνος.

20-24 have been ejected by Baumeister and others as a gloss on εὖνμνον. Lines 22, 23=144, 145, where they are more suitable; but the repetition is of course no proof of different authorship. Verrall (p. 17) thinks that this passage (as well as 136-139) is interpolated by the "compiler," to pave the way for the Pythian part, by a reference to the *ἡπειρος*. But the passage does not disturb the context, and may very well have been composed by the Chian poet. He knew, though he did not lay stress on the fact, that Apollo was widely worshipped on the mainland; by a casual allusion to this continental worship he complimented Delos, which was preferred by Apollo to all other sanctuaries.

20. νομὸς βεβλήγεται ᾧδᾶς: the MSS. appear to give a case of the Ionic perf. plural taken for a singular. Smyth *Ionic* § 613. In II 243 Zenodotus read οἷος ἐπιστάται against which Aristarchus



ἡμὲν ἀν' ἡπειρον πορτιτρόφον ἡδ' ἀνὰ νήσους.  
 πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαὶ τοι ἄδον καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι  
 ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων ποταμοὶ θ' ἄλαδε προρέοντες,  
 ἀκταὶ τ' εἰς ἄλα κεκλιμέναι λιμένες τε θαλάσσης.  
 ἦ ὥς σε πρῶτον Λητὼ τέκε χάρμα βροτοῖσι, 25  
 κλυθεῖσα πρὸς Κύνθου ὄρος κραναῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ,  
 Δῆλῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ; ἐκάτερθε δὲ κύμα κελαιὼν  
 ἐξήει χέρσουνδε λιγυπνοῖσι ἀνέμοισιν·  
 ἔνθεν ἀπορρύνμενος πᾶσι θνητοῖσιν ἀνάσσεις.

21. παντοτρόφον p 22. ἄδον Γ: ἄδον M: ἄδον cet. versus 23-73  
 omittuntur in M: ascripsit m. rec. λείπει κτίχοι να 24. λίμναι p 25. ἦ ὥς  
 A ante corr. ed. pr.: ἡὼς cet. 26. κύνεος codd.: corr. Holstein 28. ἐξείει x  
 29. post h. v. lacunam statuit Hermann

protested (ἀγνοεῖ ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα ῥήματα πληθυντικά ἐστί). In γ 438 several mss. have θεὰ κεχαροῖατ' ἰδοῦσα, in A 660 one reads βεβλήταται μὲν ὁ τυδείδης. Aratus 817 (Maass) has καὶ μᾶλλον μελανεῖσα καὶ εἰ ῥήγνυτο μᾶλλον; conversely in the plural κεχείμανται φρένες Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 56, κέκρανται συμφοραὶ Eur. *Hipp.* 1255. It is therefore possible that the text may be correct, although all editors since Wolf and Barnes have accepted νόμοι or νομοί. There is a doubt as to which of these two words should be adopted; Smyth (*Melic Poets* p. lviii) reads νόμος, in the sense of 'strain,' 'tune,' a meaning which first occurs in Alcman *fr.* xxv ὀρνιχῶν νόμω. The specific meaning 'nome' may have been developed from this more general use. On the whole, however, νομός "range" is perhaps preferable, on the authority of T 249, Hes. *Op.* 401 ἐπέων νομός (note the singular). For βάλλεσθαι (mid.) = lay (as a foundation) cf. Pind. *Pyth.* vii. 4, *Nem.* i. 8. None of the emendations of βεβλήταται are convincing. ὠδῆς may be kept; cf. *h. Dem.* 494 with 495.

21. ἡπειρον probably includes the mainland of Greece and Asia Minor, as places situate in both are mentioned in the geographical list 30 f. πορτιτρόφον: "cattle-feeding." This rare word is now found in Bacchyl. xi. 30, of Metapontum. The fact that it is there the specific epithet of a place (like ἀγίστορος and βούβοτος of Ithaca, ν 246) is no objection to its generic use here. παντο-τρόφον, if not an intentional conjecture, may be a corruption; cf. πόρδαλις, πάρδαλις, πόρτιος, πάρτιος; *J. H. S.* xv. p. 261.

22. Cf. Θ 557, Π 299 ἐκ δ' ἔφανεν πᾶσαι σκοπιαὶ καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι. So M 282 ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων κορυφὰς καὶ πρόωνας ἄκρους.

23. ποταμοὶ θ' ἄλαδε προρέοντες: an Homeric formula; cf. E 598, κ 351.

24. Cf. ν 234 ἥε τις ἀκτὴ | κείθ' ἀλὶ κεκλιμένη.

26. The line has been ejected by Lenz and others, as a repetition of 17, which, however, is not offensive. The duplication of ἐνὶ and ἐν (27) presents no difficulty; cf. B 721-2, and see n. on 438. Κύνεος: the mss. give κύνθος ὄρος, and Steph. Byz. explicitly says κύνθος· καὶ θηλυκῶς καὶ οὐδετέρως. But in 141 Κύνθου παπαλδεντος must be masculine, and it is difficult to suppose that any writer, however negligent, could use it with two genders. The case of ᾠδῆς and δοιδῆς in *h. Dem.* 494 and 495, already quoted, is not so hard. Moreover, the Homeric idiom requires the gen. with ὄρος (cf. 34, 35, 40 etc.) In ι 21, ν 351 ὄρος can be taken as in apposition to Νῆριτον (Νηρίτου has been suggested), as in i. 8 Νύση, ὑπατον ὄρος.

27. Δῆλῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ = *inscr.* in *Mon. Grecs*, 1879, p. 45; so a 50, 198, μ 283 νήσῳ ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ, λ 325 (Δῆλῳ).

28. λιγυπνοῖσι: ἀπαξ λεγ., but cf. δ 567 Ζεφύροιο λιγὺ πνελοντος. On the lengthening -οῖσι see Solmsen *Untersuchungen zur griech. Laut- und Verslehre* p. 114.

29-30. The lacuna which Hermann wished before 30 does not seem necessary, if we put a full stop at ἀνάσσεις. The sense is no doubt abrupt, but not more so than the general style of the hymns, and the connexion at the end of the narra-



ὄσσους Κρήτη τ' ἐντὸς ἔχει καὶ δῆμος Ἀθηνῶν,  
νῆσός τ' Αἰγίνῃ ναυσικλειτὴ τ' Εὐβοία,  
Αἰγαί τ' Εἰρεσῖαι τε καὶ ἀγχιάλη Πεπάρηθος,

30

30. τ' post κρήτη add. Hermann || Ἀσθενέων Hermann 31. αἶγινα codd.:  
corr. Barnes: αἰγίνης Schneidewin || post εὐβοία add. κυδωνή HJ 32. Πειρεσῖαι  
Ruhnken || ἀγχιάλος p: ἀμφιάλος Ilgen: ἀμφιάλη Matthiae

tive (τόσσον ἐπ' . . . ἔκετο, 45) is certain. The asyndeton is closely paralleled by Ω 544 ὄσσον Λέσβος ἄνω, Μάκαρος ἔδος, ἐντὸς ἐέργει κτλ., a passage evidently in the writer's mind; cf. ἐντὸς ἔχει 30, and Μάκαρος ἔδος 37.

30-44. Many, though by no means all, of the places mentioned in this geographical list were famous for the worship of Apollo. It has been thought that they were named for this reason; the poet perhaps meant to recount a number of cities and islands which afterwards received Apollo, although each feared to become his birthplace. But, if this view is correct, it is remarkable that Rhodes, one of the chief seats of Apollo-worship, is not mentioned, although the neighbouring island of Carpathos, which was far less important, occurs in the catalogue. The list, taken as a whole, is purely geographical, and is compiled to show the extent of Leto's wanderings round the coasts and islands of the Aegean. The places are enumerated in a more or less orderly sequence; Leto starts from Crete, moves northwards by Aegina, Athens, and Euboea to Athos and Samothrace; she then returns southward, visiting Ida and taking on her way the chief islands of the Aegean and places in Asia Minor, until she reaches the most southerly group of islands; from Carpathos she moves in to Delos by way of Naxos, Paros, and Rheneia.

30. There was a connecting link between Crete and Athens in a myth of Theseus, according to which the hero, after leaving Crete on his homeward voyage, instituted a festival in honour of Apollo at Delos. Cf. Paus. viii. 48. 3, Plut. *Thes.* 21. The Cretans were among those who danced round the altar of the Delian Apollo, Verg. *Aen.* iv. 146. The poet may of course have known the legend; but the connexion between the two places seems to be geographical rather than mythological. According to the Athenian version, Leto passed

direct from Attica to Delos (Hyperid. fr. 70).

31. Schneidewin and Baumeister read Αἰγίνης i.e. the nymph Aegina, as the name of the island would be in the nominative. But it is simpler to correct the Attic Αἶγινα to Αἰγίνῃ. The rhythm of the line, which (as written in the mss.) is entirely spondaic, is very rare. Indeed, the original existence of any such στίχοι δωδεκασύλλαβοι may be doubted; the exx. usually quoted (Δ 130, Ψ 221, ο 334, φ 15) admit at least one dactyl, if open syllables are restored. La Roche (*Wiener Studien* xx. p. 68) leaves χ 175=192 σειρήν δὲ πλεκτὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πειρήναντε, where however αὐτόδο may have been original. Here ναυσικλειτὴ τ' Εὐβοία would give two dactyls.

32. Αἰγαί: of several places so called, the most famous was the Achaean Aegae on the Corinthian gulf, but this is here out of the question. Hesychius (s.v.) mentions an island πρὸς τῇ Εὐβοίᾳ ἱερὸν Ποσειδῶνος, which suits the present passage. Cf. Eust. 708.

Εἰρεσῖαι: the editors have accepted Ruhnken's Πειρεσῖαι for τ' εἰρεσῖαι. Peiresiae was in Magnesia, and would be geographically suitable; cf. Apoll. *Arg.* i. 37. 584. But Pliny *N. H.* iv. 23 mentions an island, Irrhesia, on the Thermaic gulf, and there was a city, Iresiae, in N. Greece (Livy xxxii. 13, where Leake *North. Greece* iv. 493 proposes to read Piresiae). An island in the Thermaic gulf might well be mentioned together with Peparethos and Athos; metrical difficulties would prevent an absolutely accurate order in the recital of Leto's travel. See on 35.

ἀγχιάλη, "near the sea," more properly of a city; B 640. But cf. Soph. *Aj.* 135 Σαλαμῖνος ἀγχιάλου. On the fem. termination see *J. H. S.* xv. p. 261. It is impossible to decide between ἀγχιάλη and ἀγχιάλος; cf. B 697 ἀγχιάλον τ' Ἀντρώνα (ἀγχιάλην Zenodotus). Similar variants of fem. terminations in the hymns are *h. Ap.* 181, 251, *h. Herm.* 124, 209, 272, 412, *h. Aphr.* 39, 50.



Θρηϊκίος τ' Ἀθόως καὶ Πηλίου ἄκρα κάρηνα,  
 Θρηϊκίη τε Σάμος Ἰδης τ' ὄρεα σκιδόντα,  
 Σκύρος καὶ Φώκαια καὶ Αὐτοκάνης ὄρος αἰπύ, 35  
 Ἴμβρος τ' εὐκτιμένη καὶ Λήμνος ἀμιχθαλόεσσα,  
 Λέσβος τ' ἡγαθέη, Μάκαρος ἔδος Αἰολίωνος,  
 καὶ Χίος, ἥ νήσων λιπαρωτάτη εἶν ἀλλὶ κεῖται,  
 παιπαλοέεις τε Μίμας καὶ Κωρύκου ἄκρα κάρηνα,  
 καὶ Κλάρος αἰγλήεσσα καὶ Αἰσαγέης ὄρος αἰπύ, 40

33. ἕως codd.: corr. Barnes 35. αὐτοκάνης *xx*AtDS: Ἀντικάνης vel  
 Ἀκροκάνης Ilgen: Αἰγοκάνης Matthiae: ἄντα Κάνης Hermann: sequitur in  
*z*AtD v. 41 36. τ' om. Hermann 40. αἰγαλέου F. C. Matthiae

See Lobeck *Paralip.* p. 474 f., Kühner-Blass § 147. Among later poets, Pindar rather affects the fem. termination of compound adjectives (see Bury on *Nem.* iii. 2); Bacchylides v. 25 has ἀκαμάτας.

35. Σκύρος: the proper order is again broken; coming southward from Samothrace Leto would naturally visit Imbros and Lemnos, before reaching Scyros.

Φώκαια: a city in N. Ionia; its situation is described by Livy xxxvii. 31, Strabo 582.

Αὐτοκάνης: the value of the manuscript tradition is here well demonstrated; the existence of Autocane was doubted, and various emendations were proposed; but a town of this name, in Aegolis, is now known from its coinage (ΑΥΤΟΚΑΝΑ. The head of Apollo sometimes occurs, pointing to an Apollo-cult). See Head *Hist. Num.* p. 478 (a reference we owe in the first instance to Mr. G. F. Hill). Κάνη or Κάναι is known from Strabo 615 as a mountain-range opposite the S. point of Lesbos. See Pauly-Wissowa 2597. The prefix *αὐτο-* seems to denote "centre of" (so, Fick *B. B.* xxii. p. 257), with which may be compared Autoba, Autolala, Automula (although some or all of these may not be genuine Greek names).

36. εὐκτιμένη: a quadrisyllable, cf. εὐσκοπος *h. Aphr.* 262; on the other hand *εὐκτιμένης infra* 102, in accordance with Homeric usage. Hence Hermann omits τ'.

ἀμιχθαλόεσσα: only here and in Ω 753, in the same phrase. The derivation is obscure; see Leaf *l.c.* and Ebeling. The most probable meaning is "smoky" (cf. *δ-μυχ-λη*) with reference to the volcano Mosychlos. Antimachus read

*μιχθαλόεσαν* in the Homeric passage; this would get rid of the dactylic caesura (see on *h. Dem.* 17), but would introduce a spondaic fourth foot by position (see on *h. Dem.* 269). L. Meyer (*Griech. Et.* i.) thinks that *μιχθαλόεις* may be the older form.

37. See above on 29 f.; cf. Paus. x. 38. 2 Μάκαρος τοῦ Αἰόλου. For the legends connected with this mythical king see Leaf on Ω 544, Roscher s.v.

38. The epithet *λιπαρός* (=fruitful) is not applied to lands by Homer.

εἶν ἀλλὶ κεῖται: cf. *ι* 25, Callim. *h. Del.* 3. The complimentary reference to his own island is natural for the Chian poet.

39. Μίμας: opposite Chios, in the peninsula of Erythrae; cf. γ 172. In Callim. *h. Del.* 157 Iris watches on Mimas to prevent the islands from receiving Leto. Κωρύκου: a neighbouring mountain, S. of Mimas.

40. Κλάρος (not in Homer): cf. ix. 5; famous for the temple and oracle of Apollo, but probably mentioned only as being a land-mark. On the site see Frazer on Paus. vii. 3. 1. αἰγλήεσσα: the adjective is only found as an epithet of Olympus in Homer. It is applied to horses in xxxii. 9, and here seems to refer to the brightness of an elevated city.

Nicander (*Ther.* 958) has Κλάρου νιφάεσσα πολίχνη, where the adj. means "bright," as in *Ther.* 291, 881, *Alexiph.* 252.

Αἰσαγέης: mentioned in Nicand. *Ther.* 218, where the scholia note a variant *Αἰγαγέη*. Its position can only be inferred from this passage. A place *Αἰγαγέη* is mentioned in *Anth. Pal.* vii. 390, but this was apparently in Macedonia.



καὶ Σάμος ὑδρὴλὴ Μυκάλης τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα,  
 Μίλητός τε Κόως τε, πόλιν Μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,  
 καὶ Κνίδος αἰπεινὴ καὶ Κάρπαθος ἡνεμόεσσα,  
 Νάξος τ' ἥδ' Ἐπάρου Ῥήναιά τε πετρήεσσα,  
 τόσσον ἔπ' ὠδίνουσα Ἐκρηβόλον ἔκετο Λητώ, 45  
 εἴ τις οἱ γαιέων υἱεὶ θέλοι οἰκία θέσθαι.  
 αἱ δὲ μάλ' ἐτρόμεον καὶ ἐδείδισαν, οὐδέ τις ἔτλη  
 Φοῖβον δέξασθαι, καὶ πιστότερη περ εἴουσα,  
 πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐπὶ Δήλου ἐβήσατο πότνια Λητώ,  
 καὶ μιν ἀνειρομένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα· 50  
 Δῆλ', εἰ γάρ κ' ἐθέλοις ἔδος ἔμμεναι υἱὸς ἐμοῖο

42. πόλεις *p* || μερόπων ἀγερώχων Pierson 44. ῥήναιά *S*: ῥήναια *cet.*:  
 ῥήνεια Lobeck || πετρήδες(α) *LII* 46. οἱ *HT* corr.: κοὶ *xDJKS* om. *p* || γαιάων  
*p*: εἵ τις γαιάων omisso οἱ Barnes: εἵ τις χ' οἱ Matthiae || ἐέλει *codd.*: corr.  
 Matthiae: ἐέλοι *uH* Hermann: υἱεὶ ἐέλοι Franke 49. ἐβήσατο *DK*:  
 ἐβήσατο *L*: βήσατο *HJ*: ἐβήσατο *cet.* 51. ἢ pro εἰ Matthiae || κ' ἐέλοι *S*:  
 κεέλοις *J*: κεέλης *LII*: κεέλεις vel κ' ἐέλει *cet.* || ἐμοῖο *AHLR*<sub>1</sub>: ἐμειο *cet.*

41. Samos is called ὑδρὴλὴ from the abundance of its streams. Callim. *h. Del.* 48 νήσοιο διάβροχον ὕδατι μαστὸν Παρθενίης (οὐπω γὰρ ἦν Σάμος). Pliny *N. H.* v. 37 names several rivers and fountains on the island. Μυκάλης . . . κάρηνα = B 869 (following Miletus 868).

42. Μερόπων ἀνθρώπων: the Meropes were the ancient inhabitants of Cos (not Miletus, hence πόλεις (*p*) is a mistake; the same variant occurs in T 60). They are mentioned by Pind. *Nem.* iv. 26, *Isthm.* v. 31, Herondas ii. 95, Hesych. s.v., Eusth. 97. 40. The Homeric formula μερόπων ἀνθρώπων no doubt suggested the addition of ἀνθρώπων here; the usage is not Homeric, but is found *infra* 398, 424 Πυλῆγενεας ἀνθρώπων. So Apoll. *Arg.* B 677 Ἵππερβορέων ἀνθρώπων. In Homer the idiom only occurs with ἀνὴρ; cf. A 594 Σίντιες ἄνδρες, § 3 Φαιήκων ἀνδρῶν, but ἀνθρωπος ὀδίστης, π 263.

43. Neither Cnidos nor Carpathos occurs in Homer. The Cnidians worshipped the Triopian Apollo, as well as Aphrodite (Head *Hist. Num.* 523), and Κνίδιος is found once (in an inscription, as a title of the god). See Pauly-Wissowa 57. There was a temple of Apollo in Carpathos, but the island was not specially celebrated for his cult. From this island, the most southerly point of her wanderings, Leto returns towards Delos.

44. Νάξος: in spite of the fame of the Naxian Apollo, the island is doubtless

only mentioned as a landmark between Carpathos and Delos (Gemoll). Ῥήναιά: the form is found in Theocr. xvii. 70, and in Suid. s.v., who also gives Ῥηνία, and Steph. Byz. attests Ῥηνάια (parox.); but the usual and probably correct form is Ῥήνεια, which Lobeck *Paralip.* 302 would restore. Attic inscriptions support Ῥήνεια (*C. I. A.* i. 283, ii.<sup>2</sup> 814), but cf. Ῥηναιεύς *ib.* 813. Steph. Byz. also mentions the forms Ῥήνη, Ῥηνίς. Paros and Rheneia are not in Homer.

46. The variants were produced by the synizesis in γαιέων. οἱ, the conjecture of H, is usually read, and is necessary with ἔκετο. Fick reads σοι with ἔκετο 45, but Λητώ nominative (cf. Λητοῖ 62) is against this.

ἐέλοι: the optative is necessary. As ἐέλω is the Homeric form, Franke and Gemoll write υἱεὶ ἐέλοι, but the synizesis is very harsh, although it would have commended itself to Aristarchus, who wrote Πηλεῖδ' ἔθελ' (= Πηλεῖδῃ, ἐθελ') in A 277. However, in that passage and in ο 317 θέλω seems to be established, and should be retained here, as in *h. Herm.* 274, *h. Aphr.* 38, and possibly *h. Dem.* 160.

49. ἐβήσατο: the mss. vary between this form and ἐβήσατο, as in Γ 262, where Aristarchus preferred the forms in -ε-, but did not make the change in his text. See Leaf *l.c.*, and *H. G.* § 41.

51. εἰ γάρ κ' ἐέλοις: the apodosis is not expressed. For εἰ κεν with opt. see



Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνος, θέσθαι τ' ἔνι πῖονα νηόν·  
 ἄλλος δ' οὐ τις σείῳ ποθ' ἄψεται, οὐδὲ σε λήσει,  
 οὐδ' εὐβων σε ἔσσεσθαι ὁῖομαι οὐτ' εὐμνηλον,  
 οὐδὲ τρύγην οἶσεις, οὐτ' ἄρ φυτὰ μυρία φύσεις. 55  
 αἱ δέ κ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἐκαέργον νηὸν ἔχρησθα,  
 ἄνθρωποι τοι πάντες ἀγινήσουσ' ἐκατόμβας  
 ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρόμενοι, κνίσῃ δέ τοι ἄσπετος αἰεὶ  
 δημοῦ ἀναΐξει, βοσκήσεις θ' οἷ κέ σ' ἔχωσι  
 χειρὸς ἀπ' ἀλλοτρίης, ἐπεὶ οὐ τοι πῖαρ ὑπ' οὐδας. 60

52. ἐπὶ z 53. ἄλλως JS: conl. Bothe [|| λήσει S: λίσσει cet.: λήσει Agar (τίσει Ernesti: c' ὀνέσει Jacobs: ἐσελάσει Kirehhooff) 54. εὐβουν p: εὐβωλο ce S: cé g' Hermann 55. οἶσεις HJ: οἰσεῖς LIIT: οἰσεῖς cet. || οἶσεις] πολλὴν y (πολλὸν in textu E: πολλὴν super textum T (πολλὰν L), in marg. II) || hic desinit H 57. ἀγινήσουσ' J: ἀγίνουσιν S ed. pr.: ἀγινήσουσιν cet. 58. ἐνεά δε γ' ἀρόμενοι J  
 59. <sup>μ</sup>δῆρὸν ἄνας εἰ βόσκοις <sup>θ</sup>περί τας . . . c <sup>μ</sup>ἐχωσιν ET (sed omissio μ): γρ. εἰ βόσκοιςθε οἷ (ex οἷ) κε c' ἔχωσιν margō E: δῆρὸν ἄνας εἰ βόσκοις c' ἔχωσιν L: δῆρὸν ἄνας εἰ βόσκοις· θεοὶ κέ c' ἔχωσιν DK (βόσκεις) II: δῆρὸν ἄνακτ' εἰ βόσκεις· δὴ ῥὰ θεοὶ κε c' ἔχωσι J: δῆρὸν ἄνακτ' εἰ βόσκοις θεοὶ κε c' ἔχωσι S:  
 δῆρὸν ἄνας εἰ βόσκοις linea non expleta p: δῆρὸν ἄνας εἰ βόσκοις εὐτας οἷκε c' ἔχωσι ἄνακτ' Γ a man. sec.: νήσου ἀναΐξει βοσκήσεις θ' οἷ κε c' ἔχωσιν Stoll: δημοῦ Cobet: δῆρὸν ἄνας βόσκοι ce, θεοὶ δέ κε c' αἰὲν ἔχωσιν Hermann: δῆρὸν ἄνακτ' εἰ βόσκοις, οἷ τε θεοὶ κέ c' ἔχωσιν Stephanus: εἰ βόσκης cōn ἄνακτα θεοὶ κέ ce δῆρὸν ἔχωσιν Barnes: θεοὶ δέ κε μῆρ' ἔχωσιν Buttman: βωμοῦ ἀναΐξει βόσκοις δέ κε δῆμον ἅπαντα Schneidewin: ἥρος δὴν αἵτειε εὐοσκοῖς, οἷ κε c' ἔχωσιν Bergk: δημοῦ ἀναΐξει βωμοῖς, εὐαίαι τέ c' ἔχωσιν Baumeister: βόσκοις δέ κεn Priem 60. πῖαρ DJK: πῖας LIH: πῖας ET

H. G. § 313. εἰ γὰρ κ' ἐθέλοις cannot be a wish, as this would require εἰ γὰρ ἐθέλοις, H. G. § 312. Matthiae suggested ἡ γὰρ κ' or ἡ ἄρ κ' a direct question, comparing σ 357 ξεῖν', ἡ ἄρ κ' ἐθέλοις.

53. ἄλλος: this gives excellent sense, though ἄλλως has some manuscript support, and has found favour.

Agar's λήσει, suggested by the reading of S (*Class. Rev.* x. p. 388), has settled this line. οὐδὲ σε λήσει is a common threat "thou shalt know it," cf. ψ 326, Ω 563, λ 126, and the same v.l. λ 102. It is curious that the corruption should so long have imposed upon the commentators.

54. ce ἔσεσθαι: Spitzner compares T 288, § 151 for the hiatus after se. Hence Hermann's σέ γ' is needless though Eberhard *Metrische Beobachtungen* ii. p. 11, 12 prefers it.

55. πολλήν, though an interesting

addition to the textual material, is evidently the weaker reading. The accentuation οἰσεῖς is due to scribes who had been copying Theocritus. οὐτ' ἄρ φυτὰ κτλ.: Delos is quite treeless at the present day.

59. The history of the gradual reconstruction of this line is instructive. The key was given by the members of the α family, and the problem was therefore beyond the older editors. Stoll in 1849 would have completed the solution, had he not neglected the indication

<sup>μ</sup>δῆρον, which it was left to Cobet to add (δημοῦ indeed had suggested itself to Baumeister, but, with a perverse sequel, ἀναΐξει first apparently to Schneidewin). Hollander p. 18 ingeniously explained περί τας as a note by a scribe giving the size of the lacuna in his archetype, J. H. S. xv. 165. One syllable only (-ησ-)



Ὡς φάτο· χαῖρε δὲ Δῆλος, ἀμειβομένη δὲ προσηύδα·  
 Λητοῖ, κυδίστη θύγατερ μεγάλου Κοῖοιο,  
 ἀσπασίη κεν ἐγὼ γε γονὴν ἐκάτοιο ἄνακτος  
 δεξαίμην· αἰνῶς γὰρ ἐτήτυμόν εἰμι δυσηχῆς  
 ἀνδράσιν, ὥδε δὲ κεν περιτιμήεσσα γενοίμην. 65  
 ἀλλὰ τόδε τρομέω, Λητοῖ, ἔπος, οὐδέ σε κεύσω·  
 λίην γάρ τινά φασιν ἀτάσθαλον Ἀπόλλωνα  
 ἔσσεσθαι, μέγα δὲ πρυτανευσέμεν ἀθανάτοισι  
 καὶ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν ἐπὶ ζείδωρον ἄρουραν.  
 τῷ ῥ' αἰνῶς δέιδουκα κατὰ φρένα καὶ κατὰ θυμόν, 70  
 μὴ ὅπότ' ἂν τὸ πρῶτον ἴδῃ φάος ἡέλιου

62. **μεγάλοιο κρόνοιο** codd.: corr. Barnes 63. **κεν]** μὲν ed. pr. 65.  
 περὶ τιμῆεσσα pS || **γενοίμην** pJK (m. rec. marg.) S: **Γ' ἐροίμην** cet. 71. **ἴδῃ**  
 xDK

in *βοσκήσεις* has to be added, and this is a slighter step than Priem's *βόσκοις* δὲ *κεν*, which involves neglect of *θεοί*. Moreover, the future tense is indicated by *ἀγνήσουσι* and *ἀπαίξει*. We miss the evidence of M, but this, to judge from 152 (another case of this curious syllabic corruption, a sure sign of long neglect), would not have been better. The sense "you shall feed those who own you by alien hands" is supported by the case of Delphi, equally barren (536, 537).

60. **πίαρ ὑπ' οὐδας**: cf. ι 135 *ἐπεὶ μάλα πίαρ ὑπ' οὐδας*. Buttmann is probably right in considering *πίαρ* a substantive here, as it almost certainly is in A 550, P 659 *βοῶν ἐκ πίαρ ἐλέσθαι*. "There is no rich soil beneath the surface." For *ὑπό* with the acc. in this sense cf. Γ 371, T 259, β 181 etc. Some take *πίαρ* as an adjective, in which case *ὑπό* (*ὑπ'*) would be for *ὑπεστί*. In support of this Solon xxxvi. 21 is quoted *πίαρ ἐξέλη γάλα*, where, however, *πίαρ* may still be a subst., "take the rich part out of the milk," *ἐξέλη* being used with a double acc.

62. **Κοῖοιο**: cf. Hes. *Theog.* 404, and *Κοιογενῆς* Pind. *fr.* 88. 2, *Κοιογένεια* Apoll. *Arg.* ii. 710, *Κοιῆς* Callim. *h. Del.* 150, *Κόλον κόρας* paeon of Aristonous (Smyth *Melic Poets* p. 527). *Κρόνοιο* is a case of the substitution of a more familiar name, aided perhaps by Θ 383 *μεγάλοιο Κρόνοιο*. If we could assume an original *μεγάλοιο Κόλοιο* (or

*Κόιοιο*), the mistake of the mss. would be easier to account for.

63. **γονῆν . . δεξαίμην**: Matthiae compares Luc. *Dial. Mar.* 10 *ἡ γε γῆ πᾶσα οὐκ ἂν δύναιτο υποδέξασθαι τὰς αὐτῆς γονάς* (Leto).

64. **δυσηχῆς**: this passage seems to shew that the word is connected with *ἡχέω* and not with *ἄχος* (as Döderlein supposes); the sense required is "of evil repute." In Homer the word is only applied to *πόλεμος* and *θάνατος*.

67. For the use of *τις* with an adjective cf. Γ 220, E 638, H 156, K 41, X 281.

68. **πρυτανεύεμεν**: the verb and its cognates are not in Homer. *πρύτανις*, in the sense of "chief," is not uncommon from the time of Pindar and Aeschylus.

71 f. *ἴδῃς* (x) is of course wrong, and *ἀτιμήσω*, *ἀτιμήση* are evidently corrections which further require a conjunction in 73. Such an insertion, whether after *καταστρέψας* (Franke), or after *ῶση* (Giphanius) is not a legitimate critical proceeding. The two participles, though ungraceful, seem original, and are defended by Matthiae. There is a similar, though easier, example in M 113 f. *νήπιος οὐδ' ἄρ' ἐμελλε, κακὰς ὑπὸ κῆρας ἀλύξας, | ἵπποισιν καὶ δχεσφιν ἀγαλλόμενος παρὰ νηῶν | ἀψ' ἀπονοστήσειν*. In Hes. *Theog.* 521 f. a second participle *δήσας* is well attested.

The construction is not uncommon in later Greek: cf. Arist. *Nub.* 937 f. with Teuffel's note, Eur. *Or.* 656 f., *Troad.* 643 f.



νήσον ἀτιμήσας, ἐπεὶ ἡ κραναήπεδός εἰμι,  
 ποσσὶ καταστρέψας ὥση ἄλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσιν.  
 ἐνθ' ἐμὲ μὲν μέγα κύμα κατὰ κρατὸς ἄλις αἰεὶ  
 κλύσσει, ὃ δ' ἄλλην γαῖαν ἀφίξεται, ἣ κεν ἄδῃ οἱ, 75  
 τεύξασθαι νήον τε καὶ ἄλσεα δεινρήντα·  
 πουλύποδες δ' ἐν ἐμοὶ θαλάμας φῶκαί τε μέλαιναι  
 οἰκία ποιήσονται ἀκηδέα χήτεϊ λαῶν·  
 ἀλλ' εἴ μοι τλαίης γε, θεά, μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσσαι,  
 ἐνθάδε μιν πρῶτον τεύξειν περικαλλέα νήον 80  
 ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώπων χρηστήριον, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους, ἐπεὶ ἡ πολυνύμμος ἔσται.

72. ἀτιμήσας *p*: ἀτιμήσω *αDK* ut vid.: ἀτιμήσῃ *JS D* superser. *K* corr. 73.  
 ὥσει *αAtDJS*: ὥσῃ δ' *Giphanius*: καταστρέψας δ' *Franke*: ὥσειν *Kämmer*  
 74. ἄλλουδῖς *J*: ἄλλουδῖς ἄλλο *Stephanus* 75. ἦ vel ἦ codd.: ἀδῃ οἱ *αAtDL*  
 (ἀδῃ οἱ *II*): ἀδῃ οἱ *E*: ἀδῃ οἱ *T*: ἀδοίῃ *p*: ἀίθης *M* 78. ἀκηδέα χήτεϊ λαῶν  
*Mx* (ἀκηδέα ἄχῃ τεϊλάων *ET*: ἀκηδέα χήτει λάων *L*) *αDS*: ἕκαστά τε φύλα  
 νεπούδων *p* 79. θεῶν pro θεά *Kämmer* 81. lacunam post *h.v. stat.*  
*Hermann*, quam explevimus verbis τευζάσω νηούς τε καὶ ἄλσεα δεινρήντα  
 82. ἐπεὶ *J*: ἐπὶν *Mx*: ἐπεὶν *p* || ἔσται *M*, marg. *J* (γρ'): ἔστιν *cet.*

72. κραναήπεδος: only here; cf. κραναά, of Delos, *Pind. Isthm. i. 3*, as in this hymn 16, 26; *Orph. Arg.* 1357.

73. καταστρέψας: the exact meaning is not clear; the verb hardly admits the translation of *L.* and *S.* "trampling on it." The sense is rather "overturning" or "upsetting" Delos, and so sinking it. There is, however, nothing in the word which need imply a floating island, as *Gemoll* supposes. In *Pind. fr. 87*, 88 *Christ* (cf. *Callim. h. Del. 34 f.*, *Strabo* 485) the island is said to have floated until the advent of *Leto*. *Gemoll* thinks that *Pindar* had this passage in mind, and quite needlessly emphasises this doubtful supposition to prove that the hymn is older than *Pindar*. Better proofs can, of course, be given. In a different connexion *Apoll. Arg. B 679 f.* says of an island visited by *Apollo* ἡ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν | σελετο νήσος δλη, κλύξεν δ' ἐπὶ κύματα χέρσφ. ἄλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσιν = *ε* 335.

77. Compare *ε* 432 πουλύποδος θαλάμης ἐξελκομένοιο.

78. οἰκία ποιήσονται: cf. *M* 168. ἀκηδέα is probably passive, "unheeded," and so "safe." But it has also been taken as active, "careless," in which

case the epithet would be transferred to the οἰκία from the φῶκαι, to which it would more properly refer. Cf. *Φ* 123 αἰμ' ἀπολιχμῶσονται ἀκηδέες.—The reading of the *Paris* family ἕκαστά τε φύλα νεπούδων is recognised to be a late piece of patchwork, suggested by *δ* 404 φῶκαι νέποδες καλῆς ἀλοσύνης. The form νεπούδων (= νεπόδων) is quite barbarous, and the sense of "fish" or "sea-monsters" was not attached to the word before *Alexandrine* times. The variant was probably due to a "corrector," who could make nothing of ἀκηδέα ἄχῃ τεϊλάων, or some similar corruption.

79. Cf. *ε* 178, κ 343.

81. χρηστήριον: not in *Homer* (*Hes. fr. 39. 6, 48*). For the oracle at *Delos* see (besides *reff.* in *Gemoll*) *Lebègue Recherches sur Delos* 1876, *F. W. H. Myers Classical Essays* p. 29 f., *Dyer Gods in Greece* p. 370. References in *Pauly-Wissowa*, art. *Apollon*, and *s.v. Κύνθιος* 57. *Verrall* (p. 18 f.) minimises the importance of the oracle, and rejects 80–82, with 132, as the work of a "compiler." The passages, however, are genuine; the *Delian* oracle must have had some power, at least for the islanders, although its fame was obscured



Ἦς ἄρ' ἔφη· Λητὼ δὲ θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοσεν·  
 ἴστω νῦν τάδε γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθεν,  
 καὶ τὸ κατειβόμενον Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, ὅς τε μέγιστος  
 ὄρκος δεινότατός τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν·  
 ἦ μὲν Φοῖβον τῇδε θυώδης ἔσσεται αἰεὶ  
 βωμός καὶ τέμενος, τίσει δέ σέ γ' ἔξοχα πάντων.

85

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ὁμοσέν τε τελευτήσεν τε τὸν ὄρκον,  
 Δῆλος μὲν μάλα χαῖρε γόνῳ ἐκάτοιο ἄνακτος,  
 Λητὼ δ' ἐννῆμάρ τε καὶ ἐννέα νύκτας ἀέλπτοισ  
 ὠδίνεσσι πέπαρτο. θεαὶ δ' ἔσαν ἔνδοθι πᾶσαι,  
 ὅσσαι ἄρισται ἔσαν, Διώνη τε Πείη τε  
 Ἰχναίη τε Θέμις καὶ ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη,

90

83. ὁμοσεν x: ὁμοσεν DK, marg. J 88. ε' ἔξοχα ETΓ: σε ἔξοχα JS 90.  
 ΓΟΝῶ Franke 92. ἔνδοθι] αὐτόθι Ilgen: ἐνεάθε Hermann 93. ἔσσι pro ἔσαν  
 Wolf || ρείη ed. pr.: ρέν codd.

by Delphi. At all events, it is hard to follow Bouché-Leclercq (*Divination* iii. p. 13 f.) who argues that there never was an actual oracle at Delos, and that χρηστήριον refers loosely to unattached diviners, who drew their inspiration from the goddess Brizo, or Glaucus.

Hermann is almost certainly right in marking a lacuna after this line. The sense is: "let him first make a temple here, and then <he may build temples> among all men, for he is destined to be famous." But this meaning cannot be extracted from the passage as it stands.

82. πολυώνυμος: see on *h. Dem.* 18. ἔσται: the future is necessary to the sense, and the corruption in *xp* is easy; see *J. H. S.* xv. p. 272.

83. θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον=B 377, followed by αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ὁμοσεν κτλ., as in 89.

84-86. Cf. O 36-38=ε 184-186 where see note in M. and R. on the oath of the gods. For the author's familiarity with ε, see 79 (Gemoll).

86. ὄρκος is here not the oath (as in 83) but the object sworn by; so in B 755, Hes. *Theog.* 400, 784 and often.

87. ευώδης βωμός: cf. *h. Aphr.* 59, *orac.* ap. Hendess 19. 1 βωμούς τε θυώδεις.

90. γόνῳ: this should mean "offspring," not "birth"; Aesch. *Supp.* 171 (144) has been quoted for γονῷ=γονῆ, but the passage is doubtful. (See Tucker *ad loc.*) Franke's γονῆ is supported by γονῆν 63.

91. ἐννῆμαρ: a vague conventional number; see on *h. Dem.* 47.

92. ἔνδοθι, "in the island." Cf. Callim. *h. Del.* 222 Λητώ τοι μήτηρ ἀναλύεται ἐνδοθι νήσου, an expression which Baumeister thinks may have been borrowed from the present passage. So Hes. *fr.* 93 ἐνδοθι νήσου.

93. ἔσσι ἔσται ἔσαν=P 377 (masc.). Wolf's ἔσσι has been generally accepted, as the first syllable of Διώνη is short in Homer and Hesiod (*E* 370, *Theog.* 17, 353); cf. also Theocr. xv. 106 Κόπρι Διωναία. ἔσαν may be due to ἔσαν in 92; Gemoll, however, retains it, comparing *Diana* in Latin. Schulze *Q. E.* p. 156 n. In P 429 the mss. vary between Αὐτομέδων Διώρεος and γε Διώρεος Ἀλκιμος νίος.

The choice of the goddesses who are here named is rather remarkable; they probably represent older, Titanic deities. Rhea and Themis are mentioned together as Titans by Hesiod (*Theog.* 135) and Apollodorus (i. 3), who adds Dione. Baumeister notes that, while these goddesses are very rarely found in Homer, they frequently occur in the Orphic poems; he therefore suggests that their names may have been interpolated by a follower of that school. But the influence may well have been Hesiodic rather than Orphic.

94. Ἰχναίη τε Θέμις: from Ichnae, a town in Thessaly famous for the cult of Themis; Strabo 435 Ἰχναί, ὅπου ἡ Θέμις Ἰχναία τιμᾶται, Hesych. s.v.



ἄλλαι τ' ἀθάναται, νόσφιν λευκωλένου Ἥρης· 95  
 ἦστο γὰρ ἐν μεγάροισι Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο.  
 μούνη δ' οὐκ ἐπέπυστο μογροστόκος Εἰλείθυια·  
 ἦστο γὰρ ἄκρω Ὀλύμπῳ ὑπὸ χρυσείοισι νέφεσσιν,  
 Ἥρης φραδμοσύνης λευκωλένου, ἥ μιν ἔρυκε  
 ζηλοσύνη, ὃ τ' ἄρ' υἱὸν ἀμύμονά τε κρατερόν τε 100  
 Λητῷ τέξεσθαι καλλιπλόκαμος τότ' ἔμελλεν.

Αἱ δ' Ἴριν προὔπεμψαν ἐυκτιμένης ἀπὸ νήσου,  
 ἀξέμεν Εἰλείθυιαν, ὑποσχόμεναι μέγαν ὄρμον,  
 χρυσείοισι λίνουσιν ἐερμένον, ἐννεάπηχυν·

96 om. MET || μεγάροιαι ed. pr. : μεγάροις codd. 99. φραδμοσύνης M :  
 φραδμοσύνη cet. : corr. Baumeister 102. Ἴριν codd., cf. 107 || προὔπεμψαν ES :  
 προὔπεμψαν cet. 104. χρύσειον ἡλέκτροισιν ἐερμένον Barnes : λίσοιαι Pepp-  
 müller : vulg. tuentur Matthiae, Franke

Ἰχναίην, Lycophr. 129. Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 477. For such titles cf. Δ 8 Ἥρη τ' Ἀργεῖη καὶ Ἀλαλκομενῆς Ἀθήνη.

ἀγάστονος Ἀμφιτρίτη = μ 97. Amphitrite was present at the birth of Athena (relief of Gitiadas, Paus. iii. 17. 3) and of Aphrodite (base of statue of Olympian Zeus by Pheidias, Paus. v. 11. 8); for extant monuments see Pauly-Wissowa 1966.

96. This line, omitted in M and two members of x, fell out from *homoearchon* with 98. The fact has no bearing upon its age or genuineness. For exx. of the former line of a pair being omitted cf. below 344, 345, h. *Herm.* 215, 216.

97-99 are apparently adapted from N 521-524 οὐδ' ἄρα πῶ τι πέπυστο . . ἄλλ' ὃ γ' ἄρ' ἄκρω Ὀλύμπῳ ὑπὸ χρυσείοισι νέφεσσιν ἦστο, Διὸς βουλῇσιν ἐελμένος. Virgil (*Aen.* xii. 792) has a similar expression : (*Junoem*) *fulva pignas de nube tuentem*.

97. μογροστόκος Εἰλείθυια = Π 187, T 103. We find the plural μογροστόκοι Εἰλείθυιαι in Δ 270, where see Leaf's note on the derivation of the two words. Schulze *Q. E.* p. 259 f.

98. χρυσείοι νέφεσσιν : here and in N 523 La Roche (*Homer. Unters.* i. p. 57, 83) would read χρυσεῖος νέφεσσιν, as νέφος and νεφέλη generally make position in Homer. So in h. *Aphr.* 67 μετὰ νεφέεσσιν. But there are exceptions to the rule; cf. P 243 and 372.

99. φραδμοσύνης : the dat. plural is suggested by the reading of M, and would be liable to corruption; see *J. H. S.* xv. p. 274. Baumeister com-

pares Hes. *Theog.* 626, 884, 891, *Op.* 245. The singular φραδμοσύνη first occurs in Apoll. *Arg.* B 649.

100. ὃ τ' ἄρ' ὃ τε (= ὅτι τε); La Roche *Homer. Unters.* i. p. 122 f., *H. G.* § 269 (3).

102 f. The importance of Eilithyia must have been greater in the older versions of the legend, since her journey from the Hyperboreans to help Leto was the subject of Olen's hymn (Herod. iv. 35, Paus. i. 18. 5, viii. 21. 3, ix. 27. 2). On Eilithyia see Farnell *Cults* ii. p. 608 f. "In the Delian worship, so far as the hymn of Olen expressed it, she was more than a divinity of childbirth : the poet invoked her as a primaeva goddess, older than Cronos, a dispenser of destiny, and the mother of Eros" (p. 610). Herodotus (*l.c.*) and Pausanias (i. 18. 5) testify to a regular cult of the goddess at Delos. See inser. in *B. C. H.* vi. 100, xiv. 412; Baur in *Philol. Suppl.* viii. p. 475.

102. Ἴριν : the Delians sacrificed to Iris (Semus ap. Athen. 645 b) on the Ἐκάτης νήσος, an islet off Delos (Harpoc. and Suid. s.v.), and it is possible that the archaic Delian statue called the Nike of Archermus, really represents Iris (Sikes *Nike of Archermus*, see Gardner *Greek Sculpture* i. p. 117). But the introduction of Iris in the hymn may be due to epic influence. Cf. generally Maass *I. F.* i. 164 sq.

104. χρυσείοι λίνουσιν ἐερμένον : Barnes' χρύσειον, ἡλέκτροισιν ἐερμένον, which recent editors have accepted, is graphically quite unjustified; nor is



νόσφιν δ' ἤνωγον καλέειν λευκωλένου Ἥρης, 105  
 μή μιν ἔπειτ' ἐπέεσσιν ἀποστρέψειεν ἰούσαν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἄκουσε ποδὴνέμος ὠκέα Ἴρις,  
 βῆ ῥα θέειν, ταχέως δὲ διήνυσσε πᾶν τὸ μεσηγύ.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ῥ' ἴκανε θεῶν ἔδος, αἰπὺν Ὀλυμπον,  
 αὐτίκ' ἄρ' Εἰλείθυιαν ἀπὸ μεγάραιο θύραζε 110  
 ἐκπροκαλεσσαμένη ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα,  
 πάντα μάλ', ὥς ἐπέτελλον Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι.  
 τῇ δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔπειθεν ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισι,  
 βᾶν δὲ ποσὶ τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἴθμαθ' ὅμοιαι.  
 εὖτ' ἐπὶ Δῆλον ἔβαινε μογοστόκος Εἰλείθυια, 115

114. TESTIMONIUM. Aristoph. *Aves* 575 Ἴριν δὲ γ' Ὀμηρος ἔφασκ' ἱκέλην εἶναι τρήρωνι πελεῖη (v. infra).

107. Ἴρις M: Ἴρις cet. 110. ἀπεκ LII: ἀπ' ἐκ codd.: ἀπὸ M 112. ἔχοντες ET 114. Ἰουαῖ M: Ἰουαῖ α: Ἰουαῖ ρS: Ἰουαῖ zDII superser.

there reason to suppose that the author slavishly imitated Homer (σ 296). See *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 244. The manuscript tradition has been vindicated by a close parallel from a Delian inventory of 364 B.C. Cf. *B. C. H.* x. p. 464 ὁρμος χρυσοῦς συν τῷ λινῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐπηρητημένοις, *C.I.A.* ii. pt. ii. p. 18. v. 71, p. 128 vv. 1, 19. In ο 460 χρύσειον ὄρμον ἔχων μετὰ δ' ἡλέκτροισιν ἔερτο the chain was strung at intervals with amber beads or pendants; so here the necklace appears to have been ornamented with gold wire used like thread, or with actual thread gilded (χρῦσειοι). The latter explanation seems supported by *B. C. H.* vi. p. 50 ὁρμος χρυσοῦς ἐπὶ ταινιδίῳ and p. 32 ταινία περιηργυρωμένη. The poet's description of the necklace may well have been based upon votive offerings which he saw at Delos. On these Delian ὄρμοι see Homolle *B. C. H.* vi. p. 123, 124.

107. ποδὴνέμος ὠκέα Ἴρις=E 368, and see Leaf on Ψ 198, where the form ὠκέα, and the question of an originally digammated Ἴρις are discussed. The epithet ποδὴνέμος, taken in conjunction with χρυσόπτερος Θ 398, Δ 185, shew that Homer conceived of Iris as actually flying, but with foot wings, such as are generally found in archaic monuments of the winged female type. Flying figures were first represented by Greek artists in attitude of striding; cf. βῆ ῥα θέειν. See *Class. Rev.* xiii. p. 463

(review of Studniczka's *die Siegesgöttingen*).

108. τὸ μεσηγύ: cf. *h. Dem.* 317.

109. Cf. E 367, 868.

110. ἀπό seems preferable to ἀπεκ (ἀπ' ἐκ), which is not found in Homer, although διέκ, ὑπέκ are common. For ἀπέκ Baumeister quotes Q. Smyrn. iv. 540.

111. ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα: the phrase is properly followed directly by the speech which it introduces; with the present passage Franke compares ν 165, where two lines intervene; and Ω 142, where the speech precedes ὥς . . . ἔπεα πτερόεντ' ἀγόρευον. But even these instances are hardly parallel, as here there is no actual speech recorded at all.

114. The line is interesting as being, in all probability, one of the rare passages in the hymns to which ancient authors refer. It seems to prove that Aristophanes knew the hymn; cf. *Av.* 575 above. The schol. Rav. remarks ὅτι ψεύδεται παίζων· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ Ἰριδος ἀλλ' ἐπὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Ἦρας· αἱ δὲ βᾶτην τρήρωσι πελειάσιν ἴθμαθ' ὅμοιαι (E 778, the origin of this line). The schol. Ven., however, notes οἱ δὲ ἐν ἐτέροις ποιήμασιν Ὀμήρου φασὶ τοῦτο γενέσθαι· εἰσι γὰρ καὶ ὕμνοι. The probability that the latter scholiast is right is much strengthened by Arist. *Eq.* 1015 διὰ τριπόδων ἐπιτίμων, which seems to be a quotation from 443 *infra*.

Ἰουαῖ: verbal subst., "goings."

115. εὖτε: regularly with asyndeton in Homer; Z 392 etc., *infra* 427.



τὴν τότε δὴ τόκος εἶλε, μενούνησεν δὲ τεκέσθαι.  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ φοίνικι βάλε πήχες, γούνα δ' ἔρεισε  
 λειμῶνι μαλακῷ, μείδῃσεν δὲ γαῖ' ὑπένερθεν.  
 ἐκ δ' ἔθορε πρὸ φώωσδε, θεαὶ δ' ὀλόλυξαν ἅπασαι.  
 "Εὐθα σέ, ἦτε Φοῖβε, θεαὶ λόον ὕδατι καλῷ

120

116. δὴ τότε τὴν Ilgen

120. λοῦον codd. : corr. Stephanus

116. Most editors follow Ilgen in reading δὴ τότε τὴν, on the ground that greater stress should be laid on the time than on the person. But the mss. are unanimous in giving τὴν τότε δὴ, and the emphasis laid on τὴν is quite suitable.

117. For the palm at the birth cf. Theogn. 5 Φοῖβε ἄναξ ὅτε μὲν σε θεὰ τέκε πότνια Λητώ | φοίνικος ῥαδιῶς χερσὶν ἐφασμένῃ, Callim. h. Del. 208 ἀπὸ δ' ἐκλήθη ἔμπαλιν ὤμοις | φοίνικος ποτὲ πρέμνον. The sacred palm in the precinct of Apollo at Delos is mentioned in § 162; it was reputed to be alive in the time of Cicero (*Leg.* i. 1) and Pliny (*N. H.* xvi. 89). The palm-tree was one of the types on Delian coins (*Head Hist. Num.* p. 413). According to Eur. *Hec.* 458, *Ion* 919, Eust. 1557, Leto clasped the palm with one hand, a laurel with the other. Euripides (*I. T.* 1097) adds an olive to the other trees. In the Delian hymn (*B. C. H.* xviii. p. 345 f., Smyth *Melic Poets* p. 533) the olive alone takes the place of the palm: δν ἔτικτε Λατῶ μάκαιρα πα[ρὰ λῆμνα] κλυτὰ χερσὶ γλαυκᾶς ἑλάτας θιγούσ'. Cf. also Ael. *Var. Hist.* v. 4, Hyg. *Fab.* 140, Catull. 34. 7. See Crusius *die delph. Hymnen* 1894 p. 74. In the Ephesian account of the birth, an olive, still shown in the time of Tacitus, helped Leto (*Tac. Ann.* iii. 61). The names Ἑλάτα and Φοῖνιξ were given to two streams near the temple of Apollo at Tegyra (see on 16).

The legend suggests a Greek belief in the efficacy of the palm or olive to ensure a safe or quick delivery. Traces of the custom have survived in modern Greece, where an olive-branch, called the Virgin's hand, and sacred to St. Eleutherios or Panaghia Vlastike, is sometimes grasped by women (*Bent Cyclades* p. 182, *Rodd Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* p. 141). So Swedish women used to twine their arms round a venerated tree (*Mannhardt B. K.* p. 51). See also Frazer *G. B.* i. p. 196.

ΓΟΥΝΑ Δ' ἔρεισε: for this position see Frazer on Paus. viii. 48. 7: "we may infer that in antiquity Greek women

were often, perhaps generally, delivered on their knees." He quotes Ploss *das Weib*<sup>2</sup> p. 175 to shew that the attitude is still adopted in Greece and elsewhere.

118. μείδῃσεν δὲ γαῖ' ὑπένερθεν: so Theognis 9 ἐγέλασσε δὲ γαῖα πελώρη, γήθησεν δὲ βαθὺς πόντος ἄλδς πολιῆς. The idea of earth "smiling" is Homeric, cf. T 362 γέλασσε δὲ πᾶσα περὶ χθὼν χαλκοῦ ὑπὸ στεροπῆς, where, however, the original meaning of γελᾶν (= shine) may be predominant. As Leaf (*ad loc.*) notes, the two ideas pass naturally into one another. In the present passage as often in later Greek, the personification of smiling Nature is clear; cf. *h. Dem.* 14, Aesch. *P. V.* 90, *Apoll. Arg.* A 880, Δ 1169. For the joy of Nature at the birth of a god, compare also the Delphic hymn (quoted on 117) πᾶς δὲ γάθησε πόλος οὐράνιος, ἀνέφελος, ἀγλαός, νῆνέμους δ' ἔσχεν αἰθὴρ ἀ[ελλῶν ταχυπετεῖς] [δρό]μους κτλ. (of Apollo); paeon to Dionysus (*B. C. H.* 1895 p. 393, Smyth *Melic Poets* p. 524) πάντες δ' [ἀστέρες ἀρχ]όρευσαν, πάντες δὲ βροτοὶ χ[άρησαν] σαῖς, Βάκχῃ, γένναῖς. For other exx. see Adami *de poet. scaen.* p. 232 f.

119. ἐκ δ' ἔθορε πρὸ φώωσδε: see on *h. Herm.* 12. For ἐκθρώσκω in this sense cf. Hes. *Theog.* 281, Callim. *h. Del.* 255, *h. Herm.* 20, Panyas. ap. schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 177 καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ κόλποιο τροφού θόρε ποσσὶ θυνώνης.

ΘΕΑΙ Δ' ὀλόλυξαν: cf. Frazer on Paus. ix. 11. 3, where parallel examples are quoted of the cry uttered by women, probably as a signal that a birth had taken place. So Theocr. xvii. 64 Κῶως δ' ὀλόλυξεν (at the birth of Ptolemy); the whole passage (58-70) shews Theocritus' acquaintance with the hymn. Callimachus also appears to borrow: cf. *h. Del.* 255-258.

120. ἦτε: an obscure epithet of Apollo, only here and in O 365, T 152. L. Meyer (*Griech. Et.* i.) marks it as of uncertain derivation. Aristarchus connected it with ἡμι, a derivation apparently accepted by Ebeling. Others compare the cry ἡ (ἡ), which certainly



ἀγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς, σπάρξαν δ' ἐν φάρει λευκῷ,  
 λεπτῷ νηγατέῳ· περὶ δὲ χρύσειον στρόφον ἤκαν.  
 οὐδ' ἄρ' Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορα θήσατο μήτηρ,  
 ἀλλὰ Θέμις νέκταρ τε καὶ ἄμβροσιν ἐρατεινὴν  
 ἀθανάτησιν χερσὶν ἐπήρξατο· χαῖρε δὲ Λητώ,  
 οὐνεκα τοξοφόρον καὶ καρτερὸν υἱὸν ἔτικτεν.

125

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ, Φοῖβε, κατέβρωσ' ἄμβροτον εἶδαρ,  
 οὐ σέ γ' ἔπειτ' ἴσχον χρύσειοι στρόφοι ἀσπαίροντα,  
 οὐδ' ἔτι δεσμά σ' ἔρυκε, λύντο δὲ πείρατα πάντα.  
 αὐτίκα δ' ἀθανάτησι μετῆύδα Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·

130

122. στροφὸν codd. 125. ἀθανάτοισι KV: ἐπώρξατο M: χείρεσιν ἀθανάτης' ἐπορέξατο Ilgen: ἀθανάτης χείρεσσιν D'Orville (πορέξατο Martin): ὀρέξατο Maittaire, D'Orville: ἀθανάτοισι χείλεσσιν Eble: ἀπήρξατο Voss 127. ἄμβροτον M 128. ἔσχον S || στροφοὶ codd. || ἀσπαίροντες ET 129. δεσμάς p: δέσματ' KS (δεσμάτ' J): δεσμάτ' MxAtD: δεσμά c' praetulit Matthiae 130. ἀθανάτοισι DJ ed. pr.

produced *hḗlios*; for the double form cf. *λοῦλος*, *οἶλος*. Brunnhofer (*Hom. Rätsel*, 1899) translates *hülffreich*, comparing the Vedic *avitar*.

Λόον· the mss. give the unmetrical form *λοῦον*; so Arist. *Nub.* 838 καταλούει for καταλῶει. Cf. κ 361 λό', Hes. *Op.* 749 λῶεσθαι, and variant in the Townley schol. on O 393 τινὲς "ἐτερεπε *λοῦων*" (Nauck λῶων i.e. *λόφων*), and see Schulze *Q. E.* p. 65 n., Smyth *Ionic* p. 535, Solmsen *Untersuch.* p. 13.

121. ἀγνῶς καὶ καθαρῶς: cf. Hes. *Op.* 337, where each word has its proper sense, "with pure heart and hands." Here, as Gemoll remarks, *ἀγνῶς* is superfluous; the expression seems to have been blindly copied from Hesiod. So *orac.* ap. Hendess 1. 14, and 54. 3.

123. χρυσάορα: an epithet of Apollo in 395 (where see note), E 509, O 256, Hes. *Op.* 771, fr. 227, Pind. *Pyth.* v. 104, Apoll. *Arg.* Γ 1282; of Demeter, *h. Dem.* 4. In Homer and *h. Dem.* the nom. would be *χρυσάορος*, according to the mss.; so *χρυσάορον* 395. Leaf on E 509 argues that forms from *χρυσάωρ* should everywhere be restored; the hiatus in O 256 produced *χρυσάορον* for *χρυσάορα*.

ἐήσατο: only here in a causal sense, of the mother. In Homer and *h. Dem.* 236 the verb is used of the child. The prose form *θηλάζω* has a similar double use.

124. So the babe Aristaeus is fed on

nectar and ambrosia, and is made immortal, Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 63.

125. ἐπήρξατο: for the Homeric formula ἐπάρχεσθαι δεπάεσιν cf. M. and R. on γ 340, Leaf on A 471. It seems established that in this phrase ἐπάρχεσθαι means to offer a "first portion" of the wine by pouring some drops into each cup successively (ἐπί). In the present instance, this force of the preposition has been lost, and the verb has come to mean "handel with," or simply "offer as an act of ritual," without any notion of making a beginning. The word is no doubt chosen to express the reverence which Leto feels for the young god. For the acc. with ἐπάρχεσθαι cf. a similar construction with κατάρχεσθαι in γ 445 χέρνιβά τ' οὐλοχότας τε κατήρχετο. There is no reason to alter ἀθανάτησιν χερσὶν to ἀθανάτοισι χείλεσσιν (Eble, followed by Baumeister and Abel); the manuscript reading is perfectly intelligible.

127 f. Apollo, like Hermes in *h. Herm.* 15 f., shews his divinity by precocious strength and talent. For this idea, common in folklore, see App. II. p. 311. Later accounts make Apollo slay the monster when he was a mere child; see on 214.

129. δεσμά: this is the plur. of *δεσμός* in the hymns (*h. Herm.* 157, 409, vii. 12, 13) without variant; in Homer the form is *δέσματα*. Here there is some force in the repetition of *σε*, and this may induce us with Matthiae, to give the preference to *p*'s reading. *J. H. S.* xv. p. 263.



εἴη μοι κίθαρίς τε φίλη καὶ καμπύλα τόξα,  
χρήσω δ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς νημερτέα βουλὴν.

ᾠς εἰπὼν ἐβίβασκεν ἐπὶ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης  
Φοῖβος ἀκερσεκόμης, ἑκατηβόλος· αἱ δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι  
θάμβεον ἀθάναται, χρυσῷ δ' ἄρα Δῆλος ἅπασα

135

ᾠ βεβρίθει, καθορώσα Διὸς Λητοῦς τε γενέθλην,

ᾠ γηθοσύνη, ὅτι μιν θεὸς εἴλετο οἰκία θέσθαι

ᾠ νήσων ἡπείρου τε, φίλησε δὲ κηρόθι μᾶλλον·

ἦνθησ', ὥς ὅτε τε ρίον οὖρεος ἄνθεσιν ὕλης.

Αὐτὸς δ', ἀργυρότοξε, ἄναξ ἑκατηβόλ' Ἀπολλων,

140

ἄλλοτε μέν τ' ἐπὶ Κύνθου ἐβήσας παιπαλόεντος,

ἄλλοτε δ' ἂν νήσους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἡλάσκαζες.

133. ἐπὶ pro ἀπὸ Matthiae 136-38 habent in textu IIS ed. pr. (in II signa versibus praefiguntur cum verbis ἐν ἑτέρῳ καὶ οὗτοι οἱ στίχοι κεῖνται): in margine ETL (praefixis isdem verbis addito in ET CH): D a man. sec. Hos vv. secl. Ruhnken, 139 Ilgen, qui et 139 ante 136 posuit vel ἦνεε δ' scripsit 137. εἴλετο] οἴλατο marg. II 139. ῥίον x: ῥρίον D || ὅτε, i a man. sec. Γ: τι pro τε Barnes || ὥς ὅτε γ' ἄνεε οὖρεος ἄνεεσιν ὕλη J: ὕλη E addito postea c: ἄνεον ὕλη Barnes 142. αὐ codd.: ἂν D'Orville: ἂν ρία Jacobs || νήους Baumeister: ἡκρίας Voss

131-132. Apollo here claims his prerogatives; he will be a god of music, an archer, and a prophet. Gemoll compares Callim. h. Ap. 44 Φοῖβω γὰρ καὶ τόξον ἐπιτρέπεται καὶ αἰοδῆ, | κείνου δὲ Θοῖαι καὶ μάντιες. For the κίθαρις of Apollo see on h. Herm. 450.

φίλη: hardly an epithet, like καμπύλα, but predicative with εἴη, "for my own"; cf. 144.

132. χρήσω: the active once in Homer, θ 79 (absolute). For the oracle of Apollo at Delos see on 81.

133. ἐπὶ: the manuscript ἀπὸ was defended in J. H. S. xvii. p. 244; but it is difficult to resist Matthiae's ἐπὶ. E 13 ὁ δ' ἀπὸ χθονὸς ὠρυτο πεζὸς is hardly parallel.

ἀπὸ might mean "off the ground," i.e. in the air (cf. 186), but ἐβίβασκεν suggests that Apollo "walked" on the earth; it is not equivalent to βῆ ῥα θέειν (108). There is no resemblance between the symbols of ἀπὸ and ἐπὶ.

135. χρυσῷ: the idea is borrowed and amplified by Callim. h. Del. 260 f. χρυσέα τοι τότε πάντα θεμελῖα γεινατο, Δῆλε, | χρυσῷ δὲ τροχόεσσα πανήμερος ἔρρεε λίμνη, | χρύσειον δ' ἐκόμισε γενέθλιον ἔρνος ἐλαῖης· | χρυσῷ δ' ἐπλήμμυρε βαθὺς Ἴνῳπὸς ἐλιχθεῖς· | αὐτὴ δὲ χρυσέοιο ἀπ' οὐδὲος εἴλεο παῖδα.

The author of the hymn probably, and Callimachus certainly, conceive of actual gold miraculously covering the island; Theognis 8 only speaks of an ambrosial scent marking the birth of the god.

136-139. This is the clearest case of the alternatives which are frequent in the text of the hymns (see p. xliii), since here the mss. distinguish between them; 136-138 are found only in γ (in II they have accidentally crept into the text). Attempts to combine all four verses are not successful (Gemoll places 139 after 135, altering βεβρίθει to βεβρίθη). Of the two versions, perhaps 136-38 is the later, since the construction of εἴλετο with gen. "preferred to" is un-Homeric (Soph. Phil. 1100). For ὥς ὅτε τε without a verb cf. M 132; for the language, i. 8 ἀνέον ὕλη.

138. κηρόθι μᾶλλον: Agar in J. P. xxviii. (1901) p. 51 would everywhere restore κῆρ' (i.e. κῆρι) ἐτι μᾶλλον, arguing that κηρόθι is an impossible form.

140. αὐτός: probably resumptive, in contrast to Delos; but see on 181.

142. ἂν νήους: D'Orville's correction (also made by Ilgen and accepted by Peppmüller and Tyrrell among recent critics) appears to be necessary. ἡλάσκαζες might perhaps govern a direct



πολλοί τοι νηοί τε καὶ ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα,  
 πᾶσαι δὲ σκοπιαί τε φίλαι καὶ πρόωνες ἄκροι  
 ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων, ποταμοὶ θ' ἄλαδε προρέοντες·  
 ἀλλὰ σὺν Δήλῳ, Φοῖβε, μάλιστ' ἐπιτέρπεται ἦτορ,  
 ἔνθα τοι ἐλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἡγερέθονται  
 αὐτοῖς σὺν παιδεσσι καὶ αἰδοίῃς ἀλόχοισιν.

145

146. TESTIMONIUM. Thuc. iii. 104 δηλοῖ δὲ μάλιστα "Ομηρος ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἦν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι τοῖσδε, ἃ ἔστιν ἐκ προοιμίου Ἀπόλλωνος·

ἀλλ' ὅτε Δήλῳ Φοῖβε μάλιστά γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης,  
 ἔνθα τοι ἐλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες ἡγερέθονται  
 σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι γυναιξὶ τε σὴν ἐς ἀγυῖαν·  
 ἔνθα σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ ὀρχηστῇ καὶ αἰδοῇ  
 μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν δταν καθέσῳσιν ἀγῶνα.

144. προρέοντες pro πρόωνες ἄκροι L, omisso v. 145 146. ἀλλ' ὅτε Thuc. ||  
 ἐπιτέρπεο M: μάλιστά γε θυμὸν ἐτέρφθης Thuc. 148. σὺν σφοῖσιν τεκέεσσι  
 γυναιξὶ τε σὴν ἐς ἀγυῖαν Thuc.: αὐτοῖσιν παιδεσσι Hermann: αὐτοὶ Gemoll

accusative νήσους, on the analogy of 175 στρεφόμεσθα πόλεις, but the construction can hardly be extended to ἀνέρας. For the corruption cf. B 198 δν δ' αὖ, Eust. δν δ' ἄν. The expression νήσους τε καὶ ἀνέρας is a sort of hendiadys for "inhabited islands" in contrast to the solitude of Delos, or rather, perhaps, of its mountain Cynthos. For a similar hendiadys (also with τε καὶ) cf. Theocr. xvii. 77 μυρίαί ἀπειροὶ τε καὶ ἔθνεα μυρία φωτῶν "a thousand lands with their tribes" (Cholmeley). The alterations of either word are mistaken; cf. Pind. Ol. vi. 10 οὔτε παρ' ἀνδράσιν οὐτ' ἐν ναυσὶ κοίλαις.

144, 145=22, 23; see on 20-24.

146 f. On the variants between this passage in the mss. and as quoted by Thucydides and Aristides see Pref. xlv f., J. H. S. xv. p. 309, 310. The view held by Gemoll admits of not much doubt, that the two versions are independent. In the present edition the text of the mss. has been followed except in two places (165 and 171) where graphical corruption has evidently taken place.

146. ἀλλὰ σὺ: this suits the context, as it appears in the vulgate, better than ἀλλ' ὅτε in the Thucydidean version. We cannot, of course, be sure that the form of the hymn known to Thucydides contained the lines immediately preceding, in their present condition. But, to assume that this was the case, there would be no absolute need to alter ἀλλ'

ὅτε to ἄλλοτε, with Guttman. The passage would mean: "but when your heart most rejoices in Delos, then do the Ionians gather," a way of saying that the Ionians gather at the feast of Apollo in Delos. ἔνθα would thus be apodotic and demonstrative; in the manuscript text it is relative, "there." Lines 143-145 are merely explicative of the range of Apollo's interests. Graphically, however, ἄλλοτε would be an easy correction; for the omission of δὲ Guttman compares γ 50, Hes. Op. 552 etc.

147. Cf. Ἰάονες ἐλκεχίτωνες in N 685 (thought to be an Attic interpolation; see Leaf *ad loc.*). The long robes, especially associated with the Ionians, would be suitable for a solemn festival. See Thuc. i. 6. 3, Strabo 466. By the time of Thucydides this Ionic dress had become antiquated, and was only affected by older men. For the Delian festival cf. Introd. p. 66.

148. αὐτοῖς σὺν παιδεσσι: Hermann's αὐτοῖσιν παιδεσσι is neat and idiomatic (cf. h. Herm. 94, where Demetrius corrects φᾶς συνέσειε for φασὶν ἔσειε), but unnecessary; cf. M 112, Ξ 498, v 118. The Thucydidean σὴν ἐς ἀγυῖαν is curious. ἀγυῖα can hardly mean "a sacred procession" as Baumeister suggests. Probably it is the "square" before the temple of Apollo, where the contests took place. The passages in Pindar quoted by L. and S. (Ol. ix. 51, Nem. vii. 92) hardly prove that ἀγυῖα can be used as a poetic synonym of πόλις.



οἱ δέ σε πυγμαχίῃ τε καὶ ὀρχηθμῷ καὶ αἰοιδῇ  
 μνησάμενοι τέρπουσιν, ὅταν στήσωνται ἀγῶνα. 150  
 φαίῃ κ' ἀθανάτους καὶ ἀγήρως ἔμμεναι αἰεὶ,  
 ὃς τότ' ἐπαντιάσει, ὅτ' Ἴαονες ἀβρόοι εἶεν·  
 πάντων γάρ κεν ἴδοιτο χάριν, τέρψαιτο δὲ θυμὸν  
 ἀνδρας τ' εἰσορώων καλλιζώνους τε γυναικας,  
 νῆας τ' ὠκείας ἧδ' αὐτῶν κτήματα πολλά. 155  
 πρὸς δὲ τόδε μέγα θαῦμα, ὅου κλέος οὔ ποτ' ὀλείται,  
 κοῦραι Δηλιάδες, Ἐκατηβελέταο θεράπναι·

149. ἔνεα *ce* Thuc. || ὀρχηστῷ Thuc. 150. καθέσων Thuc. 151.  
 ἀεάνατος M: quod con. Martin || αἰεὶ *pyM*: ἀνὴρ *zAtDK*: ἀνδρας JK m. sec.  
 152. οἱ τότ' ἐπ' ἀντιάει τ' Ἴαονες M: οἱ τότ' ἐπάντια *ce* τ' Ἴαονες *zAt* (Ἰάονος)  
 D, S (ἐπ' ἀντία): οἱ δὴ πότ' ἐπάντια *ce* τ' Ἴαονες *p*: corr. Martin (ἀπαντιάσαι  
 Barnes, ἐπαντιάσει' Ilgen, ὑπαντιάσει' Abel): φαίης 151 et οἱ τότ' ἐπάντια *ce* τ' Ἰ.  
 Ἴαονες ἀβρόοι εἶεν Rubnken 156. ὅου BE: ε' οὐ M: ὃ οὐ, ὃ οὐ, ὃ οὐ sim.  
*cet.* 157. δηλιάδες M: δηλιάδες δ' *cet.*

149. ὀρχηθμῷ: both this form and ὀρχηστῷ are found in Homer, who uses ὀρχηθμοῖο (N 637 etc.), and ὀρχηστῷ (θ 253, ρ 605). The dat. ὀρχηθμῷ first occurs in Hes. *Scut.* 282, *Theogn.* 791.

151, 152. Thucydides leaves us here. In 152 the reading is established by Martin's brilliant conjecture; the only difficulty, the alteration of αἰ into ὃς is made necessary by the verbs in 153. The emendations ἀπαντιάσαι (Barnes), ἐναντιάσει' (Ilgen) and ὑπαντιάσει' (Abel) are superfluous. Though ἐπαντιάσειν does not occur elsewhere, there is force in the preposition, "light upon them." In 151 M reads ἀθάνατος, and this was part of Martin's conjecture; ἀνὴρ in *z* is perhaps connected with this reading. The construction is possible: "he would believe himself immortal, who was present when," etc. There can be little doubt, however, that ἀθανάτους is right; the poet glorifies the appearance of the Ionians with a direct compliment. For the variant cf. Ω 499 αὐτοῖς and αὐτός.

αἰεὶ: supported by M 323 (with ἀγήρω τ' ἀθανάτω τε), and by the numerous instances in which the two adjectives are followed by ἡματα πάντα Θ 539, ε 136, η 94, 257, ψ 336, verse ap. Paus. x. 24. 3.

153. πάντων: probably masculine. τέρψαιτο δὲ εὐμόν is best joined with εἰσορώων; there is nothing to be gained by taking it as parenthetical, in which case ἴδοιτο would go closely with εἰσορώων.

155. αὐτῶν: here emphatic, contrasting the people themselves with their ships and other material possessions. Cf. η 43 θαύμαζεν δ' Ὀδυσσεὺς λιμένας καὶ νῆας εἶσας | αὐτῶν θ' ἡρώων ἀγοράς, β 154 ἦϊξαν διὰ τ' οἰκία καὶ πόλιν αὐτῶν, θ 574 αὐτοῖς τε πόλιός τ' ἐν ναιετάσας, ι 40 πόλιν ἔπραθον ὥλεσα δ' αὐτοῖς. The heaviness of the line would be relieved by the (doubtless original) resolution ὠκείας; see on 31.

156. ὅου κλέος οὔ ποτ' ὀλείται = B 325; cf. *orac.* ap. Paus. x. 6. 7. On the false form ὅου (for ὅο) see *H. G.* § 98.

157. κοῦραι Δηλιάδες: for this chorus see Homolle in *B. C. H.* xiv. p. 501 f.; it was called χορὸς τῶν γυναικῶν, e.g. εἰς τογ χορον τογ γυναικων τογ γενομενον τοις απολλ[ωνιοις]. The Delian women took part, as a chorus, in various festivals: Apollonia, Letaea, Artemisia, Britomartia, Aphrodisia, and on the occasion of θεωρίαι from Cos, Rhodes, Siphnos, and Carystos. For the last-mentioned festival cf. also Dion. *Perieget.* 527 ῥύσια δ' Ἀπόλλωνι χοροὺς ἀνάγουσιν ἅπασαι (sc. αἱ Κυκλάδες) ἱσταμένοι γλυκεροῦ νέον εἶαρος. The imitation of dialects (see on 162) was probably to please the θεωροί (so Lebègue p. 13 and 257, Homolle *l.c.*). The Δηλιάδες, a play of Cratinus, may have referred to such a chorus. Euripides *H. F.* 687 f. calls their song a παιάν; cf. also *Hec.* 462 f., Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Herakl.* i. p. 140. Compare the chorus of Λυδῶν



αἶ τ' ἐπεὶ ἄρ πρῶτον μὲν Ἀπόλλων ὑμνήσωσιν,  
 αὐτίς δ' αὖ Λητώ τε καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἰοχέαιραν,  
 μνησάμεναι ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν ἠδὲ γυναικῶν 160  
 ὕμνον αἰέδουσιν, θέλγουσι δὲ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων.  
 πάντων δ' ἀνθρώπων φωνὰς καὶ κρεμβαλιαστὴν  
 μιμείσθ' ἴσασιν· φαίη δέ κεν αὐτὸς ἕκαστος  
 φθέγγεσθ'· οὕτω σφιν καλὴ συνάρηρεν αἰοιδή.  
 Ἄλλ' ἄγεθ' ἰλήκοι μὲν Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ξύν, 165

165. TESTIMONIUM. Thuc. l.c. ὅτι δὲ καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγῶν ἦν καὶ ἀγωνιούμενοι ἐφοίτων, ἐν τοῖσδε αὖ δηλοί, ἃ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ προοιμίου. τὸν γὰρ Δηλιακὸν χορὸν τῶν γυναικῶν ὑμνήσας ἐτελεύτα τοῦ ἐπαίνου ἐς τὰδε ἔπη, ἐν οἷς καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπεμνήσθη [165-72]. vv. 167-72 citantur ab Aristide κατὰ τῶν ἐξορχουμένων 409 (ed. Dindorf ii. f. 559) διαλεγόμενος γὰρ ταῖς Δηλιασίς καὶ καταλύων τὸ προοίμιον εἴ τις ἔροιθ' ὑμᾶς φησὶν κτλ.

158. ἄρ] ἂν α 159. αῖς p 162. κρεμβαλιαστὴν L<sup>1</sup>HDL<sup>3</sup>Q: corr. S ed. pr.: κρεμβαλιαστὴν zM: κρεμβαλιαστὴν p (plerique): βαμβαλιαστὴν ET et LII superser. (=y) 163. μιμείσθαι codd.: corr. Barnes || αὐτὴ ἐκάστη Peppmüller 165. ἀλλὰ γε Λητώ μὲν καὶ ἀπόλλων M: ἀλλάγε (ἄλλ' ἄγε) δὴ Λητώ μὲν ἀπόλλων ceteri praeter S: ἄλλ' ἄγε θ' ἰλήκοι μὲν ἀπόλλων S et Thucydidis codd. meliores: restituit lectionem Normann in ed. Aristidis || lacunam fecerant Martin, Barnes

κόραι at Ephesus: Arist. *Nub.* 599 f., Aelian *V. H.* xii. 9, Ion *fr.* 22, Diog. *fr.* 1, Kock *F. C. A. i.* p. 806.

θεράπαι: Homer uses only the masc. θεράπων.

160. ἀνδρῶν τε παλαιῶν κτλ.: usually explained as a reference to the Hyperboreans, for whom see Müller *Dorians* i. p. 294, Frazer on Paus. x. 5. 7, Roscher s.v. 2810 f. But we should expect some mention of their name; and the more obvious explanation is that the chorus of women, like the rhapsodists, sang of heroes and heroines, after a prelude to the gods.

162. κρεμβαλιαστὴν: the alternative βαμβαλιαστὴν is not elsewhere found, but it can hardly be a graphical corruption, and may be justified by βαμβαίνων K 375, βαμβαλίζω schol. *ad loc.*, and other forms: see *J. H. S.* xv. p. 301. It would mean "rattling," and so be an equivalent of κρεμβαλιαστὴς, "playing on castanets." The sense of the passage is evidently that the Delian singers reproduced the speech and the musical accompaniment of the various pilgrims; but there is no other reference to this curious mimicry of (apparently) different dialects. κρεμβαλιαστὴν cannot mean "dancing," as some suppose; but there was no doubt a dance during the song,

in the "hyporchematic manner." See Smyth *Melic Poets* p. lxi f. The hyporcheme was properly sacred to Apollo, and was kept up in Delos in the time of Lucian (*de salt.* 16 παῖδων χοροὶ συνελθόντες ὑπ' αὐλῶ καὶ κιθάρα οἱ μὲν ἐχόρευον, ὑπαρχοῦντο δὲ οἱ ἀριστοὶ προκριθέντες ἐξ αὐτῶν). It is impossible to say whether this chorus of boys took the place of an older chorus of women, or whether Lucian is only describing one out of several kinds of Delian ὑπορχήματα existing in his day; as there were numerous festivals at Delos (see on 157) the latter explanation is more probable.

163. Peppmüller's αὐτὴ ἐκάστη entirely misses the point.

μιμείσθ': mimicry was the essence of the hyporcheme; cf. Athen. 15 D ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη ὄρχησις μίμησις τῶν ὑπὸ τῆς λέξεως ἐρμηνευομένων πραγμάτων. Smyth p. lxxii. But the mimicry mentioned by Athenaeus is of course different from the Delian imitation of dialects.

165. The reading of M is intelligible as far as it goes, but necessitates a lacuna to contain a verb (as Martin and Barnes proposed); that of the other mss. will not construe. The probability is very great that the manuscript text is



χαίρετε δ' ὑμεῖς πᾶσαι· ἐμεῖο δὲ καὶ μετόπισθε  
μνήσασθ', ὅππότε κέν τις ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων  
ἐνθάδ' ἀνείρηται ξείνος ταλαπείριος ἐλθών·

ὦ κοῦραι, τίς δ' ὕμιν ἀνὴρ ἥδιστος αἰδὼν  
ἐνθάδε πωλεῖται, καὶ τέφ' τέρπεσθε μάλιστα;

ὑμεῖς δ' εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι ὑποκρίνασθαι ἀφήμως·  
τυφλὸς ἀνὴρ, οἰκεῖ δὲ Χίῳ ἐν παιπαλοέσση,

170

166. ἐμεῖο DKL<sub>2</sub>R<sub>2</sub>: ἐμεῖο<sup>οι</sup> NV: ἐμοῖο cett. 168. ταλαπείριος ἄλλος  
ἐπελῶν Thuc. 169. ὕμιν MEDSNOP: ὕμιν cett. 171. ὑποκρίνασθαι  
codd. (ὑποκρίνεσθ' M): ὑποκρίνασθαι S et Thucydides (praeter "A et ex corr. C<sub>2</sub>,"  
Hude) || ἀφήμως Thucydides codices meliores: εὐφήμως eiusdem codd. deteriores:  
ἀφ' ἡμέων MLIATDz: ἀφ' ἡμῶν Aristides: ἀφ' ὑμέων ETS: ἀφ' ὕμῶν p: ἀφή-  
μως (vel ἀφήμως) Normann, Bergk: ἐϋφήμως Ruhnken: εὐφ. vulg.

a direct corruption from a reading the same as the Thucydidean. ἀλλ' ἄγε, ἄγεθ', etc. are liable to corruption; cf. *h. Dem.* 490, and λητώ (through λητοῖ) is not, for an ancient error, far from -λήκοι. So Dion. *Perieget.* 447 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἰλῆκοι; the second person is common. Ἀπόλλων Ἀρτέμιδι ζῦν = ο 410. The cults of the two deities were closely connected at Delos, as at many other places; their temples were side by side, and they had common offerings. Farnell (*Cults* ii. p. 465 f.) thinks that it was from Delos that the idea of the close relation between Artemis and Apollo was diffused. References in Farnell, *Cults* ii. p. 577, Pauly-Wissowa 33. For their common cult at Delphi see on xxvii. 13 f.

169 f. The lines seem to be practically a request by the poet to be awarded the prize; for the μουσικῆς ἀγών see p. lix. In *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 245 (after Ilgen) it was pointed out that this passage must be taken in connexion with Hes. *fr.* 227 ἐν Δήλῳ τότε πρῶτον ἐγὼ καὶ Ὀμηρος αἰοῖδοι | μέλπομεν, ἐν νεαροῖς ὕμνοις βῆσαντες αἰοῖδον, | Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνα χρυσάορον, ὃν τέκε Λητώ. | The coincidence of subject and place is remarkable. 169. For δέ in asking a question cf. Z 123 etc.

171. εὖ μάλα πᾶσαι: Baumeister quotes examples of εὖ μάλα (*χ* 190) and μάλα πάντες etc. (*N* 741 etc., so *h. Dem.* 417 and in late epic as Aratus 17, 805, 952); and, for the whole phrase, Theocr. xxv. 19 εὖ μάλα πᾶσι.

ὑποκρίνασθαι ἀφήμως: here again the reading of the mss., whether ἀφ' ἡμέων or ἀφ' ὑμέων cannot be original

to them. The lection of the younger Thucydidean mss. εὐφήμως (adopted by Ruhnken and subsequent editors) must be later than ἀφ-, which survives in the mss. of the hymns (α and εν in minuscule are alike). Therefore the reading of Thucydides' older mss. ἀφήμως seems the origin of the others. This word (either with or without the aspirate) was accepted by Bergk (*Geschichte d. gr. Lit.* i. p. 750 n.), in the sense of "with one voice." The Thucydidean scholiast glosses the word ἡσύχα, ἀθρόως. The latter meaning may stand if the prefix is connected with ἄμα. So ἀφήγορος in I 404 was explained by Aristarchus as = ὁμοφήγορος (approved of by Prellwitz *B. B.* xxii. p. 85). See *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 246.

172. For the reference of the poet to himself and his country cf. Hes. *Theog.* 23 f. In "personal" poetry (e.g. Hes. *Op.* 639 f., *fr.* 227, quoted above) the autobiography is of course natural.

παιπαλοέσση: epithet of Chios, γ 170. This line was, at least partly, the origin of the tradition that Homer was blind, and lived in Chios (Thuc. l.c.); Simonides of Ceos (or Simonides of Amorgos) *fr.* 85 ἐν δὲ τὸ κάλλιστον Χίος ἔειπεν ἀνὴρ. See Jebb *Homer* p. 87 f. The legendary Thamyras and the Phaeacian Demodocus were also blind; indeed it was natural that the blind should have recourse to the profession of the αἰδοῖς, just as the lame found employment as blacksmiths (cf. the lame smith-god Hephaestus). This explanation (suggested by Bergk) is opposed by Fries *Rhein. Mus.* 57. 2 (1902), p. 265 f., who curiously thinks that the idea of



τοῦ πᾶσαι μετόπισθεν ἀριστεύουσιν αἰοῖδαί.  
 ἡμεῖς δ' ὑμέτερον κλέος οἴσομεν, ὅσσον ἐπ' αἶαν  
 ἀνθρώπων στρεφόμεσθα πόλεις εὖ ναιεταώσας· 175  
 οἱ δ' ἐπὶ δὴ πείσονται, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἐτήτυμόν ἐστιν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οὐ λήξω ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα  
 ὑμνέων ἀργυρότοξον, ὃν ἡΰκομος τέκε Λητώ.  
 ὦ ἄνα, καὶ Λυκίην καὶ Μηονίην ἐρατεινὴν  
 καὶ Μίλητον ἔχεις, ἔναλον πόλιν ἱμερόεσσαν,  
 αὐτὸς δ' αὖ Δῆλιοι περικλύστου μέγ' ἀνάσσεις. 180

173. μερόπεσσι Bothe : πᾶσιν μερόπεσσι Schneidewin : τοῦπερ καὶ μετόπισθεν  
 ἀριστεύουσιν Hermann : ἀριστεύουσιν iam Barnes 174. ἡμέτερον xAtD 176.  
 ἐπιδὴ LI: ἐπὶ δὴ DK : ἐπιδὴν p : ἐπεὶδὴ METS 178. ὑμνῶν p 179. alterum  
 hymnum in Apollinem Delphicum hic incipere stat. Ruhnken 181. δ' αὖ] γὰρ

οἶο

M || περικλύστου M : περικλύστῃς Γ

blind poets is a folk-tale of Egyptian origin, and even throws doubt on the genuineness of this passage as a personal narrative. Cf. also Brugmann *I. F.* iii. 257 n., who compares Servian epos.

For Cynaethus, who, if the tradition is true, must be the speaker here, see Pref. p. lii and *Introd.* p. 65.

173. ἀριστεύουσιν: the alteration ἀριστεύουσιν is needless; the poet claims that his songs are famous as soon as he has sung them (μετόπισθεν). His merits are recognized during his lifetime; cf. 70. ὑμέτερον also in 174 is clearly correct; he makes a bargain with the *Δηλιάδες*, just as the minstrel in *Hom. Epigr.* xiv. bargains with the potters.

175. στρεφόμεσα πόλεις: the acc. denotes the goal, as often after *ἰκνέομαι* etc.; see *H. G.* § 140 (4). Cf. § 114 πόλιν ἡγήσαιο, ο 82 ἄστεα δ' ἀνθρώπων ἡγήσομαι. The exx. quoted by Hermann, ν 325 (ἀναστρέφεισθαι), ρ 486 (ἐπιστροφᾶν), are not parallel in construction, as the verbs are compound, in which case the acc. is common; cf. 216. The statement suits the profession of rhapsode in general, and Cynaethus in particular, who rhapsodized the Homeric poems at Syracuse.

179-81. These three lines do not appear to belong to the Delian part, although their connexion with it could be defended (see *Introd.* p. 62, and on 181). On the other hand the abrupt change of person (ἀνάσσεις 181, εἰσι 182), inadequately explained by Gemoll as due to the "strophic" nature of the lines, seems to separate them from 182 f.

They may therefore be regarded as a fragment (no doubt of genuine antiquity), apparently introduced to give some sort of transition from the Delian to the Pythian parts.

The enumeration of a list of places in which a god was worshipped is common in poetry from Homer onwards; cf. *A* 37 f., and many exx. quoted by Adami *de poet. scaen.* p. 227 f.

179. Λυκίην: on the Lycian Apollo see Pauly-Wissowa 58 f. and 83, Preller-Robert i. p. 254 f. Apollo was thought to spend six months, in summer, at Delos, the other six at Patara in Lycia (Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* iv. 144; cf. Hor. *Od.* iii. 4. 65). According to another tradition, he absented himself from Delphi during the three winter months (*Pind. Pyth.* iv. 5, *Plut. de EI* 9). Such periodic migrations are natural for gods of the sun or vegetation; but they are not confined to such deities. If a god was worshipped in different lands he might readily be supposed to spend the year in his various temples. See further Frazer on Paus. ii. 7. 8.

Μηονίην ἐρατεινὴν: cf. Γ 401, Σ 291; for the Lydian cult (especially at Magnesia, near Sipylus) see Pauly-Wissowa 82.

180. Μίλητον: for the cult of Apollo *Διδυμεὺς* at Branchidae, near Miletus, see Pauly-Wissowa 49, Preller-Robert i. p. 283 f.

ἔναλον: of a town on the sea; cf. *Pind. Ol.* ix. 150 εἰναλία Ἐλευσίς.

181. αὐτός: the word may emphasize the bodily presence of Apollo at Delos.



εἶσι δὲ φορμίζων Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος υἱὸς  
 φόρμιγγι γλαφυρῇ πρὸς Πυθῶ πετρήεσσαν, [5]  
 ἄμβροτα εἶματ' ἔχων τεθυωμένα· τοῖο δὲ φόρμιγξ  
 χρυσεύς ὑπὸ πλῆκτρον καναχὴν ἔχει ἱμερόεσσαν. 185  
 ἐνθεν δὲ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀπὸ χθονός, ὥς τε νόημα,  
 εἶσι Διὸς πρὸς δῶμα θεῶν μεθ' ὁμήγουριν ἄλλων· [10]  
 αὐτίκα δ' ἀθανάτοισι μέλει κίθαρις καὶ αἰοιδή.  
 Μοῦσαι μὲν θ' ἅμα πᾶσαι ἀμειβόμεναι ὅπλῃ καλῇ  
 ὑμνεῦσιν ῥα θεῶν δῶρ' ἄμβροτα ἧδ' ἀνθρώπων 190  
 τλημοσύνας, ὅσ' ἔχοντες ὑπ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι  
 ζῶουσ' ἀφραδέες καὶ ἀμήχανοι, οὐδὲ δύνανται  
 εὐρέμεναι θανάτοιο τ' ἄκος καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ· [15]  
 αὐτὰρ εὐπλόκαμοι Χάριτες καὶ εὐφρονες Ὀραι

184. ἔχον pL || τεθυώδεα codd.: ευώδεα Γ (τε a man. sec.): corr. Barnes: ευώδεα Pierson || pro hoc versu voces ἔνεε δὲ πρὸς Ὀλυμπον praebeet z, ubi et desinit haec familia 189 om. \*p 190. ὑμνεῖουσι θεῶν D'Orville §192. ἀφραδέες M, margo Γ: ἀμφραδέες cet.: ἀμφιδεεῖς Maittaire

There can be no contrast between Apollo and another, as there may be in 140, 337. But αὐτός seems to be not infrequently used as a kind of title of Apollo, without any antithesis; "Apollo himself" = great Apollo; see note on h. Herm. 234. If this line formed part of the hymn recited at Delos, it must be intended as a final compliment to the island.

περικλύστου: cf. Archestr. Hedyph. fr. 27 (corp. poet. ludib. p. 153) ἐν περικλῡστῳ | Δήλῳ.

182–206. This passage (or 179–206) is considered by some editors as a separate fragment, or short hymn to Apollo; by others as the exordium of a "Pythian" hymn. As, however, a new poem obviously cannot begin with 182 εἶσι δὲ κτλ., Hermann, Baumeister and others assume that the opening of the "Pythian" hymn has been lost.

184. τεθυωμένα: Barnes' conjecture is supported by Cypria fr. ii. 8 τεθυωμένα εἶματα ἔστο. ευώδεα (Pierson) is about on a level with τεθυωμένα in point of similarity to τεθυωδέα (τ' ευώδεα in the Oxford text was an error).

185. καναχὴν ἔχει: so II 105, 794. Cf. Σ 495 βοὴν ἔχον.

186. ὥς τε νόημα: for the simile see note on h. Herm. 43.

189. Cf. A 604, ω 60. Apollo's connexion with the Muses is as old as the first book of the *Iliad*. For later re-

ferences see Pauly-Wissowa 38, Preller-Robert i. p. 279 f. Compare especially the dance of the Muses, to the sound of Apollo's phorminx in Pind. *Nem.* v. 22 f., inser. on the chest of Cypselus (Paus. v. 18. 4) Μοῦσαι δ' ἀμφ' αὐτόν, χαρίεις χορός, αἰσι κατάρχει (Ἀπόλλων). Gemoll thinks that Pindar imitated the hymn; but there is nothing in his theme or treatment which may not be independent.

190 f. Compare M. Arnold's description of Apollo and the Muses: *First hymn they the Father Of all things: and then The rest of Immortals, The action of men. (Callicles beneath Etna.)*

190. δῶρ': prerogatives, i.e. the immortality of the gods (Franke). θεῶν δῶρα in h. Dem. 147, 216 is different.

192. ἀφραδέες: cf. h. Dem. 256, νήϊδες ἀνθρώποι καὶ ἀφράδμοιες.

194. For the connexion of the Charites with Aphrodite see n. on h. Aphr. 61, and for the Horae n. on vi. 5. With the line cf. Panyas. ap. Athen. ii. 38 Χάριτες τ' ἔλαχον καὶ εὐφρονες Ὀραι; Xenoph. *Symp.* vii. 5 (dance of Charites, Horae, and Nymphs). For the conjunction of Charites and Muses cf. Hes. *Theog.* 64 f., Sappho fr. 22 δευτέρῃ νιν, ἀβραι Χάριτες καλλίκομοί τε Μοῦσαι. The Charites are associated with Apollo in literature (Pind. *Ol.* 14. 10) and art (Paus. ix. 35. 1, of the Delian Apollo).



- Ἄρμονίη θ' Ἦβη τε Διὸς θυγάτηρ τ' Ἀφροδίτη 195  
 ὀρχεῦντ' ἀλλήλων ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρας ἔχουσai·  
 τῇσι μὲν οὐτ' αἰσχρὴ μεταμέλπεται οὐτ' ἐλάχεια,  
 ἀλλὰ μάλα μεγάλη τε ἰδεῖν καὶ εἶδος ἀγῆτῃ, [20]  
 Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα ὁμότροφος Ἀπόλλωνι.  
 ἐν δ' αὖ τῇσιν Ἄρης καὶ εὖσκοπος Ἀργειφόντης 200  
 παίζουσ· αὐτὰρ ὁ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων ἐγκιθαρίζει,  
 καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς, αἶγλη δέ μιν ἀμφιφαίνει  
 μαρμαρυγαί τε ποδῶν καὶ ἐὺκλώστοιο χιτῶνος. [25]  
 οἱ δ' ἐπιτέρπονται θυμὸν μέγαν εἰσορόωντες,  
 Λητώ τε χρυσοπλόκαμος καὶ μητίετα Ζεὺς, 205  
 νῖα φίλον παίζοντα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.  
 Πῶς τ' ἄρ σ' ὑμνήσω πάντως εὖνμνον ἔοντα ;  
 ἦέ σ' ἐνὶ μνηστῆσιν αἰεῖδω καὶ φιλότῃτι, [30]

197. οὐτ' ἐλάχεια *p*: οὔτε λάχεια *cet.* (λαχεῖα *ME*) 198. ἀγῆτῃ ἀγαυὴ *M*  
 200. ἐν δ' *M*: ἐνε' *cet.* || αὐτᾶσιν *M* 201. ὁ *om.* Wolf 202. ἀμφιφαίνειν  
*fam.* *p* pars maior: η vel ηι superscript. in *x* 203. μαρμαρυγᾶς Schneidewin:  
 μαρμαρυγὰς Bothe 204. μέγα *M* 205 post 206 transp. Peppmüller 208.  
 μνηστῆρσιν Martin: μνητεύεσιν vel μνήστουσσιν Matthiae: ἀναμνήσω vel ἐπιμνήσω  
 Gemoll: μνηστῶσιν Schulze

196 = Σ 594.

197–199. Artemis is “divinely tall and most divinely fair” beyond the other goddesses. Cf. § 107 f., where she is conspicuous among her attendant nymphs. In xxvii. 15 f. Artemis leads the Muses and Charites in the dance. *μεταμέλπεται*: not loosely used of dancing only; the goddess sang as she danced, according to the regular practice; cf. II 182 *μελπομένησιν ἐν χορῷ Ἀρτέμιδος*. So the Phaeacian girls sang as they played ball, § 100 f.

199. Cf. ix. 2.

201. *παίζουσ*: the verb is often used = *ὀρχεῖσθαι*: Θ 251, ψ 147, *h. Aphr.* 120. There is certainly no idea of un- gainly or ludicrous motion, as O. Müller (quoted by Baumeister) imagines, as if the two gods played the part of *κυβιστηγῆρες* (Σ 593 f.); the dance may however be thought of as “hypor- chematic” (for this see above 162).

202. *καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς* = 516. Apollo keeps time to his own music, cf. his title *ὀρχηστής* Pind. *fr.* 125, and perhaps *σκιαστής* in Laconia, which the scholiast on Lycophr. 561 explains as “the dancer.”

203. *μαρμαρυγαί*: only here and in θ 265 *μαρμαρυγὰς θηεῖτο ποδῶν*.

Schneidewin and Baumeister emend to *μαρμαρυγῆς*, unnecessarily; the *τε* is explanatory: “brightness shines around him, even the twinklings of his feet and chiton.” Possibly *αἶγλη*, rather than *μαρμαρυγαί*, may be mentally supplied to *χιτῶνος*.

204. For the pride of Leto, with whom Zeus is here associated, in her children, cf. § 106, *h. Ap.* 12, 126. *θυμὸν μέγαν*; Baumeister compares *h. Dem.* 37 *μέγαν νόον*, adding *quippe deae*. But of course such expressions are not confined to the gods; cf. I 496 *ἀλλ', Ἀχιλεῦ, δάμασον θυμὸν μέγαν*, and the common *μεγαλήτορα θυμὸν*. For the construction cf. *h. Pan* 45 *πάντες δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἐτέρφθεν*.

*εἰσορόωντες* governs *νῖα*; there is no difficulty in the intervention of the explanatory subjects *Λητώ* and *Ζεὺς*. Peppmüller's transposition of 205 and 206 is bad; Gemoll's punctuation *ἐπι- τέρπονται, θυμὸν μέγαν εἰσορόωντες* (*νῖα* in apposition to *θυμὸν*) is very clumsy.

208–213. The passage is very obscure, but it needs explanation rather than “higher criticism.” Gemoll rightly points out that it is certainly not a separate hymn, and that the theory of interpolation is simply a confession of inability to understand.



ὅπως μνωόμενος ἔκies Ἀζαντίδα κούρην,  
 Ἴσχυ' αἶμ' ἀντιθέω, Ἐλατιονίδη εὐίππῳ; 210  
 ἢ ἅμα Φόρβαντι Τριοπέω γένος, ἢ αἶμ' Ἐρευθεῖ;

209. ὀππόταν ἰέμενος M: ὀππότ' ἀνωόμενος S: ὕππος' ἀνωόμενος cet.: corr. Martin: ὀππότ' ἀγαίμενος Hermann: ἀναιρόμενος Völeker: μωόμενος Lobeck || ἀτλαντίδα M, quod legit Hermann: ἀζαντίδα cet.: ἀζανίδα Martin vel ἀβαντίδα: τιτηνίδα F. C. Matthiae 210. ἐλατιονίδη EB: ἐλατινονίδη M: ἐλατινιονίδη cet. 211 om. pAt || τριοπέω α: τριοπέω M: τριοπέω γ (=margo LI): τριοπηγενεῖ D'Orville: τριοπαγενεῖ Ruhnken: τριοπέου γένει Wolf: τριοπέω γόνῳ Hermann: τριοπέος γόνῳ vel τριοπέω γένει Postgate: τριοπέω γένος Ilgen || ἢ αἶμ' ἐρεχεῖ M (quod coniecit D'Orville): ἢ αἶμ' ἐρευθεῖ αDS: γρ. ἢ ἅμα φόρβαντι τριοπέω: ἢ ἀμαρύνῳ marg. LI (=γ): ὥς φόρβαντα—Ἀμάρυνθον Schneidewin

208. μνηστῆσιν appears to be sound, being explained by μνωόμενος; for the use of μνηστή absolute (= Homeric ἀλοχος μνηστή) cf. Apoll. Arg. A 780. It forms a kind of zeugma with φιλότῃ: "am I to sing of thee in thy love of brides?" μνηστήρῳ does not seem to be an improvement, and μνηστῶσιν is a doubtful form, μνηστῶς being only known in sing. αἰδεῖν τινα ἐν φιλότῃ may be unusual, but it is not impossible Greek, as Gemoll (after Matthiae) contends.

209. μνωόμενος is Martin's brilliant conjecture. We may suppose that μνωόμενος first lost the ν, and ὅπως became ὀππος (cf. the variants on 19), when α was added to give the necessary syllable (cf., however, Plat. Rep. 401 c ἀνεμύμενοι for νεμύμενοι).

Ἀζαντίδα: the next line makes it almost certain that the reference here is to Coronis. According to Hes. fr. 125 and Pind. Pyth. 3. 55 Ischys, the son of Elatos, was Apollo's rival in his love for Coronis (see also Paus. ii. 26. 5). Elsewhere, however, Coronis is called the daughter of Phlegyas (xvi. 2 and see reff. in Pauly-Wissowa 30; Isyllus Inscr. Pelop. et insul. vicin. 1902, i. 950). It is not impossible that here another legend is followed, in which she is the daughter of Azan (so Preller-Robert i. 2 p. 520 n. 3). Martin reads Ἀζανίδα, i.e. Arcadian; but Phlegyas is not known to have any connexion with Arcadia. For the various references to his home see Gemoll; according to one version (Paus. ix. 36. 3) he was a Phocian; hence Ἀβαντίδα (from Abae) has been suggested, but the first vowel should be short. According to another version the mother of Asclepius, by Apollo, was not Coronis but Arsinoe, whose father

Leucippus was descended from Atlas (Apollod. iii. 118, cf. 110, Paus. ii. 171). This would support M's Ἀτλαντίδα, which seems, however, either a conjecture or a graphical corruption of Ἀζαντίδα. Moreover, the legend of Ischys is not associated with Arsinoe, but with Coronis; so in the recently discovered fragments of the Hecale of Callimachus (col. iv. v 6. 7, Gomperz 1893, Ellis in J. P. xxiv. 148 f.) ὀππότε κεν Φλεγῶο Κορωνίδος ἀμφὶ θυγατρὸς | Ἴσχυι πληξίππῳ σπομένης μερόν τι πίθηται. See further reff. in Roscher ii. 359.

210. Ἐλατιονίδη: son of Ἐλατίων (=Ἐλατος), cf. Hes. l.c. Ἐλατίδης. For Elatus cf. Paus. viii. 4. On the long ῖ (-ίον-) cf. Solmsen p. 58.

211. Τριοπέω γένος: the person intended by τριοπέω γένος of the MSS. might be another μνηστή, in which case γένος would be objective acc., "child" (an echo of which might be τριοπέω γόνον, the reading of one ms. Callim. h. Dem. 24). But as Phorbas was the son of Triopas (Paus. viii. 26. 12, Hyg. Astr. ii. 14) γένος is certainly acc. of respect, "by descent," for which cf. E 544, 896 etc. The two words therefore balance Ἐλατιονίδη in 210, and the dative of a patronymic form must be extracted from τριοπέω or τριοπέω. The latter points to a synizesis, and the conditions are satisfied by Τριοπέω, which must be the dative of Τριοπέος, formed direct from Τριοψ (=Τριοπας, Apollod. i. 7. 4. 2 Τριοπα, 3 Τριοπος gen.), since the actual adj. in use from Τριοπας is Τριοπέος; cf. C. I. Sic. et It. 1890, no. 1389. This would be parallel to Ἀγαμεμνονέην ἀλοχον γ 264, Δεινομένειε παῖ Pind. Pyth. 2. 18 and other formations; see Leo B. B. iv. 1-21 die homer.



ἢ ἅμα Λευκίππῳ καὶ Λευκίπποιῳ δάμαρτι  
 πεζός, ὁ δ' ἵπποισιν; οὐ μὴν Τρίοπος γ' ἐνέλειπεν. [35]  
 ἢ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον χρηστήριον ἀνθρώποισι

212. ἢ ἅμα Ἀρσίππῳ τὴν Λευκίπποιῳ εὐγάτρα Ilgen 213. ἐνέλειπεν SAQ :  
 ἐλέλιπεν M : lacunas et ante et post hunc versum stat. Hermann || τρίοπας Ilgen  
 214. ὥς] καὶ ELT

*Vaternamen*, Kuhner-Blass *l.c.*, Zacher in *Diss. Phil. Hal.* 1878, p. 59 f.

Phorbas is here the rival of Apollo; according to Hyg. *l.c.*, Plut. *Num.* 4 he was beloved by the god. Schneidewin's alteration of ἅμα to ὥς is not justified.

Ἐρευνεῖ: nothing is known of an Ereuthus, and there is much probability in γ's ἀμαρόνθω, which has nearly all elements in common with ἀμ' ἐρευνεῖ. But any connexion of Apollo and Amarynthus is merely a matter of inference from this passage (Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa 28 denies it). D'Orville conjectured and some of the earlier editors printed Ἐρεχθεῖ, after M; but this is not supported by any known myth of Erechtheus.

212. ἅμα Λευκίππῳ: the allusion is to Daphne, who was loved by Leucippus and Apollo. Paus. viii. 20. 3 f. says that Apollo was angry with Leucippus, who ἐς φίλῳν ἰσχυρὰν ἐπάγεται τὴν Δάφνην, under the guise of a woman. Daphne and her other companions discovered his sex and slew him. This account does not justify Gemoll in giving δάμαρ its proper sense of "wife," but there may have been another version, in which Daphne actually became the wife of Leucippus. In any case the dative δάμαρτι is remarkable; if the reference is to Apollo's love for Daphne, we should expect the accusative as in 209. It is possible that Λευκίππῳ has taken the place of some other name, owing to the proximity of Λευκίπποιῳ. Ilgen's ἅμα Ἀρσίππῳ τὴν Λευκίπποιῳ θυγάτρα would refer to Arsinoe, daughter of Leucippus (see on 209). The passage seems incurable.

213. The line is hopeless; it is very possible that there is a lacuna, before or after this verse, or before and after (Hermann). Owing to the obscurity of 212, it is not clear whether a new achievement of Apollo is mentioned in the words, πεζός, ὁ δ' ἵπποισιν which seem to refer to some contest between Apollo, on foot, and a rival, in a chariot. Schneidewin's idea that this contest is

between Apollo and Idas, for the love of Marpessa, does not suit the following words οὐ μὴν Τρίοπος γ' ἐνέλειπεν, which he has therefore to eject as a gloss on 211. His explanation that ἐνέλειπεν or ἐνέλειπεν is a corruption of a scribe's marginal note ἐλλείπει, although quoted with approval by Baumeister and Verrall (p. 8), cannot be accepted. The Greek, as it stands, can be construed; "he (Apollo's rival) fell not short of Triops"; for Τρίοψ = Τρίοπας see on 211, otherwise the nom. Τρίοπας might be read as subject. But the uncertainty of the context makes explanation mere guess-work.

214 f. Apollo starts from Olympus in search of a place for his oracle. It is to be noted that there is no mention of Delos as a starting-point; the continental poet has no interest in the island. Later, when the Delian and Pythian myths were systematised, Apollo was supposed to have journeyed from Delos to Delphi (first in Pind. *fr.* 286 = schol. on Aesch. *Eum.* 11); Pindar made Apollo alight at Tanagra. This was thought a mistake for Tegyra (see on 16) by O. Müller *Orch.* p. 161; but Pindar no doubt referred to the district Δῆλιον on the Tanagraean coast (Thuc. iv. 76, Paus. ix. 20. 1) which was a religious colony from Delos (Strabo 403). According to Aesch. *Eum.* 9 f. and the Delphian hymn (*B. C. H.* xviii. p. 345 f. v. 14 f.) Apollo started from Delos and landed at Athens; thence he travelled by the sacred road of the θεωροί (cf. on 280, *Eum.* 12 f., Ephorus ap. Strab. 422); see Preller-Robert i. p. 239 n. 1, Pauly-Wissowa 24.

In the hymn, the age of Apollo at the founding of the oracle is indeterminate. In later times, after the connexion with the Delian myth, Apollo was a child, or was even carried to Delphi in his mother's arms (Eur. *I. T.* 1250, Clearch. ap. Athen. 701 c); he slew the Python when four days' old (Hyg. *fab.* 140), or while still a youth (Apoll. *Arg.* B 707).



ζητεύων κατὰ γαίαν ἔβης, ἑκατηβόλ' Ἀπολλων; 215  
 Πιερίην μὲν πρῶτον ἀπ' Οὐλύμπιοιο κατήλθες.  
 Λέκτον τ' ἡμαθόεντα παρέστιχες ἦδ' Αἰνιήνας,  
 καὶ διὰ Περραιβοὺς· τάχα δ' εἰς Ἰαωλκὸν ἵκανες, [40]  
 Κηναίου τ' ἐπέβης ναυσικλείτης Εὐβοίης·  
 στῆς δ' ἐπὶ Ληλάντῳ πεδίῳ, τό τοι οὐχ ἄδε θυμῷ 220  
 τεύξασθαι νηὸν τε καὶ ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα.  
 ἔνθεν δ' Εὐριπον διαβάς, ἑκατηβόλ' Ἀπολλων,  
 βῆς ἄν' ὄρος ζάθεον χλωρόν· τάχα δ' ἵξες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ [45]

215. ἀπόλλωνος *p* (ἄπολλον marg. Γ') 216. πιερίην S: πετρίην M: πιερίης  
 xAtD: πιερίη *p* 217. λεύκον Ilgen: λευκῶν vel Λεῖβηρ Matthiae: Λύγκον  
 Hermann: Λάκμων Baumeister || ἡμαθίην τε Matthiae || ἠδ' ἀγνιήνας M: ἡ

μαγνιήνας *y* (in textu ET, in marg. LII): ἡ μαγνηίδας x(LII)*p* (ἡ μαγνηίδας Γ):  
 μαγνηίδας At: corr. Matthiae: ἡ Μαγνηάτας Barnes: ἡ Μαγνηάτας D'Orville (si  
 prima corrūpti possit) 218. ἰωλκὸν codd. (ἰολκὸν M): corr. Barnes 220. τό  
 τοι] τότῃ Ruhnken: ἔδε ed. pr.: οὐχάδε codd. (ἔδε II) 223. ἵξες T: ἵξες x*p*:  
 ἵξας OS: εἵξας M; cf. 230, 278, 411, 438 || ἀπ' M ed. pr.: ἐπ' cet.

216. Πιερίην: the acc. is necessary; the gen. (*x*) and dat. (*p*) seem corrections. For the sense cf.  $\Sigma$  225 f. λίπεν ῥίον Οὐλύμπιοιο, | Πιερίην δ' ἐπιβάσα καὶ Ἡμαθίην ἐρατεινήν κτλ. See  $\epsilon$  50. Pieria is strictly N. of Olympus, whereas Apollo was coming south. The poet appears to have borrowed from  $\Sigma$  without due care (in  $\Sigma$  the geography is right, as Hera is going to Thrace).

217. Λέκτον τ' ἡμαθόεντα: no Λέκτος is known in Europe and the Trojan promontory of that name is out of the question; but, with the example of Λυτοκάνη in 35, it would be rash to assume that the mss. are here corrupt, and therefore the conjectures (of which Baumeister's Λάκμων is the best) may be neglected. Since Lectus may have been a town or harbour, or even a river, ἡμαθόεντα may also stand, in spite of the ingenuity of Matthiae's Ἡμαθίην τε, which rests on  $\Sigma$  226, quoted *supra* 216. The same critic, with equal brilliance, mended the rest of the line. Αἰνιήνας: this form may be preferred to Ἐνιήνας (M's ἀγνιήνας is nearest; cf. Hes. *Op.* 394 ἀγνῇ mss., αἰνῇ a quotation; in the other mss. the tradition was obscured, though a trace of it remains in *y*). Ἐνιήνης is found only in B 749 (where the Bodl. pap. class. Ms. gr. a. i (P), Oxyrhynch. pap. ii. xxi. and the quotation ap. schol. on

Soph. *El.* 706 read αἰνιήνης) and Herod. vii. 132, where one ms. "R" gives αἰνιήνης. In Eur. (*I. A.* 277), Thuc., and later the form is generally αἰν-. The  $\epsilon$  is called Ionic, although neither Smyth *Ionic* § 141 nor Hoffmann p. 266 give the form under the head of Ionic  $\epsilon = \alpha$ . The spelling may be merely an itacism, helped by a desire to avoid the synizesis -ιη, which is not harsher than the Homeric *σχετλή*, *Αἰγυπτίη*, *Ἰστιάα*. Fick *Ilias* p. 417 calls Ἐνιήνης doubtful. The people are coupled with the Perrhaebi in B 749, as dwellers about Dodona and by the Titaresius and Peneius; both of these rivers are S. of Olympus.

218 f. The geography is here accurate. From Iolcus (N. of the gulf of Pagasae) Apollo passes, either along the coast of Phthiotis or across the gulf, to Ceneae, a promontory at the extreme NW. of Euboea (see Soph. *Trach.* 752). He thus reaches the Lelantine plain, which lay between Chalcis and Eretria. This district became famous about 700 B.C. as the bone of contention between the two cities. See Duncker iii. ch. viii., Holm i. ch. xxi. Chalcis was situated on the narrowest part of the Euripus, over which Apollo crosses to the mainland.

223. The omission of the name of the mountain is unusual; perhaps, as Baumeister suggests, the poet was not



ἐς Μυκαλησσὸν ἰὼν καὶ Τευμησσὸν λεχεποῖην.  
 Θήβης δ' εἰσαφίκανες ἔδος καταειμένον ὕλη· 225  
 οὐ γάρ πώ τις ἔναιε βροτῶν ἱερῇ ἐνὶ Θήβῃ,  
 οὐδ' ἄρα πω τότε γ' ἦσαν ἀταρπιτοὶ οὐδὲ κέλευθοι  
 Θήβης ἅμ πεδίον πυρηνφόρον, ἀλλ' ἔχεν ὕλη. [50]  
 ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω ἔκιες, ἑκατηβόλ' Ἀπολλων,  
 Ὀρχηστὸν δ' ἴξες, Ποσιδῆϊον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος· 230

224. TESTIMONIUM. Steph. Byz. Τευμησσός, ὄρος Βοιωτίας. "Ὁμηρος ἐν τῷ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ὕμνῳ. "Ἄστυ, ὡς Δημοσθένης ἐν τρίτῳ Βιθυνιακῶν. Μυκαλησσὸν ἰὼν κτλ. (vide praef. p. xlix f.).

224. ΤΕΥΜΗΣΣΟΝ α: ΤΕΛΜΗΣΣΟΝ ρ: ΤΕΜΜΙΣΟΝ Μ 227. πω τότε pD: πώποτε cet. 228. ὙΛΗΝ codd.: corr. Barnes 230. ὈΓΧΗΣΤΟΝ codd.: prosodiam cor- reximus Herodiano i. 223. 29 obsecuti, cf. h. Herm. 88, 186, 190 || ἴζεσ S ed. pr.: ἴζεσ Μ: ἴζεσ cet., cf. 223

only familiar with the locality, but also assumes the same knowledge on the part of his hearers. The mountain is no doubt the Messapius opposite Chalcis; see Aesch. *Ag.* 284, Paus. ix. 22. 5, Strabo 405.

224. ΜΥΚΑΛΗΣΣΟΝ: a town at the foot of Messapius; it was in ruins by the time of Pausanias (ix. 19. 4). See Frazer *ad loc.* who identifies it with the modern *Rhitzona*. Between this place and Teumessus was Harma, where *πυθαισταί* allowed the *θεοῖαι* to proceed to Delphi, or prevented them, according to the result of divination by lightning (Strabo 404).

ΤΕΥΜΗΣΣΟΝ: *Mesovouni*, a village or small town on the slopes of a low hill, about five miles from Thebes. See Frazer on Paus. ix. 19. 1. The hill itself is bare and rocky, and the epithet *λεχεποῖην* seems quite inappropriate. Frazer suggests that the ancients may have extended the name Teumessus to include the hills on the south (now called Mount Soros), which are less bare. Nonnus (*Dionys.* v. 59 f.) and Statius (*Theb.* i. 485) speak of Teumessus as grassy and wooded; Antimachus (ap. Ar. *Rhet.* iii. 1408 a 1) as *ἡμεῖς ὀλίγος λόφος*, which Strabo 409 thinks unsuitable. There is the same variant *τελμησσόν* in the mss. of Eur. *Phoen.* 1100. On the etymology see Wackernagel *K. Z.* xxviii p. 121, Bechtel *B. B.* xxvi. p. 148.

226. Baumeister, who holds the poet

(of this part of the hymn) to have been a Boeotian, understands the reason for the supposed non-existence of Thebes to be due to feelings of patriotism. A Boeotian could not allow the chief city of his country to be passed over by Apollo without honour. Possibly, however, the poet wished to lay emphasis on the extreme antiquity of the Pythian oracle by claiming for it a greater age than for Thebes, which was itself reputed to be a very ancient city. Tradition held that there were other inhabited towns in Boeotia before the foundation of Thebes (cf. Conon's *διγγήσεις* ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 137 b 27). The Catalogue (B 505) mentions *Ἰσμήνιος* only. In historical times Apollo *Ἰσμήνιος* was worshipped as an oracular god at Thebes; Herod. i. 52, 92, viii. 134; Paus. ix. 10.

228. ὙΛΗ for ὕλην is an admirable conjecture of Barnes. The accusative must have arisen from a tendency to be influenced by the nearest apparent construction.

230. ὈΓΧΗΣΤΟΝ: the precinct of Poseidon at Onchestus was famous from early times; cf. B 506 Ὀρχηστὸν θ' ἱερὸν, Ποσιδῆϊον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος, Hes. *fr.* 41 (Rzach), Pind. *Isthm.* i. 33, iii. 19. Pausanias (ix. 26. 3) saw the ruins of the town, temple (with statue of Poseidon still standing) and precinct; Strabo (412) speaks of the grove as bare and treeless in his day. On the site see Frazer on Paus. *loc.*



ἔνθα νεοδμῆς πῶλος ἀναπνέει ἀχθόμενός περ  
 ἔλκων ἄρματα καλά, χαμαὶ δ' ἐλατῆρ ἀγαθός περ  
 ἐκ δίφροιο θορὼν ὁδὸν ἔρχεται· οἱ δὲ τέως μὲν [55]  
 κείν' ὄχρα κροτέουσιν ἀνακτορίην ἀφιέντες.  
 εἰ δέ κεν ἄρματ' ἀγῆσιν ἐν ἄλσει δενδρήεντι, 235  
 ἵππους μὲν κομέουσι, τὰ δὲ κλίναντες ἐῶσιν·

231. ἀναπνέει MN: ἀναπνέει cet. || περ] κἄρ Ilgen 232 om. MBO 233.  
 οἱ δὲ p ed. pr.: οὐδὲ cet. || μὲν] γε Ilgen 234. κείν' S: κείν' cet. (κείνον M) ||  
 κροτέουσιν M 235. ἀγῆσιν codd.: corr. Ilgen (ἀγῆσι): ἀγῆσι Cobet: ἄγῶσιν  
 Barnes

231-238. The custom at Onchestus is puzzling, as the account in the hymn is obscurely worded, and is our sole authority. Most scholars have followed Böttiger in explaining the custom as a mode of divination: if the horses entered the ἄλσος the omen was favourable; see Bouché-Leclercq *Divination* i p. 150. This and similar views, however, depend on Barnes' emendation ἀγῶσιν, which cannot be accepted (see on 235). Ilgen first gave a clue, by a suggestion that there is a reference to Poseidon *παρά-ιππος*. A bolting or shying horse was often thought to be panic-stricken by that god (see Paus. vi. 20. 15 with Frazer's note). The present editors have discussed the passage in *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 274 f. (T. W. A.) and *J. H. S.* xix. p. xxxix f. (E. E. S.). It is possible that the custom was the ordinary rule of the road: Poseidon was offended at wheeled traffic which passed his home; but the horses were allowed a chance; if they bolted and broke the carriage, the driver had to leave the wreckage in the precinct. In any case the owners kept the horses (see note on κομέουσι 236).

It is hard to believe, however, that this inconvenient practice was a regular "rule of the road"; moreover νεοδμῆς πῶλος is forcible and scarcely looks like a poetic expression for any horse. The custom may rather have been practised with newly broken colts. All horses belonged to the horse-god Poseidon, who might refuse to allow his sacred animals to bear the yoke. The colts were passed before the god; if they drew the carriage safely through, or past, his precinct, they might be driven by men; if they broke away from the chariot, Poseidon claimed them for his own. The owners could indeed retain them, but not for the indignity of a yoke; the chariot was

left in the grove, as being marked by Poseidon's displeasure.

231. ἀναπνέει, "gains new life," through the inspiration of the horse-god.

233. ὁδὸν ἔρχεται: Martial iv. 55. 23 et sanctum Euradonis ilicetum | per quod vel piger ambulat viator has a verbal similarity (ambulat=ὁδὸν ἔρχεται); but there the reason for walking is obscure; Martial may refer to the beauty of the scenery or the sanctity of the grove.

234. κείν' ὄχρα κροτέουσιν=O 453; cf. A 160.

ἀνακτορίην: not in Homer, and only here of "driving," but ἀναξ="master" of a horse etc. is Homeric; for the general sense "lordship" cf. *Apoll. Arg.* A 839, v. ap. Paus. x. 12. 6.

235. ἀγῆσιν: this is practically the manuscript reading, and is certainly right. Barnes' ἀγῶσιν should not have been accepted by Baumeister and others. As Gemoll sees, ἐν ἄλσει δενδρήεντι cannot follow a verb of motion; we should have expected ἐς ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα. The meaning of ἀγῆσιν may be either "broken to fragments" or more probably, "broken off at the end of the pole"; cf. Z 40, II 371.

236. κομέουσι: the subject can only be the owners of the horses. κομῆν means to "groom," "look after" horses in *Θ* 109, 113; but, more generally, to "keep" animals, as in *ρ* 310, 319, *Anth. Pal.* vii. 717. 3. There can be no reference to the consecration of the colts to Poseidon as ἀφετοί.

κλίναντες: probably the carriage was propped against the temple-wall; cf. *Θ* 435, δ 42 ἄρματα δ' ἐκλιναν πρὸς ἐνώπια παμφανδύοντα. ἐῶσιν almost certainly implies that the chariots were left permanently as ἀναθήματα, or possibly were sold; in the latter case δίφρον δὲ θεοῦ τότε μούρα φυλάσσει is rather euphemistic.



ὥς γὰρ τὰ πρότισθ' ὅσιν γένεθ'· οἱ δὲ ἄνακτι  
 εὔχονται, δίφρον δὲ θεοῦ τότε μοῖρα φυλάσσει. [60]  
 ἔνθεν δὲ προτέρω ἔκies, ἑκατηβόλ' Ἄπολλον·  
 Κηφισσὸν δ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα κινήσας καλλιρέεθρον, 240  
 ὃς τε Λιλαίηθεν προχέει καλλιῤροον ὕδωρ·  
 τὸν διαβύς, Ἐκάεργε, καὶ Ὠκαλέην πολύπυργον  
 ἔνθεν ἄρ' εἰς Ἀλάρτον ἀφίκεο ποιήεντα. [65]

242. πολύπυρον Barnes 243. Ἀλάρτον ex ἄμαρτον man. sec. Γ (idem corr. Martin, Casaubon, Holstein) : ἄμαρτον vel ἄμαρτον cet.

The sale of duplicate or damaged objects from temple treasures is known from inscriptions; cf. Homolle in Daremberg and Saglio s.v. *Donarium* p. 381. 2.

·238. εὔχονται: the prayer was apparently to propitiate the god's wrath.

240 sq. The geography here is difficult. Haliartus lies between Onchestus and Ocalea, and the Cephissus or Melas flowed across the northern part of the Copais lake, and would not be crossed at any point by the road from Thebes to Panopeus. We can hardly with Ilgen suppose Apollo to have gone round the whole lake (e.g. to Tegyra) turning N. at this point; and the transpositions and excisions of other editors are even less available. The writer, like the author of the Catalogue, was indifferent to the order of places on a route (cf. his lists of places 30 f., 422 f.), and may therefore be allowed to have transposed Haliartus and Ocalea; but it is hard to imagine a poet whom there are grounds for calling Boeotian (Introd. p. 67 f.) making the stream which actually separates Onchestus and Haliartus (usually identified with the Lophis) into the Cephissus. By the date of the hymn no doubt the old Minyan system of drainage had broken down, and Copais had become, as it remained till a few years ago, in the winter a sheet of water, in the summer a dry swamp intersected by various rivers and canals. It may therefore be suggested (1) that the writer meant *Κηφισός* for the lake, somewhat as in 280 he locates Panopeus *Κηφισίδος ἐγγύθι λίμνης*, while it was in reality near the river; (2) or that the entire water-system, rivers and canals, may have been considered branches of the Cephissus, and that the southernmost canal with its tributaries (which

came close to Haliartus and Onchestus, and actually joined the Melas at the NW. corner of the lake) may have been known by that name. Strabo 407 says distinctly that the Melas flows through the land of Haliartus. There was much confusion of names in this submerged country; even a resident antiquary like Plutarch (*Sulla* 20, *Pelop.* 16) mistook the Cephissus for the Melas, and Strabo 412 accuses Alcaeus of misplacing Onchestus and misspelling the name of a river. Cf. Frazer *Paus.* vol. v. p. 110 f., with his map.

241. The line is quoted by a schol. on B 523 as from Hesiod: ὁ δὲ Κηφισὸς ποταμός ἐστι τῆς Φωκίδος, ἔχων τὰς πηγὰς ἐκ Λιλαίας, ὥς φησιν Ἡσίοδος ὅς τε Λιλαίῃσι προτεῖ καλλιῤροον ὕδωρ. See Eusth. *ad loc.* (p. 275), who quotes the line in the form given by the mss. here. Baumeister most improbably supposes that the scholiast took the line from the hymn, which he thought to be Hesiodic. The Homeric scholia uniformly ignore the hymns. Probably there was actually a Hesiodic line, which the author of the hymn has borrowed, with or without variation. For Lilaia and the source of the Cephissus see Frazer on Paus. x. 33. 5.

242. Ὠκαλέην: B 501; it was near lake Copais, and 30 stadia from Haliartus (for which cf. B 503 ποιήενθ' Ἀλάρτον). Strabo ix. p. 410. For Haliartus see Frazer on Paus. ix. 32. 5.

πολύπυργον: the word does not occur elsewhere; but cf. ἑπύργος of Troy, H 71. It must be confessed, however, that the title is strange, for a small and unimportant town, and Barnes' πολύπυρον is attractive; cf. A 756 etc., and π 396 Δουλιχίου πολυπύρου ποιήεντος (so ποιήεντα 243).



βῆς δ' ἐπὶ Τελφούσης· τόθι τοι ἄδε χῶρος ἀπήμων  
τεύξασθαι νηὸν τε καὶ ἄλσεα δενδρήεντα. 245

στῆς δὲ μάλ' ἄγχ' αὐτῆς καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπες·

Τελφοῦς, ἐνθάδε δὴ φρονέω περικαλλέα νηὸν  
ἀνθρώπων τεύξαι χρηστήριον, οἳ τέ μοι αἰεὶ [70]

ἐνθάδ' ἀγινήσουσι τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας,

ἡμὲν ὅσοι Πελοπόννησον πείραιν ἔχουσιν, 250

ἡδ' ὅσοι Εὐρώπην τε καὶ ἀμφιρύτους κατὰ νήσους,

244. Τελφούσης Γ: δελφούσης cet. || τοι ΜΕ: οἱ cet. || ἄδε Σρ: ἄδε Μα:   
corr. ed. Aldina prima, cf. 22 || ἀμύμων pro ἀπύμων Ernesti 247. Τελφοῦς Μ:   
δελφοῦς cet. 249. ἐνεάδ'] πολλοὶ Μ 251. εὐρώπην] ἡπειρον Reiz ||   
ἀμφιρύτους Μ

244. Τελφούσης: here and in 247, 256, 276 the mss. vary between the forms Τελφούσα and δελφούσα. Other spellings are found: Τιλφώσσα Pindar in Strabo 411, Herodian ap. Steph. Byz. There was a temple of Apollo Τιλφώσσιος at that place; in Dem. xix. 141, 148, Theopomp. fr. 240 it is called τὸ Τιλφωσσαῖον; cf. Ephor. fr. 67 Τιλφωσέων ὄρος ἐν Ἀλαλκομενίᾳ, Apollod. iii. 7. 4. 3 Τιλφούσσα. Pausanias uses the forms Τιλφούσα, Τιλφούσιον ὄρος (ix. 33. 1). In Arcadia we find the name of a town and local nymph Θέλπουσα (Paus. viii. 35; coins with ΘΕΛ, Head *Hist. Num.* p. 382). All these forms are doubtless connected with the root θάλπ-, i.e. "warm-spring" (Pott *K. Z.* viii. p. 416). As to the ms. δελφούσης, while there is no evidence for a local form in δ, Androtion fr. 2 speaks of Δελφούσα in Arcadia, and Steph. Byz. calls the stream at Delphi Δελφούσα. The interchange of τ and δ is not uncommon, e.g. δρύφακτος τρύφακτος, δάπιδες τάπητες (see Kretschmer *K. Z.* xxxiii. p. 467). It is therefore possible that Δελφούσα is a real form; otherwise it must be a scribe's error due to the association of Δελφοί, Δελφίνιος etc.

The spring at Telphusa has been identified at the foot of Mt. Tilphusius, "a spur of Helicon which advances to within a few hundred paces of what used to be the margin of the lake," i.e. Copais (Frazer on Paus. l.c.).

ἀπύμων, "peaceful"; the word is not applied to places in Homer, but cf. νόστος ἀπῆμων δ 519. So Hes. *Op.* 670 (πόντος). The idea is explained by 262.

250. Πελοπόννησον: not in Homer;

but cf. *Cypria* 6. 3 νῆσον ἅπασαν | Τανταλίδου Πέλοπος. For Hesiod cf. schol. A on I 246 τὴν δὴν Πελοπόννησον οὐκ οἶδεν ὁ ποιητής, Ἡσίοδος δέ. On compounds in -νησον see Fick *B. B.* xxii. p. 29.

251. Εὐρώπην: "Europe" here apparently means N. Greece. It is quite reasonable to suppose that the geographical term, like Ἀσία and Ἑλλάς was gradually extended, as men's knowledge of the world widened. Steph. Byz. and *E. M.* 397. 45 derive Εὐρώπην from Εὐρωπός, a Macedonian city (Thuc. ii. 100). The etymology is so far valuable, in that it points to a belief among the ancients themselves, that "Europe" was once a term for N. Greece; Hegesippus (fr. 6, *F. H. G.* v. 422 f.), a native of Mecyberna, states that Europe was used in the narrow sense: ἀφ' ἧς (sc. Europa) καὶ ἡ ἡπειρος πᾶσα ἢ πρὸς βορέαν ἀνεμὸν Εὐρώπην κέκληται. Fick (*B. B.* xxii. p. 225) explains the meaning by "flatland," opposed to στενωπός. M. Arnold's paraphrase "Wide Prospect" rests on an explanation (of Hermann) that Europe was the broad expanse of land stretching from Thrace to the Peloponnese, as it appeared to the Greeks in Asia Minor.

Steph. Byz. (s.v. Ἀσία) observes that Homer does not know Εὐρώπην. But the substitution of ἡπειρον (Reiz, Gemoll), on this ground, is quite unjustifiable. It is true that Stephanus considers the hymn to be Homer's (cf. on 224); but he may easily have overlooked the present passage, and he could not fail to be struck by the absence of the word in the *Il.* and *Od.*



χρησόμενοι· τοῖσιν δέ τ' ἐγὼ νημερτέα βουλὴν  
πᾶσι θεμιστεύοιμι χρέων ἐνὶ πίνονι νηῶ.

[75]

ὥς εἰπὼν διέθηκε θεμείλια Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
εὐρέα καὶ μάλα μακρὰ διηνεκές· ἡ δὲ ἰδοῦσα  
Τελφοῦσα κραδίην ἐχολώσατο εἰπέ τε μῦθον·

255

Φοῖβε ἄναξ ἐκάεργε, ἔπος τί τοι ἐν φρεσὶ θήσω,  
ἐνθάδ' ἐπεὶ φρονέεις τεύξαι περικαλλέα νηόν,  
ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώποις χρηστήριον, οἳ δέ τοι αἰεὶ  
ἐνθάδ' ἀγινήσουσι τεληέσσας ἐκατόμβας·

[80]

260

ἀλλ' ἔκ τοι ἐρέω, σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ βάλλεο σῆσι·  
πημανέει σ' αἰεὶ κτύπος ἵππων ὠκειῶν,  
ἀρδόμενοί τ' οὐρῆες ἐμὼν ἱερῶν ἀπὸ πηγέων·

[85]

ἔνθα τις ἀνθρώπων βουλήσεται εἰσοράσθαι  
ἄρματά τ' εὐποίητα καὶ ὠκυπόδων κτύπον ἵππων,  
ἡ νηόν τε μέγαν καὶ κτήματα πόλλ' ἐνέοντα.

265

ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ τι πίθοιο, σὺ δὲ κρείσσων καὶ ἀρείων  
ἔσσι, ἄναξ, ἐμέθεν, σεῦ δὲ σθένος ἐστὶ μέγιστον,  
ἐν Κρίσῃ ποίησαι ὑπὸ πτυχὶ Παρνησοῖο.

[90]

ἐνθ' οὐθ' ἄρματα καλὰ δονήσεται, οὔτε τοι ἵππων  
ὠκυπόδων κτύπος ἔσται ἐϋδμητον περὶ βωμόν.

270

269. TESTIMONIUM. Paus. x. 37. 5 "Ὅμηρος μέντοι Κρίσαν ἐν τε Ἰλιάδι ὁμοίως καὶ ὕμνῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνόματι τῷ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καλεῖ τὴν πόλιν.

252. κ' pro τ' Ilgen 253. θεμιστεύοιμι BΓ 255. ἡ δ' εἰδοῦσα codd.: corr. Hermann cl. 341 256. τελφοῦσα M: θελφοῦσα cet. 259. ἀνθρώποις p: ἀνθρώποισι MzD 260. τελειέσσας pET 261-289 om. ET 261. ἀλλ' Peppmüller 263. πηγῶν M 269. κρίσι M: κρίσαι V: κρίσση cet. || παρνησοῖο M: παρνασσοῖο cet. (παρνασοῖο DS)

253. θεμιστεύοιμι: Ilgen reads κ' for τ' in 252, but the concessive optative may stand. The sense is "I am willing to prophesy"; cf. *H. G.* § 299 (*d*). Lines 252, 253=292, 293, where M has ἀρ', the rest ἄν.

254. διέθηκε: the verb is not found in Homer or Hesiod, and does not seem to occur elsewhere in serious poetry, though common in Attic prose. Cf. Callim. *h. Ap.* 57 αὐτὸς δὲ θεμείλια Φοῖβος ὑφαλπει.

257f. Editors commonly punctuate with a colon at *θήσω*, assuming an aposiopesis or change of construction after 260. The punctuation in the text seems to avoid all difficulty. Pepp-

müller places a colon at *θήσω*, but reads ἀλλ' for ἀλλ', comparing the common ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω σὺ δ' ἐνὶ φρεσὶ κτλ. But ἄλλο here is scarcely appropriate. *ἔπος τι κτλ.* = T 121.

265. κτύπον: ἀκούειν must be mentally supplied, from *εἰσοράσθαι*. The zeugma here is very similar to that in ι 167 (*ἐλεύσσομεν*) *καπνὸν τ' αὐτῶν τε φθογγήν*. For *ὠκυπόδων* κτλ. cf. K 535.

269. ἐν Κρίσῃ: for the place see on 439.

270. This line seems to prove that the hymn (or at least this part of it) is older than the introduction of the Pythian games. See *Introd.* p. 67, and note on 542.



ἀλλά τοι ὥς προσάγοιεν Ἰηπαιήου δῶρα  
ἀνθρώπων κλυτὰ φύλα, σὺ δὲ φρένας ἀμφιγεγηθῶς [95]  
δέξαι' ἱερὰ καλὰ περικτιόνων ἀνθρώπων.

ὥς εἰποῦς' Ἐκάτου πέπιθε φρένας, ὄφρα οἱ αὐτῇ 275  
Τελφούσῃ κλέος εἴη ἐπὶ χθονί, μῆδ' Ἐκάτοιο.  
ἐνθεν δὲ προτέρω ἔκies, ἑκατηβόλ' Ἀπολλον,  
ἴξes δ' ἐς Φλεγύων ἀνδρῶν πόλιν ὕβριστῶν, [100]  
οἳ Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγοντες ἐπὶ χθονὶ ναιετάασκον  
ἐν καλῇ βήσση Κηφισίδος ἐγγύθι λίμνης. 280

272. ἀλλά τοι M: ἀλλὰ καὶ cet.: ἀλλ' ἀκέων Baumeister || προάγοιεν xDS

274. θέσαι MxDS: θέσαιo p: corr. Ilgen: θέσαι Bergk 276. τελφούσῃ M:

τ  
δελφούσῃ L: δελφούσῃ cet. 278. ἴξes SP: ἴξes vel ἴξes cet. 279. ναιετά-  
εσκον M

272. ἀλλά τοι seems an improvement on the vulgate ἀλλὰ καί, since Telphusa's argument is to present the advantages of Crisa throughout: at Telphusa the horses and chariots will divert men's attention from the temple; but at Crisa there will be no disturbance, and so men will bring gifts to Apollo. In x and p the familiarity of καὶ ὥς ousted τοι.

The optatives προσάγοιεν and θέσαιo are best taken as expressing the acquiescence of the speaker as in 253 (=293), where see note: "they may bring gifts, and thou mayest receive their sacrifices."

Ἰηπαιήου: here a title of Apollo as in Apoll. Arg. B 704. In 500, 517 *infra* the word is used of the song to Apollo. Compare the paean of Aristonous (Smyth *Melic Poets* p. 527), with the repeated formulae ἰὴ ἱὲ Παιάν, ὦ ἱὲ Παιάν, Timotheus *Pers.* 218; the latter (*fr.* 25 Wilamowitz) has also ἱὲ παιάν, the aspirate being due to the supposed connexion with ἱημι (βέλος), for which see Athen. 701c. With the origin of the word from this refrain cf. the similar history of the Linus-song, the hymeneus, and the iobacchus; the last, like Ἰηπαιήων, was a title of the god, as well as the name for the hymn. On Παιάν and Παιών see Preller-Robert i. p. 241 n. 2, p. 277 n. 2, Pauly-Wissowa *Apollon* 62, Smyth *Melic Poets* p. xxxvif., and further on 500.

273. ἀμφιγεγηθῶς: ἀμφί is not intensive ("exceedingly" L. and S.) but is to be connected with φρένας, as often, in the sense "on both sides," i.e. throughout the mind. Compare A 103 μένεος δὲ μέγα φρένες ἀμφὶ μέλαινα | πίμπλυν' :

P 83, 499, 573: Peppmüller reads ἀμφί γεγηθῶς *divinitum*, comparing Mimmerm. I 7 αἰεὶ μιν φρένας ἀμφὶ κακαὶ τείρουσι μέριμναι and Hes. *Theog.* 554 (Schoemann) χῶσατο δὲ φρένας ἀμφί, χόλος δὲ μιν ἔκετο θυμός. But although ἀμφιγεγηθῶς is ἀπ. λεγ. the compound verb is supported by Γ 442 ἔρως φρένας ἀμφεκάλυψεν, Z 355 πόνος φρένας ἀμφιβέβηκεν. On this use of ἀμφί see H. G. § 181.

274. θέσαι': the opt. is strongly supported by προσάγοιεν.

275. αὐτῇ = μόνῃ, as in Θ 99, N 729. Cf. the parallel line 381 (οἴης).

For the phrase ὄφρα . . κλέος εἴη cf. a Rhodian inscr. (*Ath. Mitth.* xvi. 117 and 357) σαμα τοῖς ἰδαμενεὺς ποιήσα ἡ.να κλεος εἴη.

278. Φλεγύων: the godless Phlegyae (or Phlegyes, Eusth. 933. 15) are like the mythical Cyclopes; cf. i 275 f. οὐ γὰρ Κύκλωπες Διὸς αἰγίοχου ἀλέγουσιν. But the Phlegyan hostility to Apollo is not mythical: the tribe attacked Pytho, from which they were repulsed by the god, only a few survivors escaping to Phocis; Paus. ix. 36. 2, x. 7. 1, Pherecydes in schol. A on N 302, schol. Pind. *Pyth.* x. 55. For their city Panopeus see Paus. x. 4. 1f. with Frazer's note. It lay 20 furlongs W. of Chaeronea.

280. Κηφισίδος λίμνης: lake Copais is so called in A 709; so in Pind. *Pyth.* xii. 27. Pausanias (ix. 24. 1) says that the lake was called by both names; he himself uses the name Cephisis by preference. The verse has been suspected on the ground that Panopeus is some distance from the lake, whereas



ἔνθεν καρπαλίμως προσέβης πρὸς δειράδα θύων,  
 ἵκεο δ' ἐς Κρίσην ὑπὸ Παρνησὸν νιφόνετα,  
 κνημὸν πρὸς ξέφυρον τετραμμένον, αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεν [105]  
 πέτρῃ ἐπικρέμαται, κοίλῃ δ' ὑποδέδρομε βῆσσα,  
 τρηχεῖ· ἔνθα ἄναξ τεκμήρατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων 285  
 νηὸν ποιήσασθαι ἐπήρατον εἰπέ τε μῦθον·

ἐνθάδε δὴ φρονέω τεύξειν περικαλλέα νηόν,  
 ἔμμεναι ἀνθρώποις χρηστήριον, οἳ τέ μοι αἰεὶ [110]  
 ἐνθάδ' ἀγνῆσουσι τεληέσσας ἑκατόμβας,  
 ἡμὲν ὅσοι Πελοπόννησον πείραυν ἔχουσιν, 290  
 ἡδ' ὅσοι Εὐρώπην τε καὶ ἀμφιρύτους κατὰ νήσους,  
 χρησόμενοι· τοῖσιν δ' ἄρ' ἐγὼ νημερτέα βουλὴν  
 πᾶσι θεμιστεύοιμι χρέων ἐνὶ πτόνι νηφ. [115]

ὥς εἰπὼν διέθηκε θεμεῖλια Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
 εὐρέα καὶ μάλα μακρὰ διηνεκές· αὐτὰρ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς 295

281. εἰσὼν Hermann: ἐριῶν vel εὐιῶν Baumeister 282. ἵκεος S || κρίσην M: κρίσσην cet. 284. πέτρος M || ὑποκρέμαται xAtDS 291. ἡδ' οἷδ' xN || ἀμφιρύτας ed. pr.: ἀμφιρύτους codd. 292. τᾶσιν xD || ἄρ M: ἄν cet. 293. θεμιστεύοιμι M: θεμιστεύοιμι cet., cf. 253 || νηφῷ βωμῷ p (νηῷ superser. NOPV) 295. μακρὰ] καλὰ M || διηνεκές M: διαμπερές codd., cf. 255

Haliartus and Onchestus are near it. The objection would be hypercritical, even if the geography of the hymn were otherwise strictly accurate; see on 240. The road from Athens to Delphi by Panopeus seems to have been a sacred way; see Frazer on Paus. x. 4. 3.

281. προσέβης = ἀνέβης, as often. The verb is followed by a direct acc. in Homer; so in 520, *h. Herm.* 99. Mommsen, quoted by Gemoll, calls the construction προσβαίνειν πρὸς prosaic; cf., however, Soph. *O. C.* 125 (with ἐς).

εὐῶν: a forcible word expressing violent motion. Hermann's *θεῶν* and other emendations are no improvement.

282. ΠΑΡΝΗΣΩΝ ΝΙΦΟΝΕΤΑ: Baumeister compares Panyasis (ap. Paus. x. 8. 9), Callim. *h. Del.* 93. For the situation of Crisa, which is correctly described, see Frazer on Paus. x. 37. 5.

283. ΚΝΗΜΩΝ: only plur. in Homer.

285. ΤΕΚΜΗΡΑΤΟ with inf. is post-Homeric; cf. Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 559 (νοστήσειν).

287-293 = 247-253.

292. ἄρ: ἄν here rests upon xρ, and cannot be defended by 252, since κ' there is only Ilgen's conjecture.

293. ΝΗΦ: βωμῷ p (but in 253 νηφ

without variant). The same variant occurs in § 162 βωμῷ codd. νηφ Plut. *de soll. an.* 283 E and in Apollod. ap. schol. Soph. *O. C.* 56. Here νηφ is necessary (with χρέων ἐνὶ), and βωμῷ may be due to ζ; the altar must have preceded the temple. See Frazer on Paus. i. 30. 2.

294 f. Building of Apollo's temple. On Delphi and the temple see Homolle *B. C. H.* xx. p. 641, 677; 703, xxi. p. 256, Pomtow *Rhein. Mus.* li. p. 329 f., Philippson and Hiller von Gärtringen in Pauly-Wissowa 2517 f.

Of the first temple, burned in *ol.* 58. 1 (= B.C. 548), and rebuilt by the Alcmaeonids (see Pauly-Wissowa 2550 f.), no traces have been found, nor any sign of a conflagration. The site was not the same as that of the later temple, but nearer the temple of Ge and the Muses.

295. The families have each diverged from the parallel line 255, M taking καλὰ for μακρὰ, and xρ διαμπερές for διηνεκές. So in μ 436 καλοὶ for μακροὶ is quoted by Apoll. *Lex.* διαμπερές may be a correction of διηνεκές, which as an adverb is not Homeric, though it occurs in Alexandrine verse.



λαῖνον οὐδὸν ἔθηκε Τροφώνιος ἡδ' Ἀγαμήδης,  
 υἱέες Ἐργίνου, φίλοι ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν·  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ νηὸν ἔνασσαν ἀθέσφατα φύλ' ἀνθρώπων [120]  
 κτιστοῖσιν λάεσσιν, αἰδιδιμον ἔμμεναι αἰεῖ.  
 ἀγχοῦ δὲ κρήνη καλλίρροος, ἔνθα δράκαιναν 300

297. υἱέες ἔργινου S ed. pr. : υἱέες σεργίνου cet. 299. κτιστοῖσιν] ζεστοῖσιν  
 Ernesti : τυκτοῖσιν Allen : vulg. servat Matthiae

296 f. Either this passage, or the *Telegonia* of Eugammon (Kinkel *Ep. gr. fragm.* i. p. 57) is the first mention of Trophonius and Agamedes as early builders; see Kern in Pauly-Wissowa art. "Agamedes." For other accounts of their parentage and relationship see Paus. ix. 37. 3, Charax ap. schol. Arist. *Nub.* 508 = *F. H. G.* iii. p. 637. They occupy a position in architecture similar to that of Daedalus in sculpture. For buildings attributed to them cf. Paus. viii. 10. 2 (wooden temple of Poseidon), id. ix. 11. 1 (θάλαμος of Alemena), Charax l.c. (golden treasury of Augeas, or of Hyrieus, at Elis; and, by Trophonius, his own shrine at Lebadeia).

According to Paus. x. 5. 9 f. it was the fourth temple that was built by Trophonius and Agamedes. The hymn-writer knows nothing of the later Delphian tradition that the earliest temple was of laurel-wood, the second of bees' wax and wings, and the third of bronze.

296. ΛΑΪΝΟΝ ΟΥΔΩΝ: the οὐδὸς built by the sons of Erginus is here distinguished from the νηὸς built by "the tribes of men" (298). The οὐδὸς may therefore be the *adytum* as opposed to the *cella*; cf. Steph. Byz. Δελφοί· ἔνθα τὸ ἄδυνον κατεσκεύασται ἐκ πέντε λίθων, ἔργον Τροφωνίου καὶ Ἀγαμήδους. Probably, however, the two architects laid the first courses (οὐδὸς) of the whole temple, on the plan traced by Apollo; the building was then finished by other workmen. In this case ἀμφὶ (298) would mean "all round," i.e. over the whole of the foundations. ΛΑΪΝΟΣ οὐδὸς is applied to the temple at Pytho in I 404, Θ 80; in the latter passage, at all events, οὐδὸς must be the threshold (ὑπέρβη λαῖνον οὐδὸν).

For the building of the temple by Trophonius and Agamedes cf. also Pind. ap. Plutarch. *consol. ad Apollon.* 14, [Plato] *Axiach.* 367 c, Strabo 421, Cic. *Tusc.* i. 47.

297. Ἐργίνου: the "workman" or "builder."

ΦΙΛΟΙ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΙΣΙ ΘΕΟΪΣΙΝ: Baumeister refers to the story of their death, caused by Apollo in answer to their prayer for a reward after building the temple. Plutarch *op. cit.* relates the similar story of Cleobis and Bito.

298. ἔνασσαν: only here in the sense of "build." The causal use is rare and confined to the epic aorist; cf. δ 174 καὶ κέ οἱ Ἀργεῖ νάσσα πόλιν, "gave as a home."

299. ΚΤΙΣΤΟΪΣΙΝ: apparently "wrought." Empedocles (139) uses κτιστός of trees, but it is very doubtful whether κτίζω could be applied to the material of a temple. ζεστοῖσιν and ῥυτοῖσιν are graphically impossible; in *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 249 τυκτοῖσιν was suggested.

Αἰδιδιμον ἔμμεναι αἰεῖ: the temple was therefore standing at the time (see *Introd.* p. 67).

300-304. The slaying of the dragon. If the account of Typhaon is an insertion (see on 305 f.) line 304 would be naturally followed by 356. The episode of the dragon is doubtless part of the original myth; but the hymn-writer turns it to account, in order to explain the supposed etymology of πυθώ (372 f.), which he may have himself invented (Pauly-Wissowa 2527).

The dragon is now generally supposed to represent an earlier Pythian cult, dispossessed by Apollo. As a snake is regularly the symbol or actual embodiment of earth-deities, it is probable that it here stands for the older cult of Gaea (followed, according to some ancient traditions, by that of Themis). For this early oracle of Pytho cf. Aesch. *Eum.* 2 τὴν πρωτόμαντι Παῖαν, Paus. x. 5. 5 φασὶ γὰρ δὴ τὰ ἀρχαῖότατα Γῆς εἶναι τὸ χρηστήριον, Plutarch *de Pyth.* or. 17. 402 c, Eur. *I. T.* 1245 f. See e.g. Preller-Robert i. p. 240 n. 1, Pauly-Wissowa 2529, Harrison in *J. H. S.* xix. p. 222 f. The snake was no doubt originally the giver



κτεῖνεν ἀναξ Διὸς υἱὸς ἀπὸ κρατεροῖο βιοῖο,  
 ζατρεφέα μεγάλην, τέρας ἄγριον, ἥ κακὰ πολλὰ  
 ἀνθρώπους ἔρδεσκειν ἐπὶ χθονί, πολλὰ μὲν αὐτούς, [125]  
 πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα ταναύποδ', ἐπεὶ πέλε πῆμα δαφονούν.  
 καὶ ποτε δεξαμένη χρυσοθρόνου ἔτρεφεν Ἥρης 305

304. ταναύποδ' Μρ: ταναύποδ' 2S ed. pr.

of the oracle (Miss Harrison compares the oracular snake at Epirus, *Ael. de nat. anim.* xi. 2), and afterwards became merely the guardian of the well; for the latter idea cf. Eur. *I. c.* 1249, Paus. x. 6. 6 ἐπὶ τῷ μαντείῳ φύλακα ὑπὸ Γῆς τετάχθαι, Apollod. i. 4. 3 ὁ φρουρῶν τὸ μαντεῖον Πύθων ὅφιν ἐκώλυεν κτλ. In later times the Python reappears as προφήτης; cf. Hyg. *fab.* 140, Hesych. and Suid. s.v. πύθων, Lucian *astrol.* 23. On the grave of the Python see Harrison *I. c.* p. 225 f.

For the common idea that the water of a spring or well is guarded by a serpent see Frazer on Paus. ix. 10. 5. In many cases, of course, there is no suggestion that the snake was oracular, as at Delphi.

The conflict between a dragon or other monster and a god, hero, or saint is too wide a subject for discussion in a note. Here, again, the causes of the myth may be various; see Croke ("The Legends of Krishna" in *Folk-Lore* xi. p. 11 f.) who accepts the view that the Pythian myth represents a conflict of cults. The subject is exhaustively discussed by Hartland *Legend of Perseus* (in iii. p. 66 f. he rejects the common theory that these stories are traditions of gigantic saurians). It may be conceded that some cases are pure nature-myths (e.g. the struggle of Indra with Ahi or Vitra).

300. κρήνη: the identification of the fountain is not clear. The editors assume that it is the Castalian spring, for the situation of which see Frazer on Paus. x. 8. 9. The great fame of this spring and its close connexion with Apollo make it probable that it would be regarded as the scene of the conflict with the dragon. Frazer, on the other hand, identifies the κρήνη with the spring called Cassotis by Pausanias (x. 24. 7), which is just above the temple, or with another fountain, below the temple (see his notes on x. 24. 7 and x. 12. 1).

δράκαιναν: the fem. form is not

Homeric. The poet follows what is doubtless the original myth, in which Apollo, like St. George, kills a nameless "dragon" or "worm." In Eur. *I. T.* 1245 (ποικίλοντος οἰωνοῦ δράκον), Paus. x. 6. 5 the monster is still unnamed, but its sex has changed to the male. This, as Miss Harrison suggests (*I. c.* p. 222) may be due to a desire to provide Apollo with a worthier foe; but the present passage proves her to be wrong in supposing that the change of sex probably originated "at the coming of Apollo" (to Delphi). The confusion of sex persisted when names were given to the dragon in later times: the most usual name was Πύθων (first in the euhemeristic version of Ephorus, Strabo 646; cf. Paus. x. 6. 5 f.) as in Apollod. i. 4. 3, Clearchus ap. Athen. 701 c (= *F. H. G.* ii. 318); for other references, see Preller-Robert i. p. 239 n. 2. Other names were Δελφίνη (fem.) or Δελφόνης (masc.): in Apoll. *Arg.* B 705, Nonn. *Dion.* xiii. 28 the gender is doubtful; possibly the masc. is a fiction of grammarians; but see Kern in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Δελφόνης. According to the schol. on Apoll. *I. c.* Callimachus (*fr.* 364) used the feminine, which the scholiast thinks more correct; so Dionys. *Perieg.* 442. On the name generally see de Witte *Le Monstre gardien de l'oracle de Delphes*.

305-355. The episode of Typhaon is reasonably suspected by most commentators, as foreign to the context. The connexion of the δράκαινα with Typhaon is very forced; nothing is said about the fate of this monster, for it is the dragon that is slain by Apollo, 356 f. The passage should not be called a "later addition," for, as Farnell (*Cults* i. p. 183) remarks it is "a genuine though a misplaced fragment." The snake-form of Typhoeus (see Preller-Robert i. p. 65 n. 1) would help to associate or confuse him with the dragon. In Apollod. i. 42 Delphyne aids Typho against Zeus.



δεινόν τ' ἀργαλέον τε Τυφάονα, πῆμα βροτοῖσιν,  
 ὃν ποτ' ἄρ' Ἥρη ἔτικτε χολωσαμένη Διὶ πατρί,  
 ἥνικ' ἄρα Κρονίδης ἐρικυδέα γείνατ' Ἀθήνην [130]  
 ἐν κορυφῇ· ἡ δ' αἶψα χολώσατο πότνια Ἥρη,  
 ἥδὲ καὶ ἀγρομένοισι μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἔειπε. 310

κέκλυτέ μεν πάντες τε θεοὶ πᾶσαι τε θείαινα,  
 ὥς ἔμ' ἀτιμάζειν ἄρχει νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς  
 πρῶτος, ἐπεὶ μ' ἄλοχον ποιήσατο κέδν' εἰδυῖαν· [135]  
 καὶ νῦν νόσφιν ἐμείο τέκε γλανκῶπιν Ἀθήνην,  
 ἥ πᾶσιν μακάρεσσι μεταπρέπει ἀθανάτοισιν. 315  
 αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' ἡπεδανὸς γέγονεν μετὰ πᾶσι θεοῖσι  
 παῖς ἐμὸς Ἥφαιστος, ῥικνὸς πόδας, ὃν τέκον αὐτή·

306. τυφάονα pS ed. pr.: τυφλὸν xAtD: τυφλόν τε M || βροτοῖσιν] εσοῖσιν Ilgen 308. ἥνεκ' ἄρα praefixis punctis M: εὐτ' ἄρα δὴ cet.: ἥνικ' restituumus 309. κορυφῆς c add. man. sec. Γ: ἐκ κορυφῆς Barnes || αἶψα] αἰνᾷ Ilgen 311. εσαί pro εσοί ATL<sub>2</sub>OP 313. ἐποιήσατο codd. 314. ἐμοῖο ΜΓ 317. in margine ed. principis legitur λείπει, omissa lacuna: ὃν γε μὲν αὐτή Ruhnken: ὃν τε κεν αὐτή Barnes: ὃν τε καὶ αὐτή Creuzer: αὐτῷ Peppmüller

306. Τυφάονα: so 352, but in 367 Τυφωεύς. The two names are confused in Hes. *Theog.* 306 (Typhaon), 821, 869 (Typhoeus). Τυφώς and Τυφών are other forms; see Preller-Robert i. p. 63. For his parentage cf. *E. M.* p. 772. 50 Ἡσίοδος αὐτὸν γῆς γενεαλογεῖ, Στρεσίχορος δὲ Ἥρας μόνης κατὰ μνησικακίαν Διὸς τεκούσης αὐτόν. It is to be noticed that the *E. M.* quotes Stesichorus, not the Homeric hymn (see Pref. p. liii). So the schol. on Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 1310 quotes Stesichorus as the first to describe the birth of Athena full-armed. He neglects xxvii. The parentage here given is evidently later than the Hesiodic account, from which, however, the author of the hymn is not altogether free, as Hera asks for a son from Earth and Heaven and the Titans, but especially from the Earth (cp. 340 f.). On the connexion of Hera and Typhoeus see Farnell *Cults* i. p. 183 f., who rightly explains it as due to the character of Hera, the jealous goddess of the epic drama. She is not here to be regarded as a Chthonian deity. So Hera nourished (θρέψε) the Lernaean Hydra and the Nemean lion, in her wrath against Zeus (Hes. *Theog.* 314, 323). There was a Τυφάωνιον near Thebes, Hes. *Scut.* 32.

308. ἦνεχ' M (which the scribe saw was a mistake) is not for οὐνεκα, but ἡνίκα, as in χ 198.

309. ἐν κορυφῇ: Barnes' ἐκ κορυφῆς has been generally accepted; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 924, xxviii. 5. But ἐκ κορυφῆς implies ἐν κορυφῇ, which may therefore stand.

The birth of Athena from the head of Zeus is Homeric (E 875, 880). Homer, it is true, does not mention the head, but E 880 ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἐγέλναιο almost certainly refers to the myth. It is quite in the Homeric manner to pass over in silence the most irrational and grotesque part of the myth. See Lang *Myth Ritual and Religion* ii. p. 242 f., Farnell *Cults* i. p. 280 f. Cf. further on xxvii. (Introd.).

311=Θ 5, T 101. εἰσαίνει: in Homer only in this phrase; cf. Θ 20, θ 341. Callimachus, however, uses the word without θεός; cf. *h. Art.* 29.

312. Compare the similar passage θ 308 f. ὥς ἐμὲ χωλὸν ἔοντα . . . αἰὲν ἀτιμάζει. The writer, as Gemoll observes, had a reminiscence of the passage in Θ. So ἡπεδανός (316) is taken from Θ 311.

313. πρῶτος: apparently for πρότερος; cf. Δ 67 ἀρῶσι πρότεροι. Baumeister compares N 502, Σ 92, but in neither case is the exact force of πρῶτος certain (see Leaf *ad locc.*). ἐπεὶ must be elliptical "(as he should not do) since I am his wife." See L. and S. s.v. B 4.

317. ῥικνός: not Homeric; cf. Apoll. *Arg.* A 669, B 198. The lameness of



ρίψ' ἀνὰ χερσὶν ἐλοῦσα καὶ ἔμβαλον εὐρέϊ πόντῳ· [140]  
 ἀλλὰ ἔ Νηρῆος θυγάτηρ Θέτις ἀργυρόπεζα  
 δέξατο καὶ μετὰ ᾗσι κασιγνήτῃσι κόμισσεν· 320  
 ὥς ὄφελ' ἄλλο θεοῖσι χαρίσασθαι μακάρεσσι.  
 σχέτλιε, ποικιλομήτα, τί νῦν μητίσσαι ἄλλο ;  
 πῶς ἔτλης οἶος τεκέειν γλαυκῶπιδ' Ἀθήνην ; [145]  
 οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ τεκόμην ; καὶ σὴ κεκλημένη ἔμπης  
 ᾗά ρ' ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν, οἳ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσι. 325

δε

318. **ρίψ' ἀνὰ** Γ: pro ἀνὰ Ilgen ἔρα || **ἐμβαλον** M, Γ superscr.: **ἐμβαλεν** cet.  
 320. **κόμισσεν** v.l. in schol. (praef. p. lv n. 1) 321. **χαρίσασθαι** M: **χαρίζεσθαι**  
 cet. 322. **μητίσσαι** M: **μήσαι** xD: **ἐπι μήσαι** p ed. pr. 325. **ᾗά ρ'** (ᾗ, ᾗ)  
 codd.: **ᾗ' ἄρ** S: **ᾗν ἄρ** Γ m. sec. ed. pr.: **ᾗα ρ'** Matthiae

Hephaestus is accounted for by Serv. *Aen.* viii. 414 *quia per naturam numquam rectus est ignis*. Modern mythologists of the older school have accepted the explanation (e.g. Preller-Robert i. p. 175). It seems more reasonable to suppose that, as the trade of the smith was particularly suited to the lame, the divine smith was himself imagined to be lame. The Norse Völundr and the Teutonic Wieland were lame.

**ὄν τέκον αὐτή**: an emphatic amplification of *παῖς ἐμός*, "my very own child." There are two traditions as to the parentage of Hephaestus: according to Hes. *Theog.* 927 Hera was his sole parent, having borne him to avenge herself for the birth of Athena. Matthiae assumed that the hymn followed this version, and translated *αὐτή* "alone." But Franke replied that in this case Hera would have already been even with Zeus, without the birth of the monster. Clearly the hymn adopts the other version, that Hephaestus was the son of Zeus, as well as of Hera (Ξ 338); he speaks of two parents also in θ 312, a passage probably in the poet's mind (cf. n. on 312 *supra*). On the birth of Hephaestus see Usener *Rhein. Mus.* 1901 p. 180 f.

After this line a lacuna, as Demetrius saw, seems required. It could indeed be avoided, by placing a full stop at *αὐτή*, and taking *ρίψ'* as an asyndeton; the abruptness might be thought to suit Hera's rage (cf. *h. Dem.* 227). But the style would be so extremely harsh that this view is unlikely. The words *ὄν τέκον αὐτή* are not to be touched, and to read *δέ* for *ἀνὰ* in 318 (with the correction of Γ followed by Abel) is to

give up the problem. In *J. H. S.* xv. p. 278 a line was suggested *αἰσχος ἐμοὶ καὶ θνείδος ἐν οὐρανῷ, ὃν τε καὶ αὐτή*, it being there assumed that the line was lost through assonance; but of course such lacunae may be due to other causes.

With regard to the fall of Hephaestus there are again two versions, both Homeric: in A 590 he is thrown from heaven by Zeus; in Ξ 395 this is done by Hera, in disgust at his lameness. (So Paus. i. 20. 3, *Mythogr. Graec.* ed. Westermann p. 372.) The latter account is followed by the hymn; cf. also on 319.

319. In Ξ 395 Hephaestus is saved by Eurynome and Thetis. **Νηρῆος θυγάτηρ**: cf. Hes. *Theog.* 244. This line is repeated by Matro *Conv. Att.* 33 (ἦλθε δέ).

321. **χαρίσασθαι**: the aorist is more appropriate than the present; the fact that the double σ hardly occurs in this word is scarcely an objection, since aorists in -σσ- are common (e.g. *φράσσασθαι* 415), and there is authority for *ἐχαρίσατο* in an inser. ap. Preger 126. 3 (fifth cent.).

322. Cf. ν 293 *σχέτλιε, ποικιλομήτα*. **μητίσσαι**: it is difficult to see why *μήσαι* has been generally preferred by editors. *μητίσσαι* is supported by 325a, *h. Dem.* 345, and is Homeric; *μήσαι* may be a graphical corruption, *μη(τι)CEAI*, and *ἐπι* was added by p, perhaps from λ 474. There is no objection to *μήσαι* in itself; cf. oracl. ap. Hendess 14. 4 *τί νῦν μήσαι ὦ μέγαλε Ζεῦ*;

325. Editors, after Demetrius, have read *ᾗν ἄρ*, as third person; "even if I had borne her, she would have been called thy daughter." The sense is excellent, but there are two serious



φράξεο νῦν μή τοί τι κακὸν μητίσομ' ὀπίσσω· 325<sup>a</sup>  
καὶ νῦν μέν τοι ἐγὼ τεχνήσομαι, ὥς κε γένηται  
παῖς ἐμός, ὃς κε θεοῖσι μεταπρέποι ἀθανάτοισιν,  
οὔτε σὸν αἰσχύνασ' ἱερὸν λέχος οὔτ' ἐμὸν αὐτῆς. [150]  
οὔδέ τοι εἰς εὐνὴν πωλήσομαι, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ σείο  
τηλόθεν οὔσα θεοῖσι μετέσσομαι ἀθανάτοισιν. 330  
ὥς εἰποῖς' ἀπονόσφι θεῶν κίε χωρόμενη περ.

325<sup>a</sup> hab. γ (γρ'. II: γρ. καὶ ET: γρ. καὶ οὕτως L) 326. καὶ νῦν μέντοι  
M: καὶ νῦν τοιγὰρ ρ (γάρ τοι Γ) ed. pr.: καὶ νῦν μὲν τοι γὰρ xAtD: τοιγὰρ  
νῦν καὶ ἐγὼ Hermann || ἐγὼ τεχνήσομαι| ἔγωγ' ἐκέχομαι M 327. ἐμὸς  
ἐμοί Ilgen 328. αἰσχύνας' ρ: αἰσχύνας cet. 330. τηλόθι οὔσα Ilgen: τηλόθ'  
εἰούσα Hermann || μετέσσομαι| ἀπέσσομαι Groddeck: κοτέσσομαι Gemoll: θεοῖς  
ἐκστήσομαι Usener 331. περ| κάρ Barnes

objections: (1) *κεν* or *ἄν* would be required, (2) the mss. are unanimous in reading *ῆ* (with variations of accent). This can hardly be the Attic 1st person; we must rather read *ῆά ρ' ἐν* with Matthiae. Cf. Hartel *Hom. Stud.* i. 73. If Hermann's objection to *ρ'* is valid (*ρ'* does not seem to be used after a vowel which can be elided), it would be possible to write *ῆ' ἄρ*. "I was called, at all events, yours in heaven," i.e. "I had at least the *title* of your wife, (although I have been neglected)." *κεκλήσθαι* here seems to be emphatic, not merely an equivalent of *εἶναι* as it is in Δ 60=Σ 365 *οὐνεκα σὴ παράκοιτις κέκλημαι*, which, however, may have been the origin of the present passage. *σὴ* may be said of a wife as well as of a daughter, although *ἄλοχος* or a similar word is usual; cf. Γ 138, *h. Aphr.* 148, *h. Dem.* 79.

325<sup>a</sup> was omitted in *Maxp*, possibly on account of its resemblance to 326. This is perhaps enough to decide in favour of M's reading of that line *καὶ νῦν μέν τοι*, between which and *ρ's καὶ νῦν τοι γὰρ* there is little to choose. Cf. X 358 *φράξεο νῦν μή τοί τι θεῶν μήνιμα γένωμαι*.

330. *οὔσα*: the form occurs in xix. 32 (*ῶν*), xxix. 10 (*ῶν*), but both hymns are no doubt later. In *h. Herm.* 106 the reading is uncertain. Here Hermann is perhaps right in correcting *τηλόθ' εἰούσα*, cf. Θ 285, Φ 154 etc. See Agar in *J. P.* xxviii. (1901) p. 78. A difficulty has been found in the line: according to the text, Hera threatens to be "far from Zeus," but to mingle with the other gods (*μετέσσομαι*). Yet she departs from

the gods 331, and spends a year in her temples. In the seclusion of his own temple a deity was thought to be withdrawn from all intercourse with fellow-gods; cf. *h. Dem.* 304, where Demeter stays for a year in her temple *μακάρων ἀπονόσφιν ἀπάντων*. Hence Gemoll reads *κοτέσσομαι*; other emendations are less satisfactory. However, *μετέσσομαι* may very well be sound; Hera certainly has some relations with the other gods, for she leaves Zeus to invoke Gaia, Uranos, and the Titans; and *ἀπὸ σείο* is the only emphatic part of her threat. In any case, if there is strictly a contradiction in 330 and 347, it may be due to the author's carelessness.

331. *ἀπονόσφι*: *ἀπὸ νόσφι* is preferred by many editors for Homer; see La Roche *Hom. Unters.* i. p. 88.

*χωρόμενη περ*: Barnes, followed by recent editors, emended *περ* to *κῆρ*, as *περ* is commonly joined to participles in an adversative or concessive force. But the original sense of *περ* must have been "very" = *δή*; cf. the Latin *per-*, and *περί*. As Leaf on A 131 remarks, the sense of "though" properly belongs to the participle itself, not to *περ*; see also van Leeuwen *Ench.* p. 586. For the use in strengthening a participle cf. Ψ 79 *γεννόμενόν περ* "at my very birth," ρ 13, ρ 47 (where schol. H notes *τὸ πέρ ἀντὶ τοῦ δή*), and perhaps α 314. Similarly *περ* strengthens an adjective, as Ω 504 *ἐλεεινότερός περ*, or an adverb, as A 416 *μινυθά περ* "quite a short time." The editors have been misled by the fact that the use is un-Attic.



αὐτίκ' ἔπειτ' ἡρᾶτο βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη,  
 χειρὶ καταπρηνέϊ δ' ἔλασε χθόνα καὶ φάτο μῦθον· [155]  
 κέκλυτε νῦν μοι, γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς εὐρύς ὑπερθευ,  
 Τιτῆνες τε θεοί, τοὶ ὑπὸ χθονὶ ναιετάοντες 335  
 Τάρταρον ἀμφὶ μέγαν, τῶν ἐξ ἄνδρες τε θεοί τε·  
 αὐτοὶ νῦν μευ πάντες ἀκούσατε καὶ δότε παῖδα  
 νόσφι Διός, μηδέν τι βίην ἐπιδευέα κείνου· [160]  
 ἀλλ' ὃ γε φέρτερος ἔστω ὅσον Κρόνου εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς.  
 ὥς ἄρα φωνήσας ἵμασε χθόνα χειρὶ παχείῃ· 340

334. μευ Schulze 335. ναιετάουσιν Ilgen: lacunam post h. v. stat. Peppmüller 337. αὐτὰρ Baumeister: αὐτοῦ Gemoll: αὐτίκα Peppmüller 338. μὴ δ' ἀντιβίην M: βίης Ilgen 339. ἔστιν. ὅσον M: ἢ πόσσον xAt (πόσοσον) D: ἢ παρόσον p: εἴη Hermann 340. ἵμασε M: ἵμασε cet.

333. **χειρὶ καταπρηνέϊ**=Π 792, ν 164. The Homeric formula explains the position of δέ (Hermann). **ἔλασε χθόνα**: to call the attention of the gods below: the action shews that her prayer is really addressed to Earth and the Titans, although she calls upon all the powers of Nature, including Heaven. For this manner of invoking chthonian deities or ghosts cf. I 568, Ξ 272 f., Aesch. *Pers.* 674 f., Eur. *Troad.* 1293 f., Plat. *Crat.* 423 A, Plutarch *Moral.* 774 B, Philostr. v. *Soph.* ii. 1. 10, Diog. Laert. vii. 26, *Anth. Pal.* vii. 117, Coluth. 47 f., Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 25. 60, Livy vii. 6. 4, Stat. *Theb.* 54 f., Val. Flacc. vii. 312, Macrobi. *Sat.* iii. 9. 12; Sittl *Gebärden* p. 190 f., Rohde *Psyche* p. 111, 693, Headlam in *Class. Rev.* xvi. 53.

For modern times cf. Lang *Transl. Hom. Hymns*; "the action was practised by the Zulus in divination, and, curiously, by a Highlander of the last century, appealing to the dead Lovat" (p. 121).

334. **μοι**: the dative is defended by E 115, K 278, Ω 335, Theognis 4 and 13, Solon 13. 2, Hom. *Epigr.* xxi. 1. So ἀκούειν with dat. Π 515. The dat. expresses the idea of "turning a favourable ear to," and is used in prayer to a god. *H. G.* § 143 n. 3.

335. **Τιτῆνες τε θεοί**: the addition of θεοί is common (in Ξ 279 οἱ Τιτῆνες καλέονται θεοὺς τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους): cf. Hes. *Theog.* 424, 630, 648, 668, 729.

**τοὶ . . ναιετάοντες**: τοὶ is of course a relative pronoun. Matthiae explains the construction intended as τοὶ . . . ναιετάοντες ἄνδρας τε θεοὺς τε ἐφύσατε. Ilgen's ναιετάουσιν is quite impossible.

Peppmüller with greater probability assumes a lacuna, suggesting the Hesiodic line ἦατ' ἐπ' ἐσχατῇ μεγάλῃς ἐν πείρασι γαίης, which follows ὑπὸ χθονὶ ναιετάοντες in Hes. *Theog.* 622. But we may regard the sentence as an example of the analytic conjugation with εἶναι (for which see Kühner-Gerth i. § 353 n. 3), with the auxiliary εἶσιν omitted; for this latter use cf. Hes. *Op.* 357, *Scut.* 302, Aesch. *P.* V. 568, *Pers.* 1000, Eur. *Ion* 517, *I. T.* 194, 208.

336. **τῶν ἔξ ἄνδρες τε θεοί τε**: cf. Hes. *Op.* 107 ὡς ὁμόθεν γεγάασιν θεοὶ θνητοὶ τ' ἄνθρωποι, where, however, the Titans are not mentioned; in Pind. *Nem.* vi. 1 ἐν ἀνδρῶν ἐν θεῶν γένους, ἐκ μᾶς δὲ πνέομεν ματὴρ ἀμφότεροι, the mother is Earth, who bare the Titans. Cf. also *Orph. h.* xxxvii. 1 f. Τιτῆνες, Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὰ τέκνα, | ἡμετέρων πρόγονοι πατέρων. See Mayer *die Giganten* p. 57.

337. **αὐτοί**: the emphatic pronoun may be resumptive, after the parenthesis; or it may mark a contrast between the gods of Olympus, whom Hera neglects, and the chthonian powers. Gemoll's αὐτοῦ νῦν gives a very doubtful meaning to αὐτοῦ in Homer (in O 349 it is local not temporal). Peppmüller's αὐτίκα would not have been corrupted to αὐτοί.

339. **ἔστω**: Hermann's εἴη is perfect in sense, but ἔστω is nearer to ἔστιν in M, which has certainly kept the original in ὅσον, and may have done so, approximately, in ἔστιν. For the confusion cf. K 41 ἔσται ἐστι εἴη, A 366 ἐστὶ εἴη ἦ.

340. **ἵμασε**: a vivid word, stronger than ἔλασε in 333. Cf. B 782 γαῖαν ἱμάσση, I 568 γαῖαν πολυφόβῃν χερσὶν



κινήθη δ' ἄρα γαῖα φερέσβιος, ἥ δὲ ἰδοῦσα  
 τέρπετο ὃν κατὰ θυμόν, ὅτετο γὰρ τελέεσθαι.  
 ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἔπειτα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν [165]  
 οὔτε ποτ' εἰς εὐνὴν Διὸς ἤλυθε μητιόεντος,  
 οὔτε ποτ' εἰς θῶκον πολυδαίδαλον, ὥς τὸ πάρος περ, 345  
 αὐτῷ ἐφεζομένη πυκινὰς φραζέσκετο βουλὰς·  
 ἀλλ' ἥ γ' ἐν νηοῖσι πολυλλίστοισι μένουσα  
 τέρπετο οἷς ἱεροῖσι βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη. [170]  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μῆνές τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐξετελεύнто  
 ἅψ περιτελλομένου ἔτεος καὶ ἐπήλυθον ὦραι, 350  
 ἥ δ' ἔτεκ' οὔτε θεοῖς ἐναλίγκιον οὔτε βροτοῖσι,  
 δεινὸν τ' ἀργαλέον τε Τυφάονα, πῆμα βροτοῖσιν.  
 αὐτίκα τόνδε λαβοῦσα βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη [175]

341. ἡ δὲ ἰδοῦσα M: ἡ δ' ἐσιδοῦσα cet. 342. ᾤετο M 344 om. pE  
 346. αὐτῷ] ᾧ δὴ Peppmüller || φραζάσκετο xD 347. πολυκλίστοισι M:  
 πολυαλίστοισι At: cf. Dem. 28 349. μῆνες M: νύκτες cet.: ἡματα μακρὰ  
 τελεῦντο Barnes 350. ἐπιτελλομένου M 351. ἐναλίγκιον p 352. τυφῶνα  
 πῆμα θεοῖσιν M

ἀλοῖα, Hes. *Theog.* 857 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ μιν  
 δάμασε πληγῆσιν ἰμάσας.

341. ΚΙΝῆΘΗ: Typhaon is in some mysterious way the child of Earth, though actually borne by Hera. In other legends, similar monsters are only "nursed" by Hera, in her jealousy; and it is possible that there was an older myth of an earth-born Typhaon, nursed by Hera (see on 306), unless the whole of this myth is the invention of the poet.

φερέσβιος; un-Homeric, but five times in the hymns, and in Hes. *Theog.* 693. It is quoted as Homeric (παρ' Ὀμήρῳ) by Apollodorus ap. schol. Genevens. Φ 341; see Preface p. 1.

ἰδοῦσα: M's reading allows the digamma; in 255, however, M agrees with the other mss. in neglecting it (ἐσιδοῦσα). For similar alterations, due to a desire of scribes to avoid (supposed) hiatus, see *J. H. S.* xv. p. 279, and (from papyri) Ψ 198 ὥκέα δ' Ἴρις for ὥκα δὲ Ἴρις, Z 493 πᾶσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ μάλιστα τοὶ Ἰλῖω for πᾶσι, μάλιστα δ' ἐμοὶ τοὶ Ἰλῖω (as Epict. iii. 22. 108).

343. τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν: see on xx. 6.

346. Baumeister, Gemoll, Abel eject the verse, which Hermann also suspected. But *eis* θῶκον may very well depend on

ἐφεζομένη; the preposition takes the place of the regular dative with ἐφ-έζεσθαι owing to the idea of motion, "coming to sit." Possibly we should take ἤλυθε with *eis* θῶκον, and φραζέσκετο with ὥς τὸ πάρος περ (removing the comma). The objection to this, as Hermann noted, is that ὥς τὸ πάρος περ is properly used without a verb; but cf. τ 340 κείω δ' ὥς τὸ πάρος περ αἰώνους νύκτας ἱανον.

347. πολυλλίστοισι: cf. *h. Dem.* 28. The similarity between the two passages is striking; τέρπετο οἷς ἱεροῖσι 348 = δέγμενος ἱερὰ καλὰ *h. Dem.* 29.

349 f. = λ 294 f., ξ 293 f., where the mss. give μῆνες, a *hysteron proteron*. νύκτες is less effective, of the passing of a year, and introduces the unessential contrast of light and dark. Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 58 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ῥ' ἐνιαυτὸς ἔην περὶ δ' ἔτραπον ὦραι, | μηνῶν φθινόντων, περὶ δ' ἡματα πόλλ' ἐτελέσθη.

351. Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 295 f. ἥ δ' ἔτεκ' ἄλλο πέλωρον ἀμήχανον οὐδὲ εἰκόδς | θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐδ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι. Gemoll suggests that the reminiscence of Hesiod accounts for the introduction of δὲ in the hymn, where it is used *in apodosis*.

The assonance at the end of 351, 352 did not trouble the author of this hymn; cf. 230, 231 and 537, 538.



δῶκεν ἔπειτα φέρουσα κακῶ κακόν, ἡ δ' ὑπέδεκτο·  
 ὃς κακὰ πόλλ' ἔρδεσκε κατὰ κλυτὰ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων. 355  
 ὃς τῇ γ' ἀντιάσειε, φέρεσκέ μιν αἷσιμον ἦμαρ,  
 πρίν γέ οἱ ἰὸν ἐφῆκεν ἀναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων  
 καρτερόν· ἡ δ' ὀδύνῃσιν ἐρεχθομένη χαλεπῇσι [180]  
 κεῖτο μέγ' ἀσθμαίνουσα κυλινδομένη κατὰ χῶρον.  
 θεσπεσίῃ δ' ἐνοπῇ γένετ' ἄσπετος, ἡ δὲ καθ' ὕλην 360  
 πυκνὰ μάλ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα ἐλίσσεται, λείπε δὲ θυμὸν  
 φοινὸν ἀποπνέουσ', ὃ δ' ἐπηύξατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·  
 ἔνταυθοὶ νῦν πύθεν ἐπὶ χθονὶ βωτιανέειρ, [185]  
 οὐδὲ σύ γε ζωοῖσι κακὸν δῆλημα βροτοῖσιν  
 ἔσσειαι, οἳ γαίης πολυφόρβον καρπὸν ἔδοντες 365  
 ἐνθάδ' ἀγινήσουσι τελέεσσας ἐκατόμβας,

355. ὦς Ilgen: Ἄ Wolf || ἔρδεσken ἀγακλυτά Bothe || versum secl. Ruhnken  
 vel post 352 collocat.: secl. Ernesti 356. τῇ γ' τῶν M: v. secl. Ilgen ||  
 αἷσιον p 357. hic finitur S 358. χαλεπῇσι p et M corr.: χαλεποῖσι cet.  
 360. ὕλην ὕλην Ilgen 361. λείπε δὲ φοινὸν | θυμὸν Ruhnken: θυμὸς  
 Matthiae 362. ἀποπνέουσ' Döderlein 363. βωτιανέειρ | πολυβοτείρη At  
 364. οὐδ' ἔτι cū Wolf: ζώουσα Ilgen 366. ἀδινέουσι p (ἀγινέουσι N, et  
 L<sub>3</sub>PR<sub>1</sub> superser.)

354. κακῶ; i.e. to the δράκαινα, who acts as the foster-mother.

355. Nothing more is said of Typhaon. If lines 305-355 had been original in their present context, we should have expected an account of his fate; instead of this, the poem returns to the dragoness, by a very abrupt transition (355-356).

356. φέρεσκέ μιν: "would carry him off." The use of φέρειν with ἦμαρ is more metaphorical than in the older epic, where the κῆρες literally carry off a doomed man; cf. B 302, I 411, ξ 207.

357. On the indicative after πρίν, of which this line is the earliest instance, see Sturm, Schanz's *Beiträge zur historischen Syntax* ii. 47.

360. ἐνοπή: the noise of the writhing dragoness (cf. κυλινδομένη . . . ἐλίσσεται). The word is used of various inarticulate noises, as well as of the human voice; see L. and S.

361. λείπε δὲ θυμόν: suspicion of the text is quite unwarranted. Various emendations are mentioned by Gemoll. In Homer θυμός would have been the subject, but the text is justified by Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 180 (quoted by Matthiae) τόξους ἀπὸ ψυχὰν λιπών; Verg. *Aen.* iii. 140 *linguebant dulces animas*.

362. φοινόν: in Homer only II 159 παρῆιον αἵματι φοινόν, "blood-red." So probably here; "she left her soul, breathing it forth blood-red." The rhythm shews that φοινόν is to be taken closely with ἀποπνέουσ'. The soul is thought to pass out with the blood from the wound; Ilgen well compares Verg. *Aen.* xi. 349 *purpuream vomit ille animam*. Others translate "murderous," in which sense φοινός is used in late epic: Nicand. *Ther.* 140, 675; so δαφοινός in Hes. *Scut.* 250. Ruhnken took φοινόν to be a subst., as in Nicand. *Alex.* 187, "breathing forth blood." But the object of ἀποπνέουσα is almost certainly θυμόν, cf. Δ 524=N 654 θυμόν ἀποπνέειν.

ἐπνέσατο: usually altered to ἐπεύξατο, as, according to Moeris p. 175, the augment in this word is Attic.

363. ἔνταυθοὶ νῦν: ὑβριστικῶς, to a conquered foe; cf. Φ 122, σ 105, ν 262. So ἐνταῦθα νῦν in Attic; Aesch. *P. V.* 82, Arist. *Vesp.* 149, *Thesm.* 1001, *Plut.* 724.

364. ζωοῖσι: the phrase ζωὸς βροτός occurs in ψ 187, so that ζωοῖσι may stand here as an amplification of βροτοῖσι. Ilgen's correction ζώουσα has been generally accepted.



οὐδέ τί τοι θάνατόν γε δυσηλεγέ' οὔτε Τυφωεύς  
ἀρκέσει οὔτε Χίμαιρα δυσώνυμος, ἀλλὰ σέ γ' αὐτοῦ [190]  
πύσει γαῖα μέλαινα καὶ ἡλέκτωρ Ὑπερίων.

ὦς φάτ' ἐπενυχόμενος, τὴν δὲ σκότος ὅσσε κάλυψε. 370  
τὴν δ' αὐτοῦ κατέπυσ' ἱερὸν μένος Ἑλίοιο·  
ἐξ οὗ νῦν Πυθῶ κυκλήσκειται, οἱ δὲ ἄνακτα  
Πύθιον καλέουσιν ἐπώνυμον, οὐνεκα κέθι [195]  
αὐτοῦ πῦσε πέλωρ μένος ὀξέος Ἑλίοιο.

367. **δυσκλέε'** M || **τυφωνεύς** M 370. **ὅς'** ἐκάλυψε MBN 371. **ἱμερον**  
M: **ἱμερον** vel **ἱμερον** cet.: corr. Martin: **ἱλαρόν** coniectura ap. Barnesium  
372-4 om. AtD 373. **πύσειον** Barnes: **πυεῶν** Schneidewin: **πύσειον ἀγκαλέουσιν**  
Hermann || **κέθι**] ἐκέϊνο Ruhnken 374. **δαϊνόν** pro αὐτοῦ Schneidewin: **αἰνόν**  
Bergk || **πέλας** M: **τέρας** coni. Ruhnken

367. **δυσκλέε'**: cf. T 154 (πόλεμος),  
χ 325 (θάνατόν γε δυσηλεγέα, as here);  
Hes. *Theog.* 652, *Op.* 506; on the  
derivation see Leaf on T 154 (probably  
from ἄλγος with e developed from the  
liquid, and η due to the ictus).

**Τυφωεύς**: this form for **Τυφάων** is  
in itself no proof of different authorship  
(see on 306); but it may be noted that  
the author of the fragment 305-352  
uses only the form **Τυφάων**. M's **Τυφω-  
εύς** is a mixture of **Τυφωεύς** and **Τυφάων**,  
and as Baumeister notes is not justified  
by the mistaken or corrupt gloss of  
Hesych. **Τυφωνεῖ** (*leg.* **Τυφωεῖ**).

368. **Χίμαιρα**: daughter of Typhaon  
and Echidna in Hes. *Theog.* 306, 319.  
Gemoll suggests that the **δράκαινα** may  
here be identified with Echidna,  
Chimaera being thus the daughter of  
Typhoeus and the **δράκαινα**. Possibly  
Chimaera is simply mentioned as a  
similar monster, who might be expected  
to help the dragon.

369. **ἡλέκτωρ Ὑπερίων** = T 398  
(**ἡλέκτωρ** alone, Z 513). The phrase is  
evidently very ancient, **ἡλέκτωρ** being  
an archaic title of the sun. Curtius'  
etymology (cf. Sansk. *arkas*, the sun)  
may stand; **ἡλεκτρον** is certainly cognate,  
In Emped. 263 **ἡλέκτωρ** = fire, as an  
element.

371. **ἱερὸν μένος** is a necessary cor-  
rection, being the Homeric phrase; the  
corrupt **ἱμερον** is difficult to explain,  
but cf. Aeschin. *F. L.* (ii.) ch. 10 *ἱερεῖας*  
with v.l. ap. schol. **ἱμεραίας**.

372. **Πυεῶ**: for this etymology see  
Paus. x. 6. 5 (quoted on 300). Later, the  
word was connected with **πυθέσθαι**; cf.  
Soph. *O. T.* 603 **Πυθῶδ' ἰὼν** | **πυθοῦ τὰ**  
**χρησθέντ'**, Apollod. ap. Strabon. 419,

Plutarch *de EI* 2. The real derivation  
cannot be recovered; but it may refer to  
some local peculiarity, perhaps in the  
stone; Mommsen (*Delph.* p. 14) com-  
pares the Swiss *Faulhorn*. **Πυθῶ** is  
here the place, not, as Franke and  
Baumeister supposed, the dragon (**Πύθων**),  
which is nameless in the poem (see on  
300).

373. **Πύσειον καλέουσιν**: this appears  
to be unmetrical; in Pind. *Ol.* xiv. 16  
**Πύθιον** corresponds to **κόλποισι** in the  
antistrophe; Ahrens reads **Πυθῶν**, but  
in any case the syllabic correspondence  
is unnecessary (see the metrical analysis  
in Christ *l.c.*). The simplest correction  
would be **Πύθειον** (which form is however  
doubtful, and is hardly supported by  
**δέλφειος** 496 as the latter is probably  
corrupt); so Schulze *Quaest. Ep.* p. 254  
(accented **Πυθείον**). In *Anth. Pal.* x. 17  
**τὴν ἐπὶ Πυθείου ῥέου ναντιλίην**, **Πυθείου**  
is apparently a place; cf. Suid. **Πυθείον**·  
**τὸ μαντικόν**, *E. M.* 696 **Πύθεια καὶ**  
**Πυθαῖος**· **ὄνομα ἐορτῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος**  
**τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι**. Schneidewin suggests  
**Πυθῶν**, a form attested by Steph.  
Byz., like **Λητῶς**, **Σαπφῶς**. **Πυθαῖος**  
has little authority (*C. I. G.* 1877 of a  
stream, and in *E. M. l.c.*). But **Πύθιος**  
is the regular and official title, prevailing  
in literature and inscriptions (see Pauly-  
Wissowa 65 f.), and seems most suitable  
here; Danielsson p. 58 n. 4 defends  
**Πύθιον** with ζ, Hermann prefers **Πύθιον**  
**ἀγκαλέουσιν**.

373 f. **κέθι αὐτοῦ**, "on that very  
spot." Baumeister compares κ 271 **σὺ**  
**μέν' αὐτοῦ τῶδ' ἐν χώρῳ**, a passage  
which justifies αὐτοῦ following **κέθι**.  
Cf. also *h. Herm.* 169 and note.

374. **μένος κτλ.** = Hes. *Op.* 414.



καὶ τότε ἄρ' ἔγνω ῥῆσιν ἐνὶ φρεσὶ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων 375  
οὐνεκά μιν κρήνῃ καλλίρροος ἐξαπάφησε·

βῆ δ' ἐπὶ Τελφούσῃ κοχολωμένος, αἶψα δ' ἵκανε·  
στῇ δὲ μάλ' ἄγχ' αὐτῆς καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε· [200]

Τελφούσ', οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλες ἐμὸν νόον ἐξαπαφούσα  
χῶρον ἔχουσ' ἐρατὸν προρέειν καλλίρροον ὕδωρ. 380  
ἐνθάδε δὴ καὶ ἐμὸν κλέος ἔσσεται, οὐδὲ σὸν οἴης.

ἦ καὶ ἐπὶ ρίον ὤσεν ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων  
πέτρῃσι προχυτῆσιν, ἀπέκρυσεν δὲ ῥέεθρα, [205]

καὶ βωμὸν ποιήσατ' ἐν ἄλσεϊ δενδρήεντι  
ἄγχι μάλα κρήνης καλλιρροῦ· ἐνθα δ' ἀνακτι 385

πάντες ἐπὶ κλησιν Τελφουσίῳ εὐχετόνται,  
οὐνεκα Τελφούσης ἱερῆς ῥῆσιν ἐπέερα.

καὶ τότε δὴ κατὰ θυμὸν ἐφράζετο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων  
οὓς τινας ἀνθρώπους ὀργίονας εἰσαγάγοιτο, [211]

377. κεχολωμένον E: κεχολωμένοι L 379. ἐξαπαφούσα M: ἐξαπάφουσα  
cet. 380. προρέειν Barnes 382. vv. 375-78 repetit M 383. πρώτῃσι προ-  
χόχῃν vel πετραῖαις προχόχῃν Ruhnken || ῥόον Gemoll 384. puncta versui  
opponuntur in M 389. ὀργίονας E

375 f. καὶ τότε κτλ. Apollo realised the nymph's treachery after he had seen and killed the dragon. The "deceit" of course lay in her advice to choose Pytho. She presumably knew that this was the home of the dragon, and hoped that the monster would overcome Apollo, and relieve her of a rival, of whom she was jealous (275 f., 381).

380. προρέειν: the transitive use, though rare, seems established by Apoll. Arg. I 225 ἦ δ' ἄρ' ὕδωρ προρέεσκε, Orph. Arg. 1137. Barnes' προρέειν is supported by 241, Φ 219; the two words are variants in Φ 366.

383. πέτρῃσι προχυτῇσι: not governed by ἐπὶ, but a dative of circumstance: "pushed a crag over, with a shower of stones." Such a shower would naturally follow the dislodgement of a mass of earth or rock from an overhanging cliff. See J. H. S. xvii. p. 250 (after Matthiae). Ruhnken's emendation πετραῖαις προχόχῃν, "pushed a crag against the waters which fell from the rock," is not to be adopted, although far better than Gemoll's ῥόον for ρίον. There is a reminiscence of this passage in Callim. h. Del. 133 f. ἀλλά οἱ Ἄρης | παγγαίου προθέλυμα καρήατ' ἔμελλεν

ἀείρας | ἐμβαλέειν δίνην ἀποκρῦψεν δὲ ῥέεθρα.

If (as Frazer on Paus. ix. 33. 1 supposes) Telphusa is to be identified with a spring which now issues from the foot of Mt. Telphusius (see on 244), a landslip would be probable enough, as the overhanging cliff, now called Petra, is very steep. The words ἀπέκρυσεν δὲ ῥέεθρα are not to be pressed; the spring was not annihilated, but only "spoilt" (ῥῆσιν 387) by the landslip.

388. ἐφράζετο: for the quantity of the first syllable see on h. Dem. 256.

389. ὀργίονας: the form and accent are uncertain. The Attic nom. is ὀργεῶν; Antimachus fr. 2 has an acc. ὀργίονας. The dat. ὀργεῶν in Hermesianax ap. Athen. 597 D is simply a correction (ὀργεῶν νόμῳ Hermann for ὀργιωνανέμῳ). See W. Headlam in Class. Rev. Nov. 1901, p. 403, where the word is discussed at length; it is there suggested that ὀργεῶν or ὀργίων is a metrical extension of ὀργεῶν (cf. ἀνδρῶν ἀνδρεῶν ἀνδρεῶν). Headlam also argues that the proper Ionic accent of these words is paroxytone in the nominative; we might thus adopt the form and accent ὀργεῖονας. Schulze Quaest. Ep. p. 255 also requires this,



οὐ θεραπεύσονται Πυθοῖ ἐνι πετρῆσση· 390  
 ταυτ' ἄρα ὀρμαίνων ἐνόησ' ἐπὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ  
 νῆα θοήν· ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ἔσαν πολέες τε καὶ ἐσθλοί,  
 Κρήτες ἀπὸ Κνωσοῦ Μινωῦτον, οἳ ῥά τ' ἀνακτι [215]  
 ἱερά τε ῥέζουσι καὶ ἀγγέλλουσι θέμιστας  
 Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσαόρου, ὅττι κεν εἴπῃ 395  
 χρείων ἐκ δάφνης γυάλων ὑπο Παρνησοῖο.

390 (scripto οἳ τέ ῥα πεύσονται), 395, 396, 394 (ῥέζουσι, ἀγγελέουσι), 391, 392 (393 secl.) ordinat Matthiae. 390, 394, 395, 396, 391, 392, 393, lacunam, 397 Hermann 391. in margine cod. M scripsit m. prima verba ἴσως λείπει στίχος εἰς manu recentiori oblitterata: ταυτ' ἄρ' ὃ γ' Schneidewin 392. ἡμασθὴν codd.: Νῆα εὐὴν m. rec. M, margo Γ ed. pr. 393. Κνώσσου ΜΕρ: Κνώσου Α: Κνώσσου cet. 394. ῥέζουσι E: ῥέζουσι MN ed. pr.: ῥέζουσι cet.: ῥέζωσι καὶ ἀγγέλλωσι Barnes || ἀγγέλλουσι M: ἀγγελέουσι p: ἀτέλλουσι xAtD: πυληγενέος hic et 424 codd.: corr. Fick

explaining ὀργέοντας as = \*ὀργήοντας = Attic ὀργῶνας; so Fick *B. B.* xvi. p. 27. Gemoll also is inclined to reject ὀργήοντας.

391. ἄρα ὀρμαίνων: Schneidewin inserts ὃ γ', to avoid the hiatus, which may be tolerated in this place.

The remark of the scribe of M ἴσως λείπει στίχος εἰς was no doubt due to the corruption ἡμασθὴν. It was rightly crossed out by the later hand, which corrected to νῆα θοήν.

393. Κρήτες ἀπὸ Κνωσοῦ: the writer expressly localises the original home of the cult of Apollo δελφίνιος in Crete. There was a temple of the god at Cnossus (*C. I. G.* ii. 2554, Γ 98) as δελφίνιος. The cult is also testified by Cnossian inscriptions at Delos, where the form of the title is δελφίδιος (*B. C. H.* iii. 293, iv. 355). There was a Cretan month Delphinus (*B. C. H.* iii. 293, *C. I. G.* ii. 2448), and a Delphinion at Drerus in Crete (*Rhein. Mus.* 1856, 393). See Preller-Robert i. p. 257 n. 4, Pauly-Wissowa "Apollon" 47, *Wide Lakon. Kulte* p. 87 f. For the supposed Cretan origin of the cult see on 495.

394-6. The transposition of these lines, with the futures ῥέζουσι, ἀγγελέουσι (first made by Matthiae), to follow 390 would be plausible but that 393 is left incomplete, which involves further violence. Moreover the present ἀγγέλλουσι is well established by M and x, and the change of ῥέζουσι to ῥέζουσι is graphically almost imperceptible, and constant in mss. of the *Iliad*. The

lines may therefore stand as a parenthesis. Gemoll's parallel α 23, 24 is in point: the function of the Cretans as priests of Apollo is mentioned by anticipation.

395. Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνος χρυσαόρου = E 509. For the form χρυσαόρου see on 123. The sword as an attribute of Apollo is unusual, at least in later times; hence arose the theory, which cannot be accepted, that the ἄορ may be the sword-belt or even the lyre of Apollo (see schol. A on O 256). Apollo carries the sword in his contest with Tityos and in scenes from the gigantomachy; e.g. on the vase of Aristophanes and Erginus (*Wiener Vorlegebl.* i. 5); other references in Pauly-Wissowa "Apollon" 111. In early literature and archaic art the attributes of the various gods were less stereotyped than was afterwards the case. Even Demeter has the sword; cf. n. on *h. Dem.* 4.

396. ἐκ δάφνης: so Callim. *h. Del.* 94 ἀπὸ δάφνης, perhaps a reminiscence. The precise allusion in ἐκ δάφνης may be doubted; the tripods (see on 443) are perhaps meant: cf. schol. on Arist. *Plut.* 39 οἱ τρίποδες δάφνη ἦσαν ἐστεμμένοι. Ilgen, with more probability, sees a reference to the laurel-tree which appears to have grown in the temple; cf. Arist. *Plut.* 213 Πυθικὴν σείσας δάφνην and schol. φασὶν ὡς πλησίον τοῦ τρίποδος δάφνη ἴστατο ἦν ἡ Πυθία, ἥνικα ἐχρησμήδει, ἔσειεν. So the paeon of Aristonous, χλωρότομον δάφναν σείων, where the adjective implies that a cut branch was shaken. The laurel was closely connected with the Pythian cult; the



οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ πρήξιν καὶ χρήματα νηὶ μελαίνῃ  
 ἐς Πύλον ἡμαθόεντα Πυλοιγενέας τ' ἀνθρώπους [220]  
 ἔπλεον· αὐτὰρ ὁ τοῖσι συνήντετο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·  
 ἐν πόντῳ δ' ἐπόρουσε δέμας δελφίνι ἐοικώς 400  
 νηὶ θοῇ, καὶ κείτο πέλωρ μέγα τε δεινόν τε·  
 τῶν δ' ὅς τις κατὰ θυμὸν ἐπιφράσσαιτο νοῆσαι  
 πάντοσ' ἀνασσεύσκει, τίναςσε δὲ νῆϊα δοῦρα. [225]  
 οἱ δ' ἀκέων ἐνὶ νηὶ καθείατο δειμαίνοντες,  
 οὐδ' οἳ γ' ὄπλ' ἔλυνον κοίλῃν ἀνὰ νῆα μέλαιναν, 405  
 οὐδ' ἔλυνον λαΐφος νηὸς κυανοπώροιο·

402. οὔτις M: ὅστις cet.: εἷτις Ilgen: ἦν τις Matthiae || ἐπεφράσατο M: ἐπεφράσσατο D: ἐπιφράσσατο x: ἐπιφράσσατο p: ἐπεφράσατ' οὐδ' ἐνόησε Matthiae || νοήσας At || lacunam post h. v. stat. Hermann 403. παντός' p || ἀνασσεύσκει MT: ἀνασ(ε)ύσκει cet.: ποντόθεν ἀνσεύσκει Ilgen: πάντα δ' Matthiae || δουρός M 406. οὐδ' ἔλυνον M: οὐδὲ λύσιν cet.: εἶλον Ilgen: ἔλκον Baumeister

first legendary temple was built of laurel (Paus. x. 5. 5); there were branches at the entrance (Eur. *Ion* 80, 103) and laurel-trees in the *τέμενος* (Eur. *Ion* 76). The priestess of Apollo chewed laurel before delivering the oracles (Lucian *Bis Acc.* 1, Tzetzes on Lycophr. 6), and fumigated herself with burning laurel before descending into the cavern (Plutarch *de EI* 2). Frazer on Paus. x. 5. 5 gives parallels for this fumigation. On the laurel see further Pauly-Wissowa "Apollon" 110, Preller-Robert i. pp. 285, 291, Murr *die Pflanzenwelt in d. griech. Myth.* pp. 92 f., Mannhardt *B.K.* p. 296.

γυάλων ὑπο Παρνησοῖο = Hes. *Theog.* 499 (γυάλοις); similarly Παρνασσοῦ γυάλων in the paean of Aristonous.

398. Πυλοιγενέας: Fick's correction may be accepted; in B 54 *πυλληγενέας* and *πυλοιγενέας* are variants.

The Leprean Pylos is meant, as appears from 424.

400. δελφίνι ἐοικώς: stories of animals guiding people to a new town or country are very common; see Frazer's exhaustive note on Paus. x. 6. 2. For Apollo's connexion with the dolphin see on 495.

402, 403. The difficulty in these two lines is so great that Gemoll may be pardoned for giving up the passage as hopeless. We have first to decide between οὐ τις . . . ἐπεφράσατο of M and ὅς τις . . . ἐπιφράσσαιτο of other mss. The objection to the reading of M is that it is hard to understand how

the sailors could have failed to see the dolphin, which lay on the deck; in fact lines 415 f. distinctly state the contrary. This seems to dispose of Matthiae's ἐπεφράσατ' οὐδ' ἐνόησε, apart from the graphical difficulty of that emendation. We must therefore accept ὅς τις ἐπιφράσσαιτο νοῆσαι, which can mean "whoever thought to observe the dolphin." ἐπιφράζεσθαι takes an infinitive, ε 183 ἐπεφράσθης ἀγορεύσαι. With this reading it would be just possible to dispense with the theory of a lacuna; we might understand "whoever observed him, him he threw down, and shook the ship." The dolphin would upset any one who approached him. But πάντοσ' ἀνασσεύσκει will hardly bear this interpretation. The verb seems to mean "shake up" or "shake to and fro," and the object must be the ship or the δοῦρα. Hermann's lacuna may therefore be accepted, the sense being "whoever saw the dolphin [tried to throw it overboard, but the monster] made [the ship] rock all ways"; e.g. we may supply a verse like ἐκβάλλειν ἔθελεν δελφίν', ὁ δὲ νῆα μέλαιναν.

ἀνασσεύσκει is an anomalous form, but may be defended by Θ 272 κρύπτασκε, Ο 23 ῥίπτασκον, θ 374 ῥίπτασκε.

405, 406. The sailors were at first too much afraid to stop the ship, as they afterwards attempted to do (414). Hence ἔλυνον is right in both lines. The repetition of the verb, to which Baumeister objects, is not more offensive than that



ἀλλ' ὥς τὰ πρότιστα κατεστήσαντο βοεῦσιν,  
 ὥς ἔπλεον· κραιπνὸς δὲ νότος κατόπισθεν ἔπειγε [230]  
 νῆα θοήν· πρῶτον δὲ παρημείβοντο Μάλειαν,  
 παρ δὲ Λακωνίδα γαίαν ἀλιστέφανον πτολίεθρον 410  
 Ἴξον καὶ χῶρον τερψιμβρότου Ἡελίοιο,  
 Ταίναρον, ἔνθα τε μῆλα βαθύτριχα βόσκεται αἰεὶ  
 Ἡελίοιο ἀνακτος, ἔχει δ' ἐπιτερπέα χῶρον. [235]

407. τὰ πρότιστα M: τὰ πρῶτα cet.: οἱ τὰ πρῶτα ed. pr. 408. ἔπειρε  
 codd.: ἔπειγε Ruhnken 410. ἀλιστέφανον] Ἔλος τ' ἔφαλον Matthiae, Ilgen  
 411. Ἴξον ed. pr.: Ἴξον M: Ὑξον cet. || τερψιμβρότου M

of νῆα, νηός. Baumeister's ἔλκον would give a wrong sense, "hoist sail," cf. β 426, ο 291; the sails were already set. ἔλκειν could not mean "change sail," as he explains.

406. λαῖφος: not Homeric in this sense; cf. Alcæus *fr.* 18. 7, for early poetry.

407. κατεστήσαντο, "fixed it," sc. λαῖφος. No precise parallel to this use occurs in Homer; but cf. Soph. *El.* 710 κατέστησαν δῖφρους, "they stationed the chariots." So μ 402 ἰσὺν στησάμενοι, "fixing the mast."

408. ἔπλεον: for the quantity of the first syllable see *H. G.* § 370. We are not to suppose a synizesis, with Hermann.

ἔπειγε: Ruhnken's correction, which is very slight, must be accepted, as the verb is constant in this connexion; μ 167 (see note on 411), Soph. *Phil.* 1443, Apollon. *Arg.* Δ 1769. The exx. given of ἐγείρειν in *J. H. S.* xvii. 250 refer to quasi-animate or material objects.

410. ἀλιστέφανον: Matthiae's correction "Ἔλος τ' ἔφαλον, from B 584, is brilliant, and has been generally adopted; but it is hard to suppose a rare and poetical word, like ἀλιστέφανον, either the result of a corruption or the invention of a scribe. Moreover Ἔλος is at the head of the Laconian gulf, and it is difficult to see why the Νότος carried the ship first N. and then S. again to Taenarum instead of crossing the mouth of the gulf from point to point. This latter argument cannot, however, be pressed; for (1) the hymn-writer is careless on points of geographical accuracy (see 239 f., 419 f., 425), and (2) the ship might be said to pass Helos, even if it kept a fairly straight course from Malea to Taenarum.

With the manuscript reading, πτολίεθρον would refer to Taenarum: "first

they went by Malea, and then past the Laconian land they arrived at the seagirt town and fields of the sun." Paus. iii. 25. 9 mentions a town once called Taenarum, in his own day Καινήπολις, forty stades from the cape; so Steph. Byz. Ταίναρος . . . ἀφ' οὗ καλεῖται ἡ πόλις καὶ ἡ ἄκρα καὶ ὁ λιμὴν. The hymn-writer may either have identified the cape and town, or may refer to the town only. The epithet ἀλιστέφανος is true of the Taenarian peninsula; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* i. 18 ἀλιερκέες ὄχθαι, of Cumae, between two seas. The nearly identical ἀλιστεφής seems to have been common in hymnal literature; cf. Orph. *Arg.* 145, 186, 1208.

In favour of Matthiae's emendation, it should be noted that the hymn-writer is evidently familiar with the passage in B; cf. on 422, 423.

411. τερψιμβρότου Ἡελίοιο = μ 269, 274. In Homer the epithet occurs only in μ, a part of the *Odyssey* no doubt familiar to the author; see n. on 408 (ἐπειγε) and below, 412.

412, 413. Groddeck quite unreasonably ejects these verses. There is no other record of the sacred flocks at Taenarum, but there were cults of Helios in various parts of Laconia, e.g. at Taleton (Taygetus) where horses were sacrificed, Paus. iii. 20. 4. Other reff. in Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 215 f. Herodotus (ix. 93) mentions sacred flocks of Apollo at Apollonia in Epirus. In any case, the author had in mind the herds and flocks of the Sun in Thrinacia, μ 123 f. The subject is discussed by O. Müller *Proll.* pp. 224, 368; H. D. Müller *Myth.* ii. 338; v. Wilamowitz *Hom. Unters.* p. 168; Tümpel *Lesbiaka* i.; *Philologus* N. F. ii. 124 (quoted by Wide); Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 430.

The meaning of the flocks or herds of



οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἔνθ' ἔθελον νῆα σχεῖν ἡδ' ἀποβάντες  
 φράσσασθαι μέγα θαῦμα καὶ ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ιδέσθαι, 415  
 εἰ μενέει νηὸς γλαφυρῆς δαπέδοισι πέλωρον,  
 ἢ εἰς οἶδμ' ἄλιον πολυῖχθον ἀμφὶς ὀρούσει·  
 ἀλλ' οὐ πηδαλίουσιν ἐπείθετο νηὺς εὐεργής, [240]  
 ἀλλὰ παρὲκ Πελοπόννησον πίειραν ἔχουσα  
 ἦτ' ὁδόν, πνοιῇ δὲ ἀναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων 420  
 ῥηϊδίως ἴθυν· ἡ δὲ πρήσσουσα κέλευθον  
 Ἀρήνην ἵκανε καὶ Ἀργυφένην ἐρατεινὴν,  
 καὶ Θρύον, Ἀλφειοῖο πόρον, καὶ ἑύκτιτον Αἴπυ [245]

416 om. p 417. αὔεις pro ἀμφίς Pierson 419. ἐκούσα Baumeister  
 420. ἦτ' M: ἦεν (ἦεν, ἦεν) cet.: ἦεν Clarke: ἦenen Barnes || πνοιῇ δ' M  
 422. Ἀμφιγένησαν ἑρανήν Ilgen 423. εὔκτιτον αἴπυ M, marg. Γ: εὔκτιμένον  
 (εὔκτιμένον ET): αἰπύ (αἴπυ O: αἰπύ L) cet.

the Sun has exercised commentators from the time of Eustathius, who gives Aristotle's explanation that they are an allegory of the lunar year (see Roscher *Hermes* p. 43 f.). Modern "solar" mythologists see a reference to physical phenomena—the clouds, or rays of the sun; see reff. in Preller-Robert i. p. 394, n. 1. That there is a physical basis to the idea of divine flocks, at least in the case of Helios, is very probable. The cattle of Apollo may also be "solar"; but it should be remembered that Apollo was the protector of all cattle, and, as Νόμος, he would naturally have his own peculiar herds. See further on *h. Herm.* 71.

414. For the harbour, where the Cretans wished to land, see Frazer on Paus. iii. p. 396, Weil *Ath. Mitth.* i. p. 160 f.

416. δαπέδοι: only here, apparently, of a ship's deck. The plural (which does not occur in Homer) probably expresses the two decks, fore and aft (ἱκρια).

417. πολυῖχθον: not in Homer, for *ιχθυόεις*. ἀμφίς: there is great difficulty in supposing that αὔεις (Pierson; αὔεις Hermann), one of the commonest words in Homer, could have been corrupted into the comparatively rare ἀμφίς. For the latter word the sense "apart," "away" (χ 57, ω 218, Apoll. *Arg.* Γ 1070, *orac.* ap. Herod. i. 85) is well established. There seems, however, to be no certain example of its use with a verb of motion, "to dart away"; but cf. Hes. *Theog.* 748 ἀμφὶς ἰούσαι (paraphr. *χωρίζόμεναι*) with *vv. ll.*

419 f. This passage, together with the

enumeration of Nestor's possessions in the Catalogue (B 591–602) and the description of Telemachus' return-journey from Pylos to Ithaca (ο 295–300) is the earliest authority for the geography of the W. coast of the Peloponnese. (Cf. also H 133–5, Δ 711 f., Pherecydes *fr.* 87.) Much of Strabo's seventh book (especially from 337 onwards) is taken up with identifying the Homeric sites. Strabo travelled through this country from N. to S., Pausanias (ch. v.), who is less occupied with Homer, in the reverse direction. Many of the sites are uncertain, and one name, Ἀργυφένη, occurs only in the hymn.

The writer had little sense of relative position; Pylos, Cruni, and Chalcis were certainly S. of the Alpheus, but he mentions them after Thryon, and Dyme, though N. of Elis, appears before it.

419. ἔχουσα, "holding on." For this use cf. γ 182 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γε Πύλονδ' ἔχον, where νῆα is the implied object; there is, however, no difficulty in making the ship itself the subject. Baumeister's ἐκούσα is misplaced.

420. ὁδόν: cogn. acc. with ἦτε, as in 233.

422. Ἀρήνην: from B 591, cf. Δ 722; for the place see Frazer on Paus. vol. iii. p. 481. Strabo 346 identifies it with Σάμος or Σαμκόν.

Ἀργυφένη does not occur in B 591 f. and is unknown. Ilgen wished to substitute Ἀμφιγένησαν (*ib.* 593), but the example of *Αὐτοκάνη* (see on 35) forbids alteration. On the etymology see Fick *B. B.* xxv. p. 123.

423=B 592. Θρύον: cf. Strabo 349 καλεῖται δὲ νῦν Ἐπιτάλιον τῆς Μακιστίας



καὶ Πύλον ἡμαθόεντα Πυλοιγενέας τ' ἀνθρώπους·  
 βῆ δὲ παρὰ Κρουνοὺς καὶ Χαλκίδα καὶ παρὰ Δύμην, 425  
 ἥδὲ παρ' Ἥλιδα διαν, ὅθι κρατέουσιν Ἐπειοί·  
 εὔτε Φεράς ἐπέβαλλεν, ἀγαλλομένη Διὸς οὔρῳ,

424. πολυγενέας ed. pr.  
 M: φεράς L

425. χαλκίδα καλλιρέεσθρον Ilgen

427. φέρας

χωρίον. It is certainly identical with the Θυρέεσσα πόλις of A 711.

The singular mistake ἐκτίμενον for ἐκτικτον is found in several mss. of B 592, Q. Smyrn. xii. 91, and in all copies of the hymns, except M.

For Αἴπυ see Frazer on Paus. vol. iii. p. 476, who identifies it with the later Αἴπιον (Herod. iv. 148); cf. also Strabo 349.

424. Πύλον: the difficulty of identifying the Homeric Pylos is well-known; references are given by Leaf on B 591. It seems probable that in the present passage and in B the Triphylian Pylos is meant, as that place is near the Alpheus; cf. *h. Herm.* 398 ἐς Πύλον ἡμαθόεντα ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ πόρον ἱξον. Leaf objects that the epithet ἡμαθόεις implies a situation on the sea-shore, whereas the Triphylian town was on a hill. The town, however, was not far from the sea. Strabo 344 explains the epithet by the nature of the coast below the Triphylian Pylos: *βινώδης δὲ καὶ στενὸς ἐστὶν ὁ τῆς θαλάσσης αἰγυάλος, ὥστ' οὐκ ἂν ἀπογνοίη τις ἐντεῦθεν ἡμαθόεντα ὠνομάσθαι τὸν Πύλον*. On the quicksands at Samicum see Paus. v. 5. 7, and 6. 3 διὰ χωρίον τὰ πλείονα ὑπόψαμνον, and for the actual condition of the coast Frazer *Paus.* vol. iii. p. 473 and 481. The whole of Triphylia may have been called Pylos from the chief town; see Strabo 339, and cf. E 545 Ἀλφειοῦ ὅς τ' εὐρὸν ῥέει Πυλίων διὰ γαίης.

425. Strabo in two places (350, 447), speaking of the return journey of Telemachus from Pylos, quotes a line βάν δὲ παρὰ Κρουνοὺς καὶ Χαλκίδα καλλιρέεσθρον (in 447 *πετρίεσσαν*). This line is not in any ms. of the *Odyssey*, where it should naturally come before ο 296 or (see Monro *ad loc.*) after 297. Strabo throughout ignores the hymns, and says that Δύμη is not in Homer (Strabo 341). There is therefore the less reason to suppose that he is quoting this hymn; in view of the recent additions in papyri, he probably read the line in a copy of the *Odyssey*. Cf. Preface p. liv.

For Κρουνοὺς and Χαλκίδα see Strabo

343, 351, where he calls them *ὄχετοί* rather than rivers (like the Iardanus of H 135 which he styles a *ποτάμιον* 342). They were small streams (Chalcis was also a *κατοικία*) in the district of Macistia S. of the mouth of the Alpheus, and seem to have been obliterated by the lagoon which now stretches from the Alpheus past Macistus, part of which (that formed by the Anigrus at Arene) is mentioned by Strabo 347, Frazer *Paus.* vol. iii. p. 478.

Δύμην: the Achæan Dyme is mentioned out of its proper place. The ship would of course pass it after Elis. The author again disregards the proper sequence of landmarks; cf. on 239 f.

426, 427. In the *Odyssey* these lines stand in the reverse order; in 427 the Homeric mss. have ἡ δὲ instead of εὔτε, and *ἐπειγομένη* for *ἀγαλλομένη*.

426. Ἐπειοί: the old name for the inhabitants of Elis; B 619, A 688 (but in A 671 Ἥλειοι), etc. Cf. Strabo 340 ὕστερον ἀντ' Ἐπειῶν Ἥλειοι ἐκλήθησαν. The change of name has been thought to be due to the Dorian and Aetolian invasion.

427. εὔτε: for the asyndeton see on 115.

Φεράς: in ο 297 Aristarchus and Strabo (350) read Φεάς; nearly all the mss. read Φεράς, as here. Monro accepts Φεάς, identifying the place with the Φειά of H 135 (where, however, Didymus after Pherecydes read Φηράς, schol. A *ad loc.*), Thuc. ii. 25. Pheia is N. of the prominent headland Ichthys (Κατάκολο), and would be a natural landmark. It is, however, S. of Elis; so that, by adopting the reading of Aristarchus, we should be charging the author with another geographical inaccuracy. Gemoll wisely retains Φεράς, as there may very well have been a place of that name in W. Greece, as well as in Thessaly (B 710, δ 798). Steph. Byz. s.v. mentions a Pherae in Aetolia; or more probably the hymn-writer may have meant the Achæan Pharae (Paus. vii. 22, Strabo 388) which is not much east of Dyme,



καί σφιν ὑπὲκ νεφέων Ἰθάκης τ' ὄρος αἰπὺν πέφαντο, [250]  
 Δουλίχον τε Σάμη τε καὶ ὑλήεσσα Ζάκυνθος.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Πελοπόννησον παρενίστατο πᾶσαν, 430  
 καὶ δὴ ἐπὶ Κρίσης κατεφαίνετο κόλπος ἀπείρων,  
 ὅς τε διὲκ Πελοπόννησον πείραυν ἔεργει,  
 ἦλθ' ἄνεμος ξέφυρος μέγας αἰθριος, ἐκ Διὸς αἴσης, [255]  
 λάβρος ἐπαιγίζων ἐξ αἰθέρος, ὄφρα τάχιστα  
 νηὺς ἀνύσειε θεούσα θαλάσσης ἀλμυρὸν ὕδωρ. 435  
 ἄψορροι δὴ ἔπειτα πρὸς ἡῶ τ' ἠέλιόν τε  
 ἔπλεον, ἡγεμόνευε δ' ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων.  
 ἴξον δ' ἐς Κρίσιν εὐδείελον, ἀμπελόεσσαν, [260]  
 ἐς λιμέν', ἣ δ' ἀμάθοισιν ἐχρίμψατο ποντοπόρος νηὺς.  
 ἔνθ' ἐκ νηὸς ὄρουσεν ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων, 440

428. πέφανται M 430. παρενίστατο M: παρενίσσεται cet. 431. ἐπὶ MR<sub>1</sub>:  
 ἐπεὶ cet. || κρίσης M: κρίσσης cet. || τάχ' ἐφαίνετο Schneidewin 436.  
 ἄψορροι M 438. ἴξον ed. pr.: ἴσον M: ἴσον cet. || κρίσιν M: κρίσσης cet.  
 439. ἐς λιμένος δ' ἀμάθοισιν M: ἀμάθοις D'Orville

and not further from the sea than Elis. It is in fact the last place (as he does not mention Patrae) before Rhium, where he seems to have made the κόλπος ἀπείρων begin. The quantity varies in this place-name; cf. B 711 οἱ δὲ Φεράς ἐνέμοντο with 763 Φηρητιάδαο.

428. καί marks the apodosis, with εἴτε, as in ν 79. Reading Φεράς, we need not question the possibility of Ithaca being in sight; it is visible from Patrae (Frazer *Paus.* vol. iv. p. 144), and therefore from the coast of Pharae (if that place is intended). Even if Φεάς is read, the statement will still hold good, in spite of Baumeister's objections; according to Frazer *Paus.* vol. iii. p. 475 Cefalonia is visible from the coast near Lepreum, and even from a hill above Cyparissia, much farther south (*ib.* p. 463).

429 = α 246, ι 24, π 123. Neither Dulichion nor Same can be identified; for ancient and modern theories see M. and R. on α 246.

430. παρενίστατο: the aor. of νίσσομαι does not occur in Homer; but the imperf. παρενίσσεται is far less appropriate.

431. ἐπὶ Κρίσης: as the whole Corinthian gulf is meant (see below), ἐπὶ must here be "in the direction of," not (as Ilgen translates) "in the neighbourhood of." For the latter meaning cf. γ 171 νήσου ἐπὶ Ψυρίης "close by" Psyrria.

Herodotus vii. 115 has κόλπον τὸν ἐπὶ Ποσειδῶν the bay at ("of") Posideion, but this is not conclusive for the hymns. For ἐπὶ = "towards" cf. Γ 5, E 700, Λ 546, Ψ 374. The text is satisfactorily defended by Peppmüller, against Schneidewin, who reads τάχ' ἐφαίνετο, connecting ἐπὶ with the verb. But Κρίσης cannot go with κόλπος; the epithet ἀπείρων would suit the Corinthian gulf, but not the bay of Crisa; nor could the latter be said to "separate Peloponnesus." For κατέφαίνετο cf. Apoll. Arg. Δ 1231, Theoc. vii. 10.

434-435 are adapted from ο 293, 294. ἀνύσειε: with ὕδωρ; cf. δ 356 ὅσσον νηὺς ἤνυσεν, h. Herm. 337 πολὺν διὰ χῶρον ἤνυσας.

439. ἐς λιμέν': for the repetition of ἐς cf. h. Aphr. 58-59; so Λ 479-480, X 503-504, Ω 614-615. The harbour of Crisa was Cirrha, which may well have been in existence and have been known by that name to the hymn-writer, although he calls it simply the "harbour." Cirrha was destroyed with Crisa, after the First Sacred War, but (unlike Crisa) was subsequently rebuilt. For the two places, which were confused by later writers, see Frazer on Paus. x. 37. 6.

ἐχρίμψατο: no example occurs in Homer or Hesiod of a short vowel before χρ in the same word; La Roche *Homer. Unters.* i. p. 10.



ἀστέρι εἰδόμενος μέσῳ ἡματι· τοῦ δ' ἀπὸ πολλαὶ  
 σπινθαρίδες πωτῶντο, σέλας δ' εἰς οὐρανὸν ἵκεν·  
 ἐς δ' ἄδυτον κατέδυσε διὰ τριπόδων ἐριτίμων. [265]  
 ἔνθ' ἄρ' ὃ γε φλόγα δαΐε πιφασκόμενος τὰ ἅ κῆλα,  
 πᾶσαν δὲ Κρίσιν κάτεχεν σέλας· αἱ δ' ὀλόλυξαν 445  
 Κρισαίων ἄλοχοι καλλίζωνοί τε θύγατρες  
 Φοίβου ὑπὸ ῥιπῆς· μέγα γὰρ δέος ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστω.  
 ἔνθεν δ' αὖτ' ἐπὶ νῆα νόημ' ὥς ἄλτο πέτεσθαι, [270]  
 ἀνέρι εἰδόμενος αἰζήῳ τε κρατερῷ τε,  
 πρωθήβη, χαίτης εἰλυμένος εὐρέας ὤμους· 450  
 καὶ σφεας φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·  
 ὦ ξεῖνοι, τίνες ἐστέ; πόθεν πλεῖθ' ὑγρὰ κέλευθα;

442. ἦκεν codd.: corr. Barnes || σπινοάριες D'Orville: σπινοάρυες Matthiae  
 444. ἐνδ' codd.: corr. Hermann || φλόγ' ἔδαιε M || πιφασκόμενος IV 445.  
 κρίσιν M: κρίσιν cet. 446. κρισαίων T: corr. Baumeister: κρισαίων cet.  
 (κρισαίων M): κρισαίων "J. St. Bernardus ap. Thom. M. p. 208" 447.  
 ῥιπῆς x || ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστω M: εἰλεν ἔκαστον cet. 448. ἄλτο ὦρτο Windisch  
 450. χαίτη Γ: corr. ed. pr. 452. τίνες ἐστέ Γ: superser. ed. pr.: πόθεν cet.

441, 442. The passage is certainly imitated from Δ 75 f., where Athene descends to earth like a meteorite; the exact form which she assumed is doubtful (see Leaf *ad loc.*). In Δ 77 τοῦ δέ τε πολλὰ ἀπὸ σπινθήρες ἔνται, the present tense shews that the sparks are only mentioned as attending the meteor; it does not follow that Athene was wrapped in fire. Here, however, the imperfects πωτῶντο and ἵκεν prove that fire actually streamed from the god; εἰδόμενος implies a complete metamorphosis as in 449, 494.

443. διὰ τριπόδων ἐριτίμων: there is perhaps a reminiscence of this in Arist. *Eg.* 1016 ἵαχεν ἐξ ἀδύτοιο διὰ τριπόδων ἐριτίμων; see Preface p. liii, and n. on 114. The plural seems to prove that the oracular tripod is not meant: Apollo passes through the collection of tripods in the νῆος to the ἄδυτον. Votive tripods were also placed in the open air before the νῆος; cf. Bacchyl. iii. 18 τριπόδων σταθέντων παρόιθε ναοῦ. In the *Eg.* i.e. the voice of Apollo or the Pythia comes through the tripods to the inquirers in the temple; the same explanation may serve for the paean of Aristonous ἐνθ' ἀπὸ τριπόδων θεοκτῆτων χλωρότομον δάφναν | σείων μαντοσύναν ἐποίχυν, ἢ ἢ Παίδων, where, however, the use of ἀπὸ for διὰ suggests that Aristonous confused the votive τριπόδες

with the τριπόους, or used the plural loosely for the singular. For the dedicated tripods which formed part of the wealth of Apollo at Delphi and elsewhere see Wieseler *Fleckeis. Jahrb.* 75, p. 692 f., Preller-Robert i. p. 291. They were sometimes of gold, as at Thebes; cf. Pind. *Pyth.* xi. 4 with schol. The collection at Delphi is mentioned by Eur. *Suppl.* 1197 f. (other reff. given by Wieseler); cf. *h. Herm.* 179.

444. πιφασκόμενος τὰ ἅ κῆλα=M 280 (of a snowstorm sent by Zeus). The shafts of light are the "weapons" of Apollo, just as the snowflakes are the weapons of Zeus. In Hes. *Theog.* 708 the κῆλα of Zeus are thunder, lightning, and the thunderbolt. The manifestation of light is appropriate to the sun-god, but is also a mark of other divinities (see on *h. Dem.* 189).

447. μέγα γὰρ δέος ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστω: for this reading (of M) cf. Δ 11 μέγα σθένος ἔμβαλ' ἐκάστω. There is no reason to prefer the variant εἰλεν ἔκαστον, which appears to be an independent reading.

448. ἄλτο πέτεσθαι: the inf. is not found with this verb in Homer; but cf. *h. Dem.* 389. Windisch's ὦρτο is needless. For the simile see on 186.

449=II 716 (εἰσαμένος).

450. Compare vii. 4.

452-455=γ 71-74, ι 252-255.



ἡ τι κατὰ πρῆξιν, ἡ μαψιδίως ἀλάλησθε, [275]  
οἶά τε ληϊστήρες ὑπεῖρ ἄλα, τοί τ' ἀλῶνται  
ψυχὰς παρθέμενοι, κακὸν ἀλλοδαποῖσι φέροντες ; 455  
τίφθ' οὕτως ἦσθον τετιηότες, οὐδ' ἐπὶ γαίαν  
ἔκβητ', οὐδὲ καθ' ὄπλα μελαίνης νηὸς ἔθεσθε ;  
αὕτη μὲν γε δίκη πέλει ἀνδρῶν ἀλφηστάων, [280]  
ὀππόταν ἐκ πόντοιο ποτὶ χθονὶ νηὶ μελαίνῃ  
ἔλθωσιν καμάτῳ ἀδηκότες, αὐτίκα δέ σφεας 460  
σίτοιο γλυκεροῖο περὶ φρένας ἴμερος αἰρεῖ.  
ὥς φάτο καὶ σφιν θάρσος ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔθηκε.  
τὸν καὶ ἀμειβόμενος Κρητῶν ἀγὸς ἀντίον ἦνδα· [285]  
ξείν', ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν γάρ τι καταθητοῖσιν ἔοικας,  
οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φυήν, ἀλλ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν, 465

453. πρᾶξιν M: ante corr. 456. ΤΕΤΙΗΟΤΕ Baumeister: ἔΣΤΗΤΕ ΤΕΘΗΠΟΤΕΣ  
Matthiae: ΤΙΠΤΕ ΚΑΘΕΣΘ' ΟΥΤΩ ΤΕΤΙΗΟΤΕΣ Cobet 457. ΕΚ ΜΗ ΤΟΥ ΔΕ Μ 459.  
ΠΟΤΙ] ἐπὶ M 460. puncta versui praeponuntur in M || ἀδικότες M || σφας p  
464. κατὰ MDN

453. κατὰ ΠΡᾶξιν, "on business," for "trading"; cf. πρῆκτῆρες "traders," "factors," θ 162, and ἐπὶ πρῆξιν πλεῖν l. 397.

ἀλάλησσε, "rove," suits μαψιδίως better than κατὰ πρῆξιν, for, as M. and R. (on γ 73) remark, "roving" cannot properly be applied to a voyage "on business." For the question as to whether strangers were pirates cf. Thuc. i. 5.

456. ἸΣΘΟΝ ΤΕΤΙΗΟΤΕΣ: the use of the dual for the plural seems quite established for this hymn; cf. 487 κάθετον λύσαντε, 501 ἱκησθόν. Zenodotus, with Eratosthenes and Crates (schol. A on Ω 282) recognised this use in Homer (e.g. A 567, E 487, Θ 74, O 346), while Aristarchus denied its possibility, arguing that in the text of Zenodotus such dual forms had their proper force, or that the readings were incorrect. Some modern scholars, following Buttmann, have sided with Zenodotus; but general opinion agrees with Aristarchus. The false readings in Homer probably arose, as Monro (*Odyssey* vol. ii. App. p. 438) explains, from the fact that the dual number disappeared from the κοινή διάλεκτος. Hence dual forms in Homer came to be considered as "poetic licences," mere equivalents of the plural. Late poets, e.g. Aratus 968, 1023, Apollonius *Arg.* Γ 206 (see below 487) and perhaps A 384, and the author of the *Hom. Epigr.* iv. 8, imitated the use;

so perhaps h. vi. 12. As the duals in the three passages of this hymn cannot be emended without great violence, we must assume that the writer, like Aratus and others, regarded the dual as an archaic variety of the plural.

461 = Δ 89 (σίτου τε).

463. Τὸν καί: καί of course qualifies the whole sentence, "also," as in 525, I 195, δ 59 etc.

Κρητῶν ἀγός: later accounts give a name to the leader (Castalius, according to Tzetzes on Lycophr. 208; Icadius, Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* iii. 332).

464. ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν γάρ τι: the collocation of ἐπεὶ and γάρ is remarkable; as Baumeister notes, there is a combination of οὐ μὲν γάρ τι (α 78 etc.) and ἐπεὶ οὐ μὲν τι (ε 364 etc.).

465. Cf. η 210. οὐ δέμας οὐδὲ φυήν: perhaps "neither in form (general appearance) nor in stature," but the distinction between δέμας and φυή is not very evident; see Leaf on A 115.

After this line several editors assume a lacuna; A. Matthiae supplies Ὀληθ'· εἰ δέ τις ἐσσι καταθητῶν ἀνθρώπων, objecting to the words θεοὶ δέ τοι δλβια δοῖεν in their present context, as the Cretans took the stranger for a god. If the speaker really believed that he was addressing a god, it would be a sufficient defence of the text to point out, with Gemoll, that the Homeric phrase θεοὶ δέ τοι κτλ. has been transferred from its appropriate



οὐλέ τε καὶ μέγα χαῖρε, θεοὶ δέ τοι ὄλβια δοῖεν.  
καί μοι τοῦτ' ἀγόρευσον ἐτήτυμον, ὅφρ' εὖ εἰδῶ.  
τίς δῆμος; τίς γαῖα; τίνες βροτοὶ ἐγγεγάασιν; [290]  
ἄλλη γὰρ φρονέοντες ἐπεπλέομεν μέγα λαῖτμα,  
εἰς Πύλον ἐκ Κρήτης, ἔνθεν γένος εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι. 470  
νῦν δ' ὦδε ξὺν νηϊ κατήλθομεν οὐ τι ἐκόντες,  
νόστου ἰέμενοι, ἄλλην ὁδόν, ἄλλα κέλευθα.  
ἀλλὰ τις ἀθανάτων δεῦρ' ἤγαγεν οὐκ ἐθέλοντας. [295]  
τοὺς δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος προσέφη ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων.  
ξείνοι, τοὶ Κνωσὸν πολυδένδρεον ἀμφινέμεσθε 475  
τὸ πρίν, ἀτὰρ νῦν οὐκ ἔθ' ὑπότροποι αὐθις ἔσεσθε  
ἔς τε πόλιν ἐρατὴν καὶ δώματα καλὰ ἕκαστος,  
ἔς τε φίλας ἀλόχους, ἀλλ' ἐνθάδε πίονα νηὸν [300]  
ἔξετ' ἐμὸν πολλοῖσι τετιμένον ἀνθρώποισιν.  
εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ Διὸς υἱός, Ἀπόλλων δ' εὐχομαι εἶναι, 480  
ὑμέας δ' ἤγαγον ἐνθάδ' ὑπὲρ μέγα λαῖτμα θαλάσσης,  
οὐ τι κακὰ φρονέων, ἀλλ' ἐνθάδε πίονα νηὸν  
ἔξετ' ἐμὸν πᾶσιν μάλα τίμιον ἀνθρώποισι, [305]  
βουλὰς τ' ἀθανάτων εἰδήσετε, τῶν ἰότητι  
αἰεὶ τιμήσεσθε διαμπερές ἡματα πάντα. 485  
ἀλλ' ἄγεθ', ὥς ἂν ἐγὼ εἴπω, πείθεσθε τάχιστα.

468. ἐκγεγάσιν codd.: corr. Ilgen 475. κείνοι M; cf. Δ 377 || ἀμφινέμεσθε  
Cobet 479. ἐμὸν καλλοῖσι ET: ἐμὸν ἀλλοῖσι L: πολλοῖσι cet. || τετιμένοι  
Hermann 486. ἐγὼν Matthiae, Gemoll

context to a less suitable place. But lines 464, 465 are merely complimentary; Apollo is now disguised as a young man of noble appearance (449), and the Cretans do not know that he is a god, or that he has any connexion with the previous miracles. For the nobility of the gods, even in their disguises, see *h. Dem.* 159, *h. Aphr.* 81 f.

466-472. This passage is almost a cento from the *Odyssey*: 466, 467 = *ω* 402, 403; 468 = *ν* 233 *τίς γῆ, τίς δῆμος, τίνες ἀνέρες ἐγγεγάασιν*; preceded by *καί μοι τοῦτ' κτλ.*; 471 = *α* 182 (*κατήλυθον ἢ δ' ἐτάροισι*); 472 = *ι* 261 (*οἴκαδε*). Baumeister objects to 472, which, however, seems quite in place. Their *νόστος* should have been "by another way and other paths." They had already passed Pylos, their destination (cf. 398, 424), and were now going away from, instead of towards, their home.

475. ἀμφινέμεσθε: imperfect (cf. *τὸ πρίν*); Cobet's ἀμφινέμεσθε is easy; in B 521, 634 there is authority for the augment.

479. τετιμένον: Hermann is not justified in emending this to *τετιμένοι* on the ground of the repetition of the idea in 483 *τίμιον*, which indeed seems rather to confirm the accusative here. With *τετιμένοι* there would also be a repetition in 485 *τιμήσεσθε*.

485. τιμήσεσθε: Homer does not distinguish a passive future from the middle; see Leaf on E 653, K 365. So *εἰρήσεται* Ψ 795.

486. ἐγὼν: Gemoll follows Matthiae in writing *ἐγὼν*, on the ground that there is no "living" digamma in the hymn. Even on this assumption, the later poets certainly tolerated the hiatus which often resulted after the loss of a digamma. On the question of a living digamma see Preface p. lxi f.



ἰστία μὲν πρῶτον κάθετον λύσαντε βοείας,  
 νῆα δ' ἔπειτα θοὴν ἀν' ἐπ' ἠπείρου ἐρύσασθε, [310]  
 ἐκ δὲ κτήμαθ' ἔλεσθε καὶ ἔντεα νηὸς εἴσης,  
 καὶ βωμόν ποιήσατ' ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης, 490  
 πῦρ ἐπικαίοντες, ἐπὶ τ' ἄλφιστα λευκὰ θύοντες·  
 εὐχέσθαι δὴ ἔπειτα παριστάμενοι περὶ βωμόν.  
 ὥς μὲν ἐγὼ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν ἡροειδέϊ πόντῳ [315]  
 εἰδόμενος δελφίνι θοῆς ἐπὶ νηὸς ὄρουσα,  
 ὥς ἐμοὶ εὐχέσθαι δελφινίῳ· αὐτὰρ ὁ βωμὸς 495

487. κάθετε λύσαι τε Ilgen : καθέμεν λύσαι δὲ Cobet 488. ὁοὴν ἐπὶ M :  
 ὁοὴν ἐπὶ cet. : ἀν' add. Agar || ἐπὰν (sic) Baumeister : μέλαιναν ἐπ' Matthiae :  
 ὁοὴν μὲν Bothe 489. εἰς cncs xN 490. ῥρηγμῖνι x 491. πῦρ δ' Ilgen ||  
 ἐπικαίοντες γ' ΜΓΟ

487. For the dual see on 456. The alterations here proposed to get rid of the dual are καθέμεν λύσαι δὲ (Cobet) and κάθετε λύσαι τε (Ilgen). Both are too violent. Apollonius seems to have read the dual here, as in *Arg.* Γ 206 κατειλύσαντε βοείας he almost certainly imitates the usage from this passage. Kühner (*G. G.* ii. p. 64) defends the dual by the forced interpretation that the sailors are divided into two groups, sitting at the oars on either side of the ship.

488. ἀν' ἐπ' : the addition of ἀν' seems required, as the hiatus ἐπὶ ἠπείρου is scarcely tolerable. As Agar notes, the similarity of ἀν' to the termination of θοὴν would easily account for its loss. If ἀνά followed ἐπὶ (as Baumeister suggested) the loss would be difficult to explain.

489. ἔντεα : not in Homer for the "tackle" of a ship (δπλα).

491. πῦρ ἐπικαίοντες : the addition of δ' (Ilgen, followed by recent edd.) is made very probable by 509 ; if δὲ is absent, the participles must be taken with ποιήσατε, i.e. the fire is kindled and the sacrifice is offered while the altar is being built, which, Ilgen says, is absurd. However, the tense of the present participles need not be pressed ; in strict logic they are hardly more applicable to what follows them than what precedes.

495. δελφινίῳ : the cult of Apollo δελφίνιος is certainly old, but its original home is uncertain. The hymn points to a Cretan starting-place, and many

scholars have accepted its authority, as the Cnossian cult of Apollo Δελφίνιος (locally Δελφίδιος) is established by inscriptions (see on 393). "Mycenean" remains have been found at Delphi ; and these have been thought to support the theory of a Cretan origin, as such remains are common in Crete (Homolle *B. C. H.* xviii. p. 195 ; for Mycenaean buildings in Aegina in connexion with the traditional Cretan origin of Aphaea see Bosanquet *J. H. S.* xxi. p. 347). Even if the particular cult of Apollo Δελφίνιος were proved to be Cretan, it would by no means follow that the worship of Apollo at Delphi was introduced by Cretans ; they may have found the god, and have merely added a title. However, it seems improbable that Apollo Δελφίνιος was originally Cretan ; A. Mommsen (*Heortologie* i.) believes that the cult was Chalcidian ; and this view has won favour (see v. Wilamowitz in *Hermes* xxi. p. 105, Maass *ibid.* xxiii. p. 71, Preller-Robert i. p. 257 n. 4, Frazer on Paus. x. 5. 5).

We may assume that there is no historical truth in the Cretan theory ; as Verrall (p. 11) remarks, the probabilities of migration are all the other way. There were Dorian settlers both at Delphi and in Crete, and the origin of rites or customs, common to both places, would naturally be assigned to Crete, the home of a very old civilization. Probably the Dorian paean, which was well-known as a form of Cretan art, suggested the story of Cretans at Pytho (see 518 ; cf. Pauly-Wissowa 2542).



αὐτὸς δελφίνιος καὶ ἐπόψιος ἔσσεται αἰεὶ.  
 δειπνήσαι τ' ἄρ' ἔπειτα θοῇ παρὰ νηὶ μελαίνῃ,  
 καὶ σπείσαι μακάρεσσι θεοῖς, οἳ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν. [320]  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν σίτοιο μελίφρονος ἐξ ἔρον ἦσθε,

496. Δελφίνιος M: δέλφιος DAOPQ: δέλφιος cet.: Δελφίνιος Ruhnken ||  
 αὐτίκ' ἄρ' ἀφνειὸς Hermann: αὐτοῦ δὲ λιπαρὸς Preller: αὐτοῦ τηλεφανὸς  
 Baumeister

ὁ βωμός: Pausanias does not mention any altar, and there appear to be no remains on the site. In literature the only reference seems to be Plutarch *de soll. animal.* 984 A (=c. 36) καὶ μὴν Ἀρτέμιδος γε Δικτύνης Δελφίνιου τ' Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερὰ καὶ βωμοὶ παρὰ πολλοῖσιν εἰσὶν Ἑλλήνων· ὃν δ' αὐτὸς ἐαυτῷ τόπον ἐξαίρετον ὁ θεὸς πεποίηται . . . Κρητῶν ἀπογόνους οἰκοῦντας ἡγεμόνι δελφίνι χρησαμένους· οὐ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς προεπήχετο τοῦ στόδου μεταβαλὼν τὸ εἶδος, ὥς οἱ μυθογράφοι λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ δελφίνα πέμψας τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἰθύνοντα τὸν πλοῦν κατήγαγεν εἰς Κίρραν. He then tells a story of two persons in the time of Ptolemy Soter, who were driven by a storm off Malea, ἐν δεξιᾷ Πελοπόννησον ἔχοντες (i.e. the same route as the Cretans), and were led by a dolphin to Cirra, where they offered an ἀναβατήριον (presumably on the βωμός). Plutarch's μυθογράφοι may be writers who borrowed from the hymn, or perhaps may refer loosely to the hymn itself.

For the altar on the seashore cf. Apoll. Arg. B 659, where the Argonauts erect a βωμός ἐπάκτιος on the island where Apollo appeared.

496. Δελφίνιος: δέλφιος is an unknown word, the form of which is hardly supported by a Thessalian inscr. *tes βελφαῖο=τα es δελφαῖο* (*Ath. Mitth.* xxi. p. 249); it may be explained as due to the metrical difficulty in *δελφίνιος*, just as in Nicand. *Ther.* 238 θαμύνος has become θαμειός. With regard to *δελφίνιος* the editors raise two objections: (1) that it is unmetrical, (2) that it is unsuitable to the context, and cannot be paired with *ἐπόψιος*. There are two possible solutions of the first difficulty. We may assume *δελφίνιος*, in spite of the preceding *δελφίνιω*: adjectives formed from nouns with gen. in *-ῖος* vary in quantity; Ἑλεσθῖος is short, as in *h. Dem.* 266, Soph. *Ant.* 1120; cf. *h. Dem.* 105 Ἑλεσινίδαο, while Σαλαμίνιος Τραχίνιος appear to be always long (see Schulze *Quaest. Ep.* p. 11). The doubtful quantity of *δελφίνιος* is not therefore

impossible; the Doric form is presumably *δελφίδιος*, and, although this can hardly be substituted, it may help to account for *δελφίνιος*. More probably, however, the *ι* preserves its length, as in 495, and there is a synizesis of *-ιο-*, which is not very uncommon; cf. B 811 πόλιος (as in *Anth. Pal.* ix. 569. 4) and other exx. in Christ *Metrik* p. 29. In 495 *δελφίνιω* is no doubt quadrisyllabic, as the synizesis forming the quantity — — would be very harsh in the fourth foot, before a pause; but the variation in the two lines is not worse than *θεός, θεοῖς* in the same line of Euripides (*Troad.* 1280).

(2) *δελφίνιος* and *ἐπόψιος* are not incompatible in sense: the latter is usually translated by "conspicuous," but it may rather be active, the "over-seer," a title transferred from Apollo himself to his altar, like *δελφίνιος*. Cf. *προβόσιος* as a title of Apollo Paus. i. 32. 2, *ἐπόπτης* of the Sun *C. I. G. addend.* 4699. The wording of the passage suggests that the altar is to have the same name or names as the god. A harbour of Oropus was also called *δελφίνιος* (ὁ ἱερὸς λιμὴν ὃν καλοῦσι *δελφίνιον* Strabo 403, see Lolling in *Ath. Mitth.* x. p. 350 f.), which is a further argument for applying the adj. to the altar on the shore.

On Apollo Delphinus see Preller-Robert *l.c.*, Pauly-Wissowa art. "Apollon" 5 and 47, art. "Delphinios" 2513 f. There can be little doubt that the title is here rightly connected with the dolphin. Apollo, as the patron of mariners and colonization, travelled over many seas in the form of a dolphin; cf. Artemid. *oneir.* ii. 35. As *Δελφίνιος* he reached Pytho, which drew its later name Delphi from the title. Dolphins playing in front of a vessel are a familiar sight in the Mediterranean, as in ancient times; cf. *Anth. Pal.* ix. 83. 1 νηὸς ἐπειγόμενης ὤκων δρόμον ἀμφεχόμενον | *δελφίνες*.

499. Cf. ω 489. The commoner formulaic line (*πόσιος καὶ ἐδήτιος*) occurs at 513.



ἔρχεσθαι θ' ἄμ' ἐμοὶ καὶ ἰηπαιήον' αἰεῖδεν, 500  
 εἰς ὃ κε χῶρον ἴκησθον ἵν' ἔξετε πῖονα νηόν.  
 ὥς ἔφαθ'· οἱ δ' ἄρα τοῦ μάλα μὲν κλύουν ἦδ' ἐπίθοντο.  
 ἰστία μὲν πρῶτον κάθεσαν, λῦσαν δὲ βοείας, [325]  
 ἰστὸν δ' ἰστοδόκη πέλασαν προτόνοισιν ὑφέντες,  
 ἐκ δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ βαῖνουν ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης, 505  
 ἐκ δ' ἀλὸς ἠπειρόνδε θοὴν ἀνὰ νῆ' ἐρύσαντο  
 ὑψοῦ ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις, παρὰ δ' ἔρματα μακρὰ τάνυσσαν,  
 καὶ βωμόν ποίησαν ἐπὶ ῥηγμῖνι θαλάσσης. [330]  
 πῦρ δ' ἐπικαίοντες ἐπὶ τ' ἄλφιστα λευκὰ θύοντες  
 εὔχονθ', ὥς ἐκέλευε, παριστάμενοι περὶ βωμόν. 510  
 δόρπον ἔπειθ' εἴλοντο θοῇ παρὰ νηὶ μελαίνῃ,  
 καὶ σπείσαν μακάρεσσι θεοῖς, οἳ Ὀλυμπον ἔχουσιν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο, [335]  
 βάν ῥ' ἔμεν· ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφιν ἀναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων,  
 φόρμιγγ' ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχων, ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων, 515  
 καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς· οἱ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἔποντο

515. TESTIMONIUM. Athenaeus 22 C καὶ Ὀμηρος ἢ τῶν Ὀμηριδῶν τις ἐν τῷ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ὕμνῳ φησὶν

Ἀπόλλων

φόρμιγγ' ἐν χεῖρεσσιν ἔχων χαρίεν κιθάριζε  
 καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς.

500. Ἰηπαιήον' M 501. εἰς ὅτε M 502. ἔφαθ' M ed. pr.: ἔφατ' cet. ||  
 puncta versui praefigit M 505. ΒἸΑσαν M || ῥρηγμῖνι ω 506-8 om. ET 507.  
 περὶ M || ἔρματα M 508. ῥρηγμῖνι ω 510. περὶ margo Π: παρὰ cet.  
 515. ἐρατὸν M, quod invenit Barnes: ἔχων ατὸν E: ἔχων τὸν T: ἔχω  
 ατὸν LI (cruce in margine apposita): ἀγατὸν D ed. pr.: χρυσᾶν p: χαρίεν  
 Athenaeus, Eust. θ 385 516. ῥήσσοντες MF: φρίσσοντες cet.

500. Ἰηπαιήον': for the word see on 272. The paean formed the germ of the later Pythian games; before the First Sacred War it was sung at a competition of cithara-players every eighth year; Strabo 421, Paus. x. 7. 2, schol. on Pind. *Pyth. argum.*, Censorinus *de die nat.* 18, Mommsen *Delphika* p. 153 f.

503 ff. Compare A 433 f., a passage which appears to have been abbreviated by the writer of the hymn. 504=A 434; 505=A 437. In A *i.e.* the ship is moored, not drawn on to land, as described in 506, for which cf. A 485 f. (a different occasion).

507=A 486 (with ὑπό instead of παρά). ἔρματα, "shores" (probably large stones) to keep the ship upright; cf. B 154. Hes. *Op.* 624 νῆα δ' ἐπ'

ἠπείρου ἐρύσαι πυκάσαι τε λίθοισι | παντόθεν, where λίθοισι=ἐρμασιν and παντόθεν "all along the sides" explains παρά in the present passage.

515. On the variants of this line see p. xix. ἀγατὸν, which long was printed, does not exist, and was evidently a correction of the singular lacuna in α.

516. καλὰ καὶ ὕψι βιβάς=202.

ῥήσσοντες, "beating time," the verb being perhaps connected with ἀ-ράσσω, not with ῥήγνυμι. Cf. Σ 571 τοὶ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἀμαρτῇ . . . ἔποντο (where see Leaf), and is borrowed by Apollonius (A 539) who uses it with an object, πέδον ῥήσσουσι πόδεσσιν. On the derivation see Siebourg in *Rhein. Mus.* 57. 2 (1902), who compares ῥάσσω.



Κρήτες πρὸς Πυθῶ καὶ ἱηπαιήον' ἄειδον,  
οἰοί τε Κρητῶν παιήονες οἰσί τε Μοῦσα [340]  
ἐν στήθεσσι νῆκε θεὰ μελίγηρυν αἰοιδήν·  
ἄκμητοι δὲ λόφον προσέβαν ποσίν, αἶψα δ' ἵκοντο 520  
Παρνησὸν καὶ χῶρον ἐπήρατον, ἔνθ' ἄρ' ἔμελλεν  
οἰκήσειν πολλοῖσι τετιμένος ἀνθρώποισι·  
δείξε δ' ἄγων ἄδυτον ζάθεον καὶ πῖονα νηόν. [345]  
τῶν δ' ὠρίνετο θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσι φίλοισι·  
τὸν καὶ ἀνειρόμενος Κρητῶν ἀγὸς ἀντίον ἦῤῥα· 525  
ὦ ἄν', ἐπεὶ δὴ τῆλε φίλων καὶ πατρίδος αἴης  
ἦγαγες· οὐτῶ που τῷ σῷ φίλον ἔπλετο θυμῷ·  
πῶς καὶ νῦν βιόμεσθα; τό σε φράζεσθαι ἄνωγμεν. [350]  
οὔτε τρυγηφόρος ἦδε γ' ἐπήρατος οὐτ' εὐλείμων,  
ὥς τ' ἀπὸ τ' εὖ ζῶειν καὶ ἄμ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὀπηδεῖν. 530

517. Ἰη παιήον' M: ἱη. παιήον' L 520. ἀκμητες Cobet 521. ἔμελλον et  
522. τετιμένοι Pierson || τετιμημένους MAtΓ, cf. Dem. 397 523. ἄδυτον ζάθεον y  
(in textu ET: in marg. γρ'. LII): αὐτοῦ δάπεδον cet.: ἀδύτου δάπεδον Bergk  
525. τῶν α 526. ὦ ἄνα εἰ δὴ Hermann: ὦνα ἐπεὶ δὴ Bergk: ἦ δὴ Spitzner  
528. βεόμεσα Wolf 529. ἐπήρατος Barnes: ἐπι ράχῃ Hermann: ἐπηετανὸν  
Baum. || οὔτε pro ἦδε D'Orville

518. οἰοί τε Κρητῶν παιήονες: the  
paean was not exclusively Dorian in  
the earliest times; it was sung by the  
Achaeans to Apollo (A 472 f.) and as a  
general triumphal hymn (X 391). But  
in early post-Homeric times it was  
specially Dorian (Crete, Sparta, Delphi)  
and connected with the cult of Apollo;  
see Smyth *Melic Poets* p. xxxvii.

520. ἄκμητοι: the form is found in  
Nicand. *Theor.* 737. Cobet needlessly  
read ἀκμητες (the Homeric form).

521 f. ἔμελλεν may be retained, the  
subject being Apollo, who, like his  
temple (479, 483), would be "honoured."  
The editors read ἐμελλον (Pierson), and  
τετιμένοι, comparing 485.

523. The reading of γ ἄδυτον ζάθεον is  
unexceptionable and perhaps the better,  
but the vulg. αὐτοῦ δάπεδον is not im-  
possible; cf. Preger *inscr. metr. gr.* 89  
νῦν δέ με Λητοῖδον θεῶν ἔχει δάπεδον;  
αὐτοῦ, however, is rather awkward.

524 = ν 9 (τοῦ). ὠρίνετο may refer  
to mingled feelings of joy and fear  
(Baumeister); perhaps it rather expresses  
the doubts of the Cretans.

528. βιόμεσα: there is no variant  
in the mss. on this word. In X 431  
several families of mss. have βίομαι,  
the vulgate βείομαι. Wolf altered it to

βεόμεσα but Schulze *Quaest. Ep.* 246 n.  
retains the iota, as if the vowel had been  
assimilated to βιόω. Fick on π 852  
also argues for βίομαι in Homer, on the  
ground that the form βείομαι (X 431)  
merely represents βίομαι, with ictus, and  
was afterwards transliterated into βεομαι.  
Aristarchus' preference is uncertain; see  
Ludwich on X 431. See Solmsen *l.c.* p.  
91, 92.

The barren soil of Delphi became a  
reproach to its priests: cf. the story of  
Aesop, schol. Arist. *Vesp.* 1446, *Pax* 129  
ὃν φασιν ἐλθόντα ποτὲ εἰς τοὺς Δελφούς  
ἀποσκῶψαι αὐτοὺς, ὅτε μὴ ἔχοιεν γῆν ἀφ'  
ἧς ἐργαζόμενοι διατρέφοντο, ἀλλὰ περι-  
μένοιν ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ θυμάτων διαζῆν.

529. ἐπήρατος has been suspected, but  
the construction, though rather harsh,  
is supported by ν 246 ἀγίβητος δ' ἀγαθὴ  
καὶ βούβητος, ι 27 τρηχεῖ' ἄλλ' ἀγαθὴ  
κουροτρόφος, Hes. *Op.* 783 ἀνδρογόνος δ'  
ἀγαθὴ, *ib.* 794, Dicaearch. i. 13 καὶ  
ἱπποτρόφος δὲ ἀγαθὴ (of Thebes). "This  
land is not to be desired as vineland or  
pasturage." ἐπήρατος and εὐλείμων occur  
in δ 606, 607, a passage which seems to  
have suggested this line.

530. ὀπηδεῖν with ἄμα must mean  
"to help," cf. η 165, τ 398. It is not  
clear in what sense the Cretans think



τοὺς δ' ἐπιμειδήσας προσέφη Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων·  
 νήπιοι ἄνθρωποι, δυστλήμονες, οἳ μελεδῶνας  
 βούλεσθ' ἀργαλέους τε πόνους καὶ στείνεα θυμῷ. [355]  
 ῥήϊδιον ἔπος ὕμῃ ἐρέω καὶ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θήσω.  
 δεξιτερῇ μάλ' ἕκαστος ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ μάχαιραν 535  
 σφάζειν αἰεὶ μῆλα· τὰ δ' ἄφθονα πάντα παρέσται,  
 ὅσσα ἐμοὶ κ' ἀγάγωσι περικλυτὰ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων·  
 νηὸν δὲ προφύλαχθε, δέδεχθε δὲ φύλ' ἀνθρώπων, [360]  
 ἐνθάδ' ἀγειρομένων καὶ ἐμὴν ἰθύν τε μάλιστα

ἥέ τι τηύσιον ἔπος ἔσσεται, ἥέ τι ἔργον, 540  
 ὕβρις θ', ἣ θέμις ἐστὶ καταθυνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,

534. ῥηϊδίως M 536. μᾶλα (μάλα) p 537. ὅσσα] αἰὲν M: ὅσσα τ'  
 Hermann: ὅσα ἂν ἐμοὶ γ' Gemoll 538 om. Mp || τε codd.: δὲ primus Ilgen ||  
 νηόν τε xD || δ' εὖ πεφύλαχθε Schneidewin || θῶρ' ἀνθρώπων Waardenburg  
 539. καὶ ἐμὴν ἰούν τὰ μάλιστα D'Orville: ἐμὴν ἰούντε θάϊτα Martin: om. T:  
 κατ' ἐμὴν ἰούν γε μάλιστα Matthiae: v. secl. Ilgen: καὶ ἐμὴν ἰούντε θέμιστα  
 Baumeister: καὶ ἔμ' αἰσχύνεσθε Gemoll || μάλια τ' ἴστε seu γ' ἴστε M' Daniel  
 540. ἡέτ' ἐτάσιον M || γ' ἔπος D ed. pr. || ἡέ] εἰ δὲ Baumeister 541. ἣ Ilgen ||  
 καταθυνητῶν B: κατὰ cet.

of "helping" men. Matthiae translates *suppeditare*; i.e. the Cretans would not have enough food for themselves or for pilgrims. Lang (after Franke) translates "wherefrom we might live well and minister to men," and this is perhaps preferable; the labourers are worthy of their hire.

534. Compare λ 146.

535. μάλια is not elsewhere joined to ἕκαστος, but often strengthens similar adjectives of quantity (πολλοί, πάντες, μύριοι etc.).

536. For the offerings of sheep at Delphi cf. Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 27 ἐν δ' ἄρα μηλοδόκῳ Πυθῶνι, Eur. *Ion* 228. Croesus offered 3000 sheep, Herod. i. 50. For the general sense cf. the lines on Delos *συγγρα* 59, and (for Delphi itself) Eur. *Ion* 323 βωμοὶ μ' ἐφερβον οὐπιὼν τ' αἰεὶ ξένος, *I. T.* 1274.

537. Hermann and Abel read ὅσσα τ' ἐμοί, to avoid the hiatus; Gemoll, ὅσος ἂν ἐμοὶ γ'. Eberhard *Metr. Beob.* ii. p. 11 also condemns the hiatus.

538. προφύλαχθε: according to Buttman *G. G.* ii. p. 320 this is a syncopated present. Schneidewin reads πεφύλαχθε to correspond with the perfect δέδεχθε. Gemoll objects to the use of the perfect here as meaningless; but such imperative

perfects are common in Homer; see *H. G.* 28.

539. Either the latter half of the line is corrupt, or there is a lacuna. ἰθύν is no doubt genuine; it means "direction," either locally or tropically (cf. *Z* 79, δ 434, π 304). The simplest emendation proposed is that of Matthiae κατ' ἐμὴν ἰθύν γε μάλιστα, where, however, γε μάλιστα is very feeble; Verrall's τὰ μάλιστα (anticipated by D'Orville) is equally weak. Baumeister's καὶ ἐμὴν ἰθύντε θέμιστα (a syncopated imperative like φέρτε) is ingenious, but the substitution of θέμιστα for μάλιστα is hardly justified. On the whole it is preferable to assume a lacuna; in *J. H. S.* xvii. 251 f. a line was supplied such as δεικνυσθε θνητοῖσι, σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ δέξο θέμιστα (a homoeoteleuton may have caused the omission).

540-41. The sense is again obscure. Matthiae Ilgen and Hermann connect these lines with 539; i.e. receive (expiate the sin of) men, if any crime by word or deed, shall have been committed. But this is plainly wrong; ἥέ cannot stand for εἰ, as Baumeister saw, and moreover the threat in 364 certainly refers to some crime committed, not by the visitors to the temple, but by the



ἄλλοι ἔπειθ' ὑμῖν σημάντορες ἄνδρες ἔσονται,  
 τῶν ὑπ' ἀναγκαίῃ δεδμήσεσθ' ἥματα πάντα. [365]  
 εἴρηταί τοι πάντα, σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ σῇσι φύλαξαι.  
 καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς νιέ· 545  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

543. δεδμήσατο' M || ὅματα M 544. δ' ἐνὶ M

priests themselves. Instead of ἥ Franke and Baumeister read *εἰ δέ* which makes good sense: "but if there shall be any vain word or deed (annoy you) and insolence, as is common among men." We must either accept this alteration, or assume that the lacuna after 539 contained a hypothetical clause (*εἰ* with a future). If we may suppose a lacuna of two lines, the latter may have run e.g. *εἰ δέ τις ἀφραδίας οὐ πέσεται, ἀλλ' ἀλογήσει* (cf. O 162).

ΤΗΥΣΙΩΝ: on the derivation and meaning see Brugmann *I. F.* xi. 105 sq., Solmsen *Untersuchungen* p. 38.

542. This verse no doubt contains a "prophecy after the event," but the precise allusion has been disputed. It would be natural to see (with Franke) a reference to the First Sacred War. This ended in the destruction of Crisa and its port Cirrha (586 B.C.); see Frazer on Paus. x. 7. 2 and x. 37. 5. But athletic games were then added to the old musical contests (see on 517) by the Amphictyonic League, who assumed the management of the *Pythia*; and it is scarcely credible that these later games

should have been so completely ignored, if they had been known to the hymn-writer. Indeed lines 264 f. prove that chariot-races were then unknown at Delphi. We must therefore either assume that the passage was a later addition to the hymn, or look for some other parties to a conflict. It is possible that there may be an allusion to quarrels between the inhabitants of Delphi (reputed Cretans) who served the temple, and the Crisaeans. According to Strabo 421, in early times the temple was managed by the "Delphians"; and probably their place was gradually usurped by the Crisaeans, who finally roused the wrath of the Amphictyons, by levying excessive tolls on pilgrims.

Ilgen supposes that the *σημάντορες* were the Amphictyons, who had relations with the Delphic oracle at a time certainly preceding the First Sacred War, although the actual date of the beginning of their influence is not recorded; see Holm i. ch. xix. The "prophecy" would then refer to the loss of prestige and power sustained by the priests, through the interference of the League.



## IV

# HYMN TO HERMES

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- A. LUDWICH, *Hymn. Hom. in Mercur.* (Acad. Alb. Regimontii, 1890, iii.).  
*Hymn. Hom. Mercurii Germanice versus* (Acad. Alb. Regimontii, 1891, i.).  
 A. LANG, *The Homeric Hymns* (Translation) p. 35 f., 1899.  
 ROSCHER AND SCHERER, art. "Hermes" in Roscher's *Lex.*  
 PRELLER-ROBERT, *Griech. Myth.* i. p. 385 f.

I. *Subject and motive.*—The theme is more varied than those of the other great hymns. There is a unity of time, for the action is continuous, taking place in the first two days of Hermes' life; but there is no close unity of subject: the several episodes are not integral parts of a single myth, and the commentators have vainly puzzled themselves to discover one underlying *motif* to connect the different parts of the hymn. The connexion lies simply in the fact that the episodes all deal with the first exploits of the infant god, and shew how, by his cunning and dexterity, he vindicated his birthright, and won the attributes which distinguished him in maturity.<sup>1</sup> Hermes has perhaps the most complex character of any deity in Greek mythology, and the poet has tried to do justice to some, at least, of the god's many qualities. Of these, one of the most characteristic was thievishness. To the Greeks, who too often prided themselves on successful deceit, and who had made lying a fine art, a patron-deity of cunning came natural. Even in the later parts of the *Iliad* Hermes is known as the Thief; cf.  $\Omega$  24, where the gods urge him to steal the body of Hector. Autolycus is in Homer (K 267) the human representative of the Master-thieves who figure largely in folk-tales; but he learnt his craft

<sup>1</sup> See App. II., where the explanation is given at fuller length.



from the divine thief Hermes (cf. τ 395 f. *ὃς ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο* | *κλεπτοσύνη θ' ὄρκῳ τε· θεὸς δέ οἱ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν* | *Ἑρμείας*. See also Hes. *Op.* 67, 78, *fr.* 130, Hippon. *fr.* 1, Arist. *Plut.* 1139 and often). Additional force is given to these stories of trickery and mendacity, when the rogue is a new-born babe, or is otherwise insignificant; and Mr. Lang well remarks that "the poet chiefly revels in a very familiar subject of savage humour (notably among the Zulus), the extraordinary feats and tricks of a tiny and apparently feeble and helpless person or animal, such as Brer Rabbit."<sup>1</sup> The poet emphasises the deceitful ways of Hermes at the outset of the hymn, in a string of epithets, *πολύτροπον, αἰμυλομήτην . . . νυκτὸς ὁπωπητήρα, πυληδόκον* (13 f.). In the same language he sums up the god's character at the end: *παῦρα μὲν οὖν ὀνίνησι κτλ.* (577 f.).

The theft of the cattle of Apollo was the most striking myth which exemplified these knavish tricks; and the poet takes this to form the main thread of his narrative. But Hermes was by no means a mere thief; in his higher and more Olympian province he was the messenger of the gods, and a great pastoral deity, especially in local cult. These divine conceptions are recognised at the beginning of the hymn (2 f. *Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα καὶ Ἀρκαδίας πολυμήλου, | ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων*; and 331 *φύην κήρυκος ἔχοντα*). Again, Hermes was not always untrustworthy in his dealings with men; he was also the luck-bringer, *ἐριοῦνιος* (3, 28, 551). The finding of the tortoise is the first *ἔρμαιον* (30 f.).

But, while Hermes had many specific attributes which differentiated him from all other deities, he had also many points of contact with one member of the Olympian circle—Apollo.<sup>2</sup> Both were pastoral gods; both were patrons of music, and had prophetic powers, although in this respect the place of Apollo was superior. This close connexion undoubtedly impressed the poet, who gave an explanation common in Greek mythology, that the similarity of attributes was due to an exchange of gifts. Apollo presented Hermes with cattle, and in his turn received

<sup>1</sup> See App. II. p. 311. Roscher derives the thievishness from the wind, with which he identifies Hermes (*Lex.* i. 2369 f.; *Hermes d. Windgott*, 1878, *Nektar u. Ambrosia* 1883); but most of his arguments are of little weight (see

on 19, 146, 512), and the origin of Hermes is still a mystery. For the hymn-writer, at all events, Hermes had no connexion with any natural phenomenon; he is purely anthropomorphic.

<sup>2</sup> See note on 508.



the cithara (498 f.). The poet, too, felt that all forms of prophecy rightly belonged, under Zeus, to the Lord of Delphi. But he knew that, in common superstition, certain processes of divination were under the patronage of Hermes, the god of luck.<sup>1</sup> He therefore naturally assumed that these lower powers had been delegated to Hermes from the abundance of Apollo's higher prerogative. Apollo still remained the keeper of the knowledge which Zeus possessed; but he transferred to Hermes the Thriae, with whom he had served an apprenticeship in prophecy (533-566).

II. *The theft of the cows of Apollo.*—The myth was very ancient, and has been assigned by the "solar" school of mythologists to the stock of Indo-European stories belonging to the undivided Aryan race.<sup>2</sup> It is known to have been related by Hesiod, in the *Μεγάλαι Ῥοῖαι*, but no fragment is preserved. Alcaeus handled the same story in a hymn to Hermes, of which only one stanza is extant (*fr.* 5; cf. *Hor. Od.* I. x.). In later Greek, the most important version of the myth is in Apollodorus iii. 10. 2. The mythographer deals with an account much resembling the hymn; for the events are the same, although not in the same order. He differs from the hymn in the following details:—

- (1) Hermes eats some of the flesh: *τὰς μὲν βύρσας πέτραις καθήλωσε, τῶν δὲ κρεῶν τὰ μὲν κατηνάλωσεν ἐψήσας, τὰ δὲ κατέκασε.*
- (2) Hermes finds the tortoise *after* stealing the cows. He makes the strings of the lyre *ἐξ ὧν ἔθυσσε βοῶν*, not from sheep-gut, as in the hymn.
- (3) Apollo inquires at Pylos, not Onchestus.
- (4) Apollo discovers the thief *ἐκ μαντικῆς*.
- (5) Maia shows Hermes to Apollo.
- (6) Apollo desires the *σῦριγγ* also, and exchanges it for *τὴν διὰ ψήφων μαντικὴν*.

Apollodorus names no authority, and his precise debt to the hymn has been disputed. According to the general view (see Gemoll p. 191), he used the hymn, but supplemented its account

<sup>1</sup> On Hermes as a god of divination see Paus. vii. 22. 2, 3, ix. 11. 7. Preller-Robert i. p. 399 n. 3, Roscher i. 2379 f. : on the Thriae see App. III.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the Vedic parallel, in which Ahi steals the cattle of Indra; Preller-Robert i. p. 394 n. 1. For representations of the theft in art see Roscher i. 2429.



from another (unknown) source. Greve (*de h. in Merc. Homeric* p. 37) thinks that Apollodorus drew little from the hymn. Some scholars, on the other hand, argue that the hymn was the sole ultimate authority, and that the variations of detail are the invention of the mythographer. Gemoll, who supports this view, believes that these variations partly proceed from carelessness, as (3), partly from a desire to explain or amplify the hymn; e.g. the variant (2) is due to Apollodorus' wish to utilise the cows, and so connect the two incidents of the cithara and the cattle-stealing. Gemoll also assumes, with no adequate reason, that Apollodorus used a text with the present lacunae in the hymn. The differences between the two accounts seem too wide to admit the theory that Apollodorus used no other source; indeed, it may be doubted whether he was even at all acquainted with the actual text of the hymn, although he may have borrowed from sources (written or oral) which were ultimately drawn from the Homeric version.

The version of Antoninus Liberalis 23 is confined to the incident of Battus. Hermes steals 12 πόρτιας, 100 βόας ἄζυγας, and a bull from Apollo, and ties branches (ῥλη) to the tail of each, ὡς ἂν τὰ ἔχνη τῶν βοῶν ἀφανίσῃ. Battus, who was paid by Hermes not to tell, proved false, and was changed into a stone. Ovid (*Met.* ii. 676 f.) also narrates the story of Battus. The popularity of the myth (in its different forms) is shewn by the list of sources quoted by Antoninus: Νίκανδρος ἑτεροιοιμένων α', Ἡσίοδος ἐν μεγάλαις ἡοίαις, Διδύμαρχος μεταμορφώσεων γ', Ἀντίγονος ἐν ταῖς ἀλλοιώσεσι, καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ῥόδιος ἐν ἐπιγράμμασιν.

The geographer Philostephanus, a disciple of Callimachus, dealt with the subject in his *περὶ Κυλλήνης* (*F. H. G.* iii. 28), a book which might have given us much information of which we stand in need. Another Alexandrian, Eratosthenes, in an unnamed work, narrated the birth of Hermes and his theft of his mother's and her sister's clothes, and of Apollo's cows (schol. on *Ω* 24), and interpreted the Homeric Ἑρμείας ἀκάκητα (Immerwahr *l.c.* p. 72).

The geography of the two versions represented by the hymn and Antoninus Liberalis is quite different. In the hymn, Hermes passes Onchestus, where he finds the nameless old man corresponding to Battus; thence, by an undefined route, he reaches



the Alphean Pylos (139, 398), near which place he slaughters the cows. Antoninus gives a long itinerary, starting from Phthiotis and ending at the Messenian Pylos; there Hermes hides the cattle in a cave at Coryphasium in which Nestor had housed his booty (Λ 677, Paus. iv. 36. 2). The meeting with Battus took place near Maenalus. Thus a Pylos is mentioned in both versions as in the neighbourhood of Hermes' cave. Probably the original account referred to the Triphylian place of that name; the neighbourhood of the Alpheus is a natural route along which to retire to Cyllene.<sup>1</sup> The view that the Messenian Pylos is original (Preller-Robert i. p. 392 n. 2) rests on O. Müller's very doubtful theory that the stalactites in a cave at this place were thought to be the skins of the beasts slaughtered by Hermes (see on 124 f.). The cave, on the northern slope of Coryphasium, is described by Frazer (who accepts Müller's explanation) on Paus. *l.c.* But it is clear from 398 that Hermes' cave was near the Alpheus. The cave of Hermes is mentioned also in Orph. *Lithica* 18 and 55.

The site of the Triphylian Pylos is unidentified, but is defined by Strabo 343 fin. *κατὰ ταῦτα δέ πως τὰ ἱερὰ* [that of Poseidon at Samicum and of Athena at Scillus] *ὑπέρεκται τῆς θαλάττης ἐν τριάκοντα ἢ μικρῷ πλείους σταδίοις ὁ Τριφυλιακὸς Πύλος ὁ καὶ Λεπρεατικός, ὃν καλεῖ ὁ ποιητὴς ἡμαθόεντα.* The coast south of the Alpheus is sandy and largely covered by lagoons (see the references given on *h. Ap.* 424), and this suits the wording of the hymn.<sup>2</sup> The town, with its cave, was obscured in later days by the Messenian Pylos.

III. *Place of composition.*—As in the case of nearly all the hymns, the place of composition is doubtful. There are a certain number of Atticisms, and usages of forms and words which approach to the style of the Attic tragedy.<sup>3</sup> Some of these forms

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 390, where a traveller from Pisa to N. Greece is killed by lightning on Cyllene.

<sup>2</sup> If the poet was a Boeotian, or an Eretrian, his geography of the northern part of Greece ought not to be merely imagination: and the "sandy shore of the sea" along which Hermes passed after leaving Olympus should correspond to something in reality. The coast between Pieria and the sea southward to the Peneius appears from Leake

*Northern Greece* iii. c. 30 to possess quicksands and lagoons in places. The description, however (in the hymn), would suit any flat coast; see on 79 f.

<sup>3</sup> Baumeister (p. 203) and Gemoll (p. 193) quote, amongst others, *δρη* 95, *ἐμάρανε* 140, *ἐδοξα* 208, *ἐδύνω* 405, *φιλῶ* 382. None of these forms need be exclusively Attic; at least one (*θάρρον* 255) is known to be also Boeotian; see note *ad loc.*



may be due to scribes familiar with the Attic dialect; others may be common to other dialects, and only testify to a comparatively late time of composition. There is really nothing in the hymn which suggests Athenian composition, and much which distinctly negatives such an idea. Besides numerous reminiscences of Homer, which are a feature in all the hymns, there are many lines which show the influence of Hesiod in a marked degree (cf. 10, 19, 30, 36, 67, 76, 80, 98, 106, 110, 120, 124, 236, 243, 415).

Possibly the commentators have been too chary of suggesting a locality; at all events, a very good case can be made out in support of a Boeotian origin. The influence of Hesiod points in this direction, although of course this fact is inconclusive, as Hesiod, like Homer, early became the property of all the Greeks. But the part played by Onchestus, which does not appear in the other versions, is more striking; the mention of this place seems motiveless, except on a supposition of Boeotian influence. There appear to be traces of local dialect in ἀθρόας 106, the elision of *ι* in περ' ἰγνύσι 152, θᾶπτον 255, and in ἡχοῦ 400, on the analogy of ἡχοῖ in an Oropian inscription.<sup>1</sup>

In any case we may reject Fick's earlier suggestion (*B. B.* ix. p. 201) that the poem was originally composed, in old Ionic, at Colophon in Asia, for the festival of Apollo Clarius. His view that Apollo, not Hermes, is the real "hero" utterly misconceives the spirit of the hymn.

IV. *Date.*—The date is equally uncertain, but there is every reason to believe, with the consensus of scholars, that the poem is later than the rest of the longer hymns. Hermann and Baumeister point out that there is no living digamma, although, as usual, there is often hiatus in the case of words originally digammated (Hermann *Orph.* p. 689). See also Eberhard *die Sprache der hom. Hymn.* ii. p. 34 f., and n. on 92; Pref. p. lxi. Definite evidence of date has been sought for in the mention of the seven-stringed cithara (51). The adoption of seven in place of four strings is usually ascribed to Terpander (see Flach *Gr. Lyr.* i. 195), who was an old man in Ol. 26 = 676 B.C.; Smyth *Melic Poets* p. 165 (but see Timotheus *Pers.* 237). Even

<sup>1</sup> See Pref. p. lxxiii, where this theory is advanced on philological and other grounds. Fick *B. B.* xxii. 272, princi-

pally on account of ἡχοῦ, calls the writer an Euboean Ionian.



if this form of the cithara is older than Terpander, who probably only modified the scale (Smyth *l.c.*), it is highly probable that the hymn is much later than that poet. As Gemoll remarks (p. 193), the hymn-writer could not have attributed the seven strings to Hermes, had not the cithara been long established in that form. On the other hand, the hymn does not approach the childishness of the *Batrachomachia* (attributed to Pigres, *circ.* 480, by Plutarch and Suidas), nor to the comic effects of fourth-century parody; still less is it Alexandrian. It is excellent and vigorous literature of an early period, and its cynical and quasi-parodic style make it unique. Its language is in places prosaic,<sup>1</sup> but a high flight of poetic fancy would be foreign to the theme. The moral tone appears low when judged by modern standards—as low, perhaps, as that of the Lay of Demodocus (see *h. Aphr.* Introd.). But this was no stumbling-block to the average Greek, who acquiesced in gods made after his own image. The hymn-writer, in fact, frankly represents the popular religion; he is no opponent of it, like Euripides, nor scoffer, like Lucian. His Hermes may be akin, in some respects, to the gods of Comedy; but the character is far removed from the sorry figure of the Aristophanic Hermes in the *Plutus*.

V. *Influence on later literature.*—With all its merits, the hymn seems to have made little or no impression on later Greek literature, and it is rarely cited as an authority, even where some reference might be expected. Pausanias, who quotes from the hymns to Apollo and Demeter, ignores it, and in referring to the myth of cattle-lifting, mentions only the hymn of Alcaeus (viii. 20. 4). The silence of Apollodorus is still more significant; it appears that the authority of the Homeric hymn was overshadowed by Alcaeus and Hesiod in the *Eoae*. The account of the invention of the cithara is equally neglected.<sup>2</sup> Euripides speaks of the lyre as the gift of Hermes to Apollo; it by no means follows, however, that he knew the hymn, as Gemoll supposes (see on 416). In Alexandrian times, Aratus and Nicander mention the myth, but their accounts seem independent of the hymn, and the scholia on Nicander make no allusion to it. Callimachus, who certainly knew the hymn to Apollo, appears to owe

<sup>1</sup> See on 313, 316.

<sup>2</sup> See also on 24 f., 47 f.



nothing to the style and language of the present hymn.<sup>1</sup> The direct citation of a line (51) by Antigonus of Carystus (iii.-ii. cent. B.C.) is quite exceptional.

As an example of modern appreciation, it may suffice to mention Shelley's well-known translation, which, of course, does full justice to the poetry of the original, although, as Prof. Mahaffy remarks (*Greek Lit.* i. p. 150), it perhaps accentuates the comic element too strongly.

V. *State of the Text.*—The usages of its language make the hymn very difficult; there are a certain number of verbal corruptions, but not a single line need be omitted or transposed. The ingenuity of the higher criticism is largely wasted, although the commentators have been particularly active in dissecting the document. On the other hand, the interruption of sense in several places requires lacunae; and this is in itself more probable on graphical grounds than theories of interpolation or addition, not to say transposition.

<sup>1</sup> Ruhnken *ep. crit.* i. p. 28 instances 524 (where see note); Guttman *de h. Hom. historia* p. 7 f. can only add 20,

which has practically no resemblance to Callim. *h. Art.* 25.



# IV

## Εἰς Ἑρμῆν

Ἑρμῆν ὕμνει, Μοῦσα, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱόν,  
 Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα καὶ Ἀρκαδῆς πολυμήλον,  
 ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐριούνιον, ὃν τέκε Μαῖα,  
 νύμφη ἐϋπλόκαμος, Διὸς ἐν φιλότῃ μιγείσα,  
 αἰδοίη· μακάρων δὲ θεῶν ἡλεύαθ' ὄμιλον,  
 ἄντρον ἔσω ναίονσα παλίσκιον, ἔνθα Κρονίων  
 νύμφη ἐϋπλοκάμῳ μισγέσκετο νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ,  
 ὄφρα κατὰ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἔχοι λευκώλενον Ἥρην,

5

TITULUS.—τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὕμνοι εἰς Ἑρμῆν M: ὕμνος δεύτερος εἰς Ἑρμῆν E: εἰς Ἑρμῆν DLII: εἰς τὸν Ἑρμῆν p 1. ὕμνεῖ ELIIAtD 5. μ ἄρ L || ἡλεύατ' DEL: ἡλαύνετ' At 6. ἄντρῳ ἐνναίονσα παλίσκιῳ Reiz: ἄντρον ἐκοιχνέσκουσα Jacobs: βαίνουσα Hermann: ἄντρῳ ναιετάουσα παλίσκιῳ Matthiae cl. xviii. 6, postea ἄντρῳ ἔσω ναίονσα παλίσκιῳ: δύνουσα Hermann: καδδῦσα Schneidewin: ἄντρον Baumeister 8. ἔχεν Ernesti

1-9. These lines, with a few unimportant variations, form a short hymn to Hermes (xviii), where see note.

1. Ἑρμῆν: only the contracted form is found in this hymn; it occurs also in T 72, ε 54, ξ 334, 435, ω 1, for the older Homeric Ἑρμείας.

Μαῖάδος: so ξ 435, Simon. fr. 18, Semon. fr. 20 etc.; the form Μαῖα (3) is not Homeric; in Hes. Theog. 938 Μαῖη.

2. Κυλλήνης: for the numerous references to the Cyllenian cult of Hermes see Immerwahr *die Kulte u. Myth. Ark.* i. p. 73 f., Roscher *Lex.* i. 2342 f., Preller-Robert i. p. 389.

6=xviii. 6 ἄντρῳ ναιετάουσα παλίσκιῳ, but the parallel is without effect on the reading of the older hymn. It is unnecessary to read ἄντρον, with Baumeister, or to alter ναίονσα into a verb of motion, with the older critics. ναλεῖν

here governs the accusative, as often in Homer, and ἔσω is to be taken absolutely, "within." For ἔσω=ἐνδον, with a verb of rest, cf. N 553, η 13, σ 96, φ 229. Zenodotus (on η 13) denied the use, and Ebeling follows; but the exx. in Homer can hardly be explained away.

7. ΝΥΚΤΟΣ ΑΜΟΛΓΩ: the meaning is no doubt the "dead" or "blackness" of night, although the derivation is still disputed (see Ebeling). Forchhammer (*die Kyänen etc.* 1891) curiously returns to the ancient etymology "milking-time," on the ground that Mediterranean goat-herds still milk their flocks in the middle of the night. Meyer (*Griech. Et.* i.) rejects this derivation; the connexion with Dan. *mork* Eng. *mirk* etc. is also doubtful.

8. ὄφρα . . . ἔχοι: Gemoll explains the mood as the optative of indefinite frequency, comparing η 136 ᾧ πνυμάτω



λήθων ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς θνητοὺς τ' ἀνθρώπους.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ μέγαλοιο Διὸς νόος ἐξετελείτο,  
 τῇ δ' ἤδη δέκατος μείς οὐρανῷ ἐστήρικτο,  
 εἰς τε φῶος ἄγαγεν, ἀρίσημά τε ἔργα τέτυκτο·  
 καὶ τότ' ἐγείνατο παῖδα πολύτροπον, αἰμυλομήτην,  
 λῆιστήρ', ἐλατήρα βοῶν, ἡγήτορ' ὀνείρων,  
 νυκτὸς ὀπωπητήρα, πυληδόκον, ὃς τάχ' ἔμελλεν

10

15

10. <sup>εἰς</sup> Δὴ om. *p* || πόθος Schneidewin : γόνος Stoll 11. μής M : μείς D ed. pr.  
 12. ἄγαγεν εἰς τε φῶος seu ἄγαγέ τε προφῶσδ' Barnes : ἀγαγεῖν et τετύχσαι  
 Stoll (ἐκ πρὸ φῶσδ') 13. τότε γείνατο M || αἰμυλόμυθεον Ruhnken : αἰκυλο-  
 μῆτην Ilgen 14. ἡγήτορ', ὄνειρον Tyrrell : ἡγήτορα φωρῶν Gemoll 15.  
 ὀπνητήρα Pierson : ὀπνηυτήρα Ernesti : ἐπωπητήρα Gemoll || πολύδοκον M

σπένδεσκον, ὅτε μνησαίτο κοῖτον. But  
 δφρα is not equivalent to *ὅτε*, and must  
 here be final, i.e. "until," or "in order  
 that"; see *H. G.* § 307. Zeus waited  
 till the dead of night, until Hera should  
 be asleep (or, as often, with an indistinct  
 notion of time, "that Hera might be  
 asleep").

10. Διὸς νόος ἐξετελείτο : probably  
 borrowed from Hes. *Theog.* 1002 *μεγάλου*  
*δὲ Διὸς νόος ἐξετελείτο*. So A 5, *Cypria*  
*fr.* 1. 7 *Διὸς δ' ἐτελείτο βουλή*. Gemoll  
 objects to the imperfect here, which he  
 thinks has been blindly copied from  
 Hesiod. But the tense is quite appro-  
 priate: "the will of Zeus was coming to  
 fulfillment." Cf. *h. Ap.* 349 *ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ*  
*μῆνές τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐξετελείοντο* (followed by  
*ἐπήλυθον ὄραι*). Διὸς νόος is Hesiodic;  
 cf. *Op.* 105, *Theog.* 51, 537, 613 al.

11. τῇ δ' : δέ probably marks the  
 apodosis (τε in 12 being connective), as  
 in the similar passage *h. Ap.* 349 quoted  
 above. For this use in the hymn cf.  
 108, 116.

μείς : the form *μής* is perhaps acci-  
 dental in M ; it was read in the Chian  
 ed. on T 117, and is found in the MS.  
 Barocci 203 ; also in the Heraclian tables  
 (Cauer *Delectus*<sup>2</sup> 40. 1, *C. I. G.* 5774. 5).  
 Smyth *Ionic* § 543, Solmsen *K. Z.*  
 29, 61, Herwerden *Lex.* s.v.

ἐστήρικτο : more properly the moon,  
 which marks the months, is "fixed in  
 heaven," as in Aratus *Phaen.* 10 *αὐτὸς*  
*γὰρ τὰδε σήματ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξεν*.  
 The editors compare T 117 τῇ δ' ἔβδομος  
*ἐστήκει μείς*, where, however, *ἐστήκει*  
 doubtless means "had begun"; cf. *μὴν*  
*ιστάμενος*. The hymn-writer may have  
 misunderstood the meaning, or he may  
 have varied the expression consciously.

12. εἰς τε φῶος ἄγαγεν : apparently  
 modelled on T 118 *ἐκ δ' ἄγαγε πρὸ φῶσδε*,  
 where the subject is Hera, taking the  
 place of the *Εἰλείθυια*. Cf. also II 188  
 (of *Eilithyia*). Here both the subject and  
 object of *ἄγαγε* are obscure. Gemoll  
 understands <Zeus> *ἄγαγεν* <ἔργα>,  
 i.e. "Zeus revealed the deed, and every-  
 thing was made known." He compares  
*πρὸς φῶς ἄγειν* etc. in Plato. This view  
 is most improbable ; the object, at all  
 events, can hardly be anything but  
*παῖδα*. The subject is probably Maia,  
 the passage being a clumsy and in-  
 accurate reminiscence of the Homeric  
 descriptions of childbirth. The fact  
 that *εἰς φῶος ἄγαγεν* is an exact equi-  
 valent of *καὶ τότ' ἐγείνατο παῖδα* presents  
 no great difficulty in this hymn ; nor  
 need we suspect interpolation. Compare  
 the diffuse style of 24, 25 ; 34, 35.

14. ἡγήτορ' ὀνείρων : the other  
 epithets in 13-15 refer to the deceit and  
 thievishness of Hermes ; hence Gemoll  
 reads *ἡγήτορα φωρῶν*. But the god of  
 elusive and often deceitful dreams is  
 near akin to the god of thieving. This  
 is perhaps the first reference to Hermes  
 as a dream-god ; in η 138 the last  
 libation is probably offered to him as  
*ἐριούιος*, protector of the house, not as  
 the sender of dreams ; in ε 47 f. (ω 343 f.)  
 he is the giver of sleep to men, but this  
 appears to be not ordinary sleep, but a  
 trance. See Nitzsch on η 138. In Homer  
 Zeus is the sender of dreams ; cf. B 6.

15. ὀπνητήρα, "watcher for the  
 night," connected with *ὀπωπα*, from  
 which *ὀπωπέω* was coined (*Orph. Arg.*  
 181, 1020). Matthiae compares Tac.  
*Ann.* ii. 40 *speculati noctem*. The word  
 suits a thief-god, who is *ἡμερόκοιτος*



ἀμφανέειν κλυτὰ ἔργα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.  
 ἦψος γεγονὼς μέσφ' ἡματι ἐγκιθάριζεν,  
 ἔσπεριος βοὺς κλέψεν ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος,  
 τετράδι τῇ προτέρῃ, τῇ μιν τέκε πότνια Μαῖα.  
 ὃς καὶ ἐπεὶ δὴ μητρὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτων θόρε γύνων,  
 οὐκέτι δηρὸν ἔκειτο μένων ἱερῷ ἐνὶ λίκνῳ,  
 ἀλλ' ὃ γ' ἀναΐξας ζήτει βόας Ἀπόλλωνος,  
 οὐδὸν ὑπερβαίνων ὑψηρεφέος ἄντροιο.  
 ἐνθα χέλυν εὐρὼν ἐκτήσατο μυρίον ὄλβον.

20

17. ἐγκιθάριζεν E: μεσσημάτιος κιθάριζεν Schneidewin: εὖ κιθάριζεν Bergk  
 18. ἔκλεψεν M 20. καὶ om. M || γύων ABΓL<sub>3</sub>QR<sub>1</sub>: om. L<sub>2</sub>OP (in principio  
 v. 21 scriptum) R<sub>2</sub> 21. ἱερῶς E 22. ζητεῖ M || βοῦς Gemoll

(Hes. *Op.* 603). Hoffmann (*Hermes und Kerykeion* p. 41) understands "the eye of night," but his view that Hermes was a moon-god, and so patron of thieves, is improbable. The converse is no doubt the truth, i.e. Hermes owes his connexion with the night to his character as a thief. No emendation is required.

ΠΥΛΗΔΟΚΟΝ (only here): the context shews that there is no reference to Hermes as *προπύλαιος*. Here he is the god who pries about the door, ready to pilfer. Cf. *ὁδοιδῶκος*, a highway robber (Dio of Prusa iv. 95, and reff. in L. and S.).

17-19. Most editors, after Ilgen, eject these lines on the ground that βοὺς κλέψεν is inconsistent with 20, where ὃς καὶ should introduce a new idea. But the καὶ serves to mark a particular achievement (the theft of the oxen), after the general statement of Hermes' precocious deeds, of which one was the cithara-playing (17). Gemoll rightly defends the passage.

17. ἐγκιθάριζεν: the compound verb implies playing before an audience (cf. *h. Ap.* 201); either the writer supposed some attendants to be present (ἀμφιπόλους 60), or he mentally supplied ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι from the previous line, perhaps with a reminiscence of the scene at Apollo's birth (*h. Ap.* 130 f.). See on 61. The emendations proceed from a standard of exactness foreign to the hymn. On the hiatus see Eberhard *Metr. Beobacht.* ii. p. 11.

18. Ἀπόλλωνος: for the ownership of the cows see on 71.

19. τετράδι τῇ προτέρῃ: i.e. τετράδι μηνὸς Ἰσταμένου. As Baumeister saw, the month is here bipartite, as in Hesiod (*Op.*

780 μηνὸς δ' Ἰσταμένου τρισκαιδεκάτην). Hesiod also knows of the tripartite month (cf. *Op.* 782, 820), but this division would require πρώτη for προτέρη here; cf. *Op.* 785 ἡ πρώτη ἔκτη.

For the birthday of Hermes on the fourth of the month cf. Plutarch *Symp.* ix. 3. 2, Theophr. *Char.* 14 and other reff. in Lobeck *Aglaoph.* i. p. 430, Preller-Robert i. p. 391. Baumeister derives the four-sided figure of Hermes from this day; the converse is more probably the case, as the τετράγωνον σχῆμα is certainly old; possibly the numerical coincidence is accidental. Roscher (*Lex.* i. 2370, 2386), who thinks Hermes to be a wind-god, explains the birthday as due to the idea that the fourth day of the month prognosticates the weather for the rest of the month (Theophr. *sign. pluv.* 8, Aratus 1148-1152, Verg. *Georg.* i. 432, Plin. *N. H.* xviii. 348). But the origin of Hermes is very problematical. The fourth day was also sacred to Aphrodite, Procl. on Hes. *Op.* 800.

22. βόας: in 116 the MSS. give the contracted form, at the same place in the verse; in 18 βοὺς is proved by the metre.

24 f. Apollodorus (iii. 10. 2) makes the episode of the tortoise follow the theft of the cows, which provided Hermes with strings for his lyre: καὶ εὗρίσκει πρὸ τοῦ ἀντροῦ νεμομένην χελώνην. ταύτην ἐκκαθαίρας, εἰς τὸ κύτος χορδὰς ἐντείνας ἐξ ὧν ἔθυσσε βοῶν καὶ ἐργασάμενος λύραν εὔρε καὶ πλήκτρον. According to Paus. viii. 17. 5 the tortoise was found on Chelydorea, a mountain adjoining Cyllene (for its probable identification see Frazer *ad loc.*). In Pausanias' words (ἐνθα



Ἑρμῆς τοι πρότιστα χέλυν τεκτῆνατ' αἰοδόν, 25  
 ἥ ρά οἱ ἀντεβόλησεν ἐπ' αὐλείησι θύρῃσι,  
 βοσκομένη προπάροιθε δόμων ἐριθηλέα ποῖνῃ,  
 σαῦλα ποσὶν βαίνουσα· Διὸς δ' ἐριούνιος υἱὸς  
 ἀθρήσας ἐγέλασσε, καὶ αὐτίκα μῦθον ἔειπε·

σύμβολον ἤδη μοι μέγ' ὀνήσιμον, οὐκ ὀνοτάζω. 30  
 χαῖρε, φυὴν ἐρόεσσα, χοροῖτυπε, δαιτὸς ἐταίρῃ,  
 ἀσπασίῃ προφανείσα· πόθεν τόδε καλὸν ἄθυρμα  
 αἰόλον ὄστρακον ἔσσο χέλυσ ὄρεσι ζώουσα;  
 ἀλλ' οἶσω σ' εἰς δῶμα λαβών· ὄφελός τι μοι ἔσση,  
 οὐδ' ἀποτιμήσω· σὺ δέ με πρότιστον ὀνήσεις. 35  
 οἴκοι βέλτερον εἶναι, ἐπεὶ βλαβερόν τὸ θύρηφιν·

25 secl. Ruhnken 26. αὐλίαι codd.: corr. Stephanus 28. σκύλα M  
 30. ἐναΐσιμον pro ὀνήσιμον Stadtmüller 31. χοροῖτυπε codd.: corr. Matthiae  
 33. ἐσσι codd. (ὄστρακόν ἐσσι M): corr. Matthiae, Tyrrell 35. οὐκ ἀπατίμωτον  
 Ilgen: ἀπατιμῶσω Matthiae 36. βέλτιον BG || τὸ om. xD

εὐρὼν χελώνῃν Ἑρμῆς ἐκδεῖραι τὸ θηρίον  
 καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς λέγεται ποιήσασθαι λύραν)  
 there is nothing to indicate an acquaintance  
 with the hymn.

25. The line has been ejected by most  
 editors as a gloss on 24. But the repeti-  
 tion in 24, 25 is characteristic of the  
 writer's narrative style; so 12, 13.  
 With 25 cf. the similar expression in  
 the hymn of the Delphian Boeo (Paus.  
 x. 5. 7) πρῶτος δ' ἀρχαίων ὕμνων τεκ-  
 τάναντ' αἰοδᾶν (of Olen).

26. The cave of Maia is fitted up like  
 an Homeric house; cf. *μεγάροιο* 146,  
*προθύροιο* 158, *μεγάλου δόμοιο* 246. It  
 has an αὐλή in front, like the cave of  
 Polyphemos, i 462.

28. *σαῦλα*: the word is applied to a  
 horse (Sim. Am. fr. 18 καὶ σαῦλα βαῖνων  
 ἵππος ὡς κορωνίης), and to maidens  
 (Anacr. 55 Διονύσου σαῦλαι Βασσαρίδες).  
 So Eur. *Cycl.* 40 αἰοδαῖς βαρβίτων σαυλοῦ-  
 μένοι, Arist. *Vesp.* 1173 σαυλοπρωκτιᾶν,  
 fr. 522 διασαυλούμενον. The meaning  
 of the adj. may be "moving delicately,"  
 "mincing," or (of a horse) "high-step-  
 ping." The slow and deliberate move-  
 ment of the tortoise's feet might be  
 called "delicate" or "languid," as  
 Ruhnken explains; cf. Hesych. *κούφα*,  
*ἡσυχά, τρυφερά*. But the grammarians  
 also took the word to express a kind of  
 rolling or swaggering gait; cf. *E. M.*  
 270. 45 ἀπὸ τοῦ σαλοῦσθαι, ὃ ἐστὶν  
 ἀκριβῶς διαβαίνειν καὶ οἰνεῖ σείεσθαι. So  
*σαλάκων*, a swaggerer.

30. *σύμβολον*: like *σύμβολος*, an omen,  
 which a person meets or sees on his road.  
 There is no doubt a reference to the  
 "godsend" which was proper to Hermes,  
 the god of luck. The tortoise was the  
 first ἔρμαιον. For ἔρμαιο see Preller-  
 Robert i. p. 403 n. 3.

οὐκ ὀνοτάζω: sc. *δέχομαι τὸν ὄρνιν*.  
 For *ονοτάζω* cf. Hes. *Op.* 256 (elsewhere  
 only in Aesch. *Supp.* 11 in middle);  
*ὀνοτα* <σ> τὸν h. *Arh.* 254.

31. *χοροῖτυπε*: only here in passive  
 sense, "played in the chorus." For  
 the wrong accentuation of the mss. cf.  
 56 where M has *παραίβολα* for *παραιβόλα*,  
 and see on xix. 11.

*δαιτὸς ἐταίρῃ*: cf. ρ 271 (*φόρμιγξ*) ἦν  
 ἄρα δαιτὶ θεοὶ ποίησαν ἐταίρην, θ 99  
*φόρμιγγός θ' ἦ δαιτὶ συνήγορός ἐστι θαλεῖη*.  
 So *νυκτὸς ἐταίρε ἡγήσατο* 290.

32, 33. *ἔσσο*, which Tyrrell has lately  
 proposed, was thought of by Matthiae,  
 who, however, gave up his conjecture  
 on account of the neglected digamma.  
 This is no objection to the word, cf. Γ  
 57 *λαῖνον ἔσσο χιτῶνα*; and it does away  
 with the great awkwardness of the con-  
 struction, which had induced Hermann  
 and others to take *τόδε* = *huc*. Gemoll's  
 punctuation (*πόθεν τόδε καλὸν ἄθυρμα*;  
*αἰόλον ὄστρακόν ἐσσι*) gives a very weak  
 sense. *ἔσσο* suits the tone of the hymn  
 admirably; the form is rare enough to  
 be easily corrupted, especially in the  
 neighbourhood of *ἔσση* 34.

35, 36. Both these verses have been



ἡ γὰρ ἐπηλυσίης πολυπήμονος ἔσσειαι ἔχμα  
ζώουσ· ἦν δὲ θάνης, τότε κεν μάλα καλὸν αἰίοις.  
ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη· καὶ χερσὶν ἅμ' ἀμφοτέρησιν αἰέρας  
ἀν' εἴσω κίε δῶμα φέρων ἐρατεινὸν ἄθურμα.  
ἐνθ' ἀναπηλήσας γλυφάνῳ πολιοῖο σιδήρου

40

37. εἰ pro ἦ M || ἐπηλυσίης BTR<sub>1</sub> || αἰχμὰ (αἰχμα M: αἰχμὰ E: αἰγμὰ L) codd.: corr. Ruhnken: ἀκμὴ Barnes: αἰχμὴ Ilgen 38. ζώουσι δὲ M || εἰόντες MD ed. pr.: εἰόντες cet. || τότε ἄν codd.: corr. Hermann: γ' ἄν Barnes: δ' αὖ Matthiae: κεν Hermann 41. ἀναπειρήσας Steph.: ἀναπηδήσας Barnes: ἀναδιήσας vel ἀναφηλήσας Ernesti: ἀναμηλώσας Ruhnken: ἀνακλήσας Ilgen: ἀναπλήσας Hermann: ἔρα πηλῆσας Herwerden

unjustly suspected; 35 does not indeed add anything to the sense expressed in 34, but such repetitions are common in the hymn; see on 12. Line 36 occurs in Hes. *Op.* 365, where it may refer to the advantage of having substance stored in the house; more probably, however, it is an isolated aphorism, advising women to stay at home and so avoid slander. Whatever the original Hesiodic context, the line is here a palpable parody, the humour of which is quite in keeping with the hymn. Hermes tells the tortoise "there's no place like home." There may be additional point to the irony, as the tortoise was proverbially a "stay-at-home"; cf. Plut. *coniug. praecipr.* vii. p. 421 τὴν Ἑλίων ὁ Φειδίας Ἀφροδίτῃν ἐποίησε χελώνην πατοῦσαν οἰκουρίας σύμβολον ταῖς γυναῖξι καὶ σιωπῇς. Cf. id. *Is. et Osir.* 75, Aesop *fab.* 154. The marginal note in some mss. (see p. lv n. 1) only shews that the scholiast considered the hymn, as the work of Homer, to be older than Hesiod.

37. With the line cf. *h. Dem.* 230. ἔχμα: Ruhnken's correction is certain; cf. the same error in Hesych. αἰχματα· κωλύματα, and Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 201, where

cod. Laur. 32. 9 has αἰχμα. The mistake is due to the early identity of sound of ε, when accented, and αι. Cf. the echoing sound (ν)αἰχι=ἐχει in Callim. *Ep.* 29.

For the tortoise as a charm cf. Plin. *N. H.* xxxii. 4 *terrestrium* (sc. *testudinum*) *carnes suffitionibus propriae magicisque artibus refutandis et contra venena salutare produntur*. Pliny (*l.c.*) mentions a number of complaints, such as headache or toothache, which were thought

to be cured by the blood, flesh, or gall of the various kinds of tortoises (see Pauly-Wissowa, art. "Aberglaube" 77). The above-mentioned superstitions refer to the animal when dead; for the protective power of a living tortoise (as here) cf. *Geoponica* i. 14. 8 (from Africanus), where the tortoise is a charm against hail for the vineyards; it must be carried in the right hand, on its back, round the vineyard, and then be left alive, in the same position, upon the ground in the middle of the land. For other such charms, by carrying a victim round a vineyard etc., see Frazer on Paus. ii. 34. 2.

41. ἀναπηλήσας: usually considered *vox nihili*, although retained by some of the older commentators, who explained it variously (=ἀμπεπαλὼν from \*ἀναπηλεῖν, for ἀναπάλλειν, Ilgen, as θηλεῖν θάλλειν, cf. Herwerden *Lex. s.v.*). The difficulty is increased by the uncertainty of the sense required for the participle: it may express either the preliminaries to killing the tortoise (i.e. throwing it upon its back), or the actual killing. Line 42 does not settle the question, as the process of cutting out the flesh might be either the cause of death, or might refer to the subsequent clearance of the flesh from the shell.

None of the emendations can be entertained. ἀναπηλήσας has found favour; *πιλεῖν* is used of pounding a polypus, to make it tender (Arist. *fr.* 235; and the verb is epic, cf. Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 678). But the proper meaning of *πιλεῖν* is to "compress" or "squeeze," e.g. "knead" bread, *Anth. Plan.* iv. 337, and this is quite inapplicable to a tortoise.



αἰὼν' ἐξετόρησεν ὀρεσκόμοιο χελώνης.  
ὥς δ' ὅπ' ὅτ' ὠκὺ νόημα διὰ στέρνοιο περήσῃ  
ἀνέρος, ὃν τε θαμινὰ ἐπιστροφῶσι μέριμναι,  
ἣ ὅτε δινηθῶσιν ἀπ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἀμαρυγαί,

45

42. αἰὼν M in marg., γρ'. ὥς δοκεῖ μοι ἀγῶν' ἐξετό m. p.: αἰὼν E: αἰὼν II || ὀρεσκώ λώνης EL: ὀρεσκώιο κολώνης II, qui vim. cruce notat 43. περήσει B, Franke: περήσει cet. 44. θαμινὰ Barnes 45. ἡ ὅτε M, marg. Γ: αἶ ὅτε xAtD: ἄς ὅτε p: ἡ ὥς Wakefield: ὥς δ' ὅτε Hermann: αἶ δέ τε Baumeister || θυνηθῶσιν pAt || ἀμαρυγαί] ἀμαλδύναι γ (sc. ET in text. LII in marg.)

42. αἰὼν' ἐξετόρησεν, "cut" or "gouged out" the marrow; cf. 119. The verb expresses the action denoted in the other accounts by ἐκκαθάρας (Apollodorus), ἐκδεῖραι (Pausanias). The phrase (both here and in 119 τετορήσας) is too definite to mean *vitam perforando eximere* (Ilgen), and shews that αἰὼν must have a more concrete sense than "life." There seems no difficulty in understanding "marrow," with probably a wider signification, for "flesh" generally. The material sense is established by Hesych. s.v. αἰὼν: τινὲς δὲ τῶν νεωτέρων τὸν ρωτιαῖον μυελὸν (μέλ' mss.; corr. Musurus) ἀπέδωκαν, ὥς Ἰπποκράτης, τὸν αἰὼνὰ τις νοσήσας ἐβδόματις ἀπέθανε (Epidem. vii. 7, p. 1240 D); cf. Erotian p. 49 (Klein), *E. M.* s.v. So also it was taken in T 27 ἐκ δ' αἰὼν πέφταται: cf. schol. D ἦτοι ἀνήρηται ὁ βίος . . . ἢ ὥς οἱ γλωσσογράφοι, αἰὼν ἐφθαρται, ὃ ἐστὶν ὁ ρωτιαῖος μυελός. The Homeric γλωσσογράφοι, though wrong, must have based their interpretation on the usage of their own day. Pindar fr. 77 (Boeckh) αἰὼν δὲ δι' ὁστέων ἐραίσθη almost certainly has this meaning, and probably Hippocr. περί ἀγῶν ii. 21 ἦν σφακελίσθη τὸν αἰὼνα πάντα ἀντισχεῖν τὸ νόσημα, where Galen interprets τὸν δλον βίον. For the change of meaning from abstract to concrete cf. the Latin *vitalia*, "vitals"; still nearer is the Italian *vita* for the "back," and, by a further transference, even the "body" of a dress.

ὀρεσκόμοιο; see on h. Aphr. 257.

43. For the simile of νόημα cf. O 80 f. ὥς δ' ὅτ' ἂν ἀΐξη νόος ἀνέρος, ὅς τ' ἐπὶ πολλῇ | γαῖαν ἐληλουθῶς φρεσὶ πευκαλίμῃσι νοήσῃ | "ἐνθ' εἶην ἢ ἐνθα." For the abbreviated (and therefore doubtless later) simile ὥστε νόημα see η 36 (quoted on 45), h. Ap. 186, 448, Theogn. 985; so Thales ap. Diog. Laert.

i. 35 τάχιστος νοῦς· διὰ παντὸς γὰρ τρέχει.

44. θαμινὰ, though unusual, seems established; cf. Nicand. Ther. 239 αἶ δὲ θαμινὰ (χαμηλαὶ one ms.), and θαμινὰ is recognised by Choeroboscus ap. Cramer An. Ox. ii. 180. So ὑδατίνους Matro 79, ὑδατεῖναι Hippocr. Aer. c. 15, 19. Ruhnken, who defended the word, quoted forms in -ρινος, ὀπωρινός etc. See Schulze Q. E. p. 253.

45. ἡ ὅτε: M's reading has been rejected on the ground that it involves a double comparison to illustrate the same aspect; whereas in Homer accumulated similes are generally supposed to express different pictures or views; see B 144 f., 455-483, with Leaf's notes, and Jebb Homer p. 31; so Hes. Scut. 402-405. But passages like Ψ 366 ὥς τε νέφος ἢ ὕελλα, η 36 ὥς εἰ πτερὸν ἢ νόημα shew that alternative similes can refer to the same aspect; cf. also T 374 (unnecessarily suspected), and see on 147. Apollonius also uses the alternative simile: e.g. Arg. Δ 877 πνοιῇ κέλεῖ δέμας, ἥδ' ὄνειρος, 1298 f., 1452 f.; in the two last instances the second simile is introduced by ἣ ὅτε, as here. For the simile drawn from the "twinkling of an eye" cf. 1 Ep. Cor. 15. 52 ἐν ῥήπῃ ὀφθαλμοῦ; see on 279.

Baumeister's correction αἶ δέ τε rests on x αἶ ὅτε, but the corruption would be difficult to explain. There would be a single comparison, the passage of a thought in the brain being marked instantaneously by a movement of the eyelids. This sense is intelligible, although no improvement on M's reading; there appears to be no parallel nearer than the lines of Tennyson (quoted by Tyrrell): *As when a great thought strikes along the brain, And flushes all the cheek.*



ὥς ἄμ' ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον ἐμήδετο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς.  
 πῆξε δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέτροισι ταμῶν δόνακας καλάμοιο,  
 πειρήνας διὰ νῶτα διὰ ῥινοῖο χελώνης.  
 ἀμφὶ δὲ δέρμα τάνυσσε βοὸς πραπίδεςσιν ἑήσι,

46. ἐμῆσατο E 47. λαβῶν pro ταμῶν D : corr. in marg. 48. πειρήνας p :  
 τετρήνας Matthiae || κραταιρίνοιο Barnes (κραταιρίνοιο χελώνης Herod. i. 47) :  
 λιθορρίνοιο Pierson : ταλαυρίνοιο Schmidt : διατρήτοιο Ludwich

46. Cf. T 242 αὐτίκ' ἐπειὶ ἄμα μῦθος  
 ἔην τετέλεστο δὲ ἔργον, Apoll. Arg. Δ  
 103 ἐνθ' ἔπος ἦδὲ καὶ ἔργον ὁμοῦ πέλεν  
 ἐσσυμένουσιν. So in prose, Herod. iii.  
 135 ταῦτα εἶπε, καὶ ἄμα ἔπος τε καὶ ἔργον  
 ἐποίησε.

47-51. Invention of the lyre. The  
 word λύρη, which is not Homeric, only  
 once occurs in the hymn (423), which  
 elsewhere uses κιθάρις (499 etc.) and  
 φόρμιγξ (64, 506). Moreover the ex-  
 pression in 423 λύρη δ' ἐρατὴν κιθαρίζων  
 shews that at this time the three names  
 could be applied indifferently to one  
 instrument. For the difference between  
 the lyre and cithara see Guhl and Koner  
 (Engl. Trans. p. 201 f.), Smith *Dict. Ant.*,  
 art. "Lyra" (Monro). The later cithara  
 seems to have been developed about the  
 time of Pindar. It is curious that the  
 more recent word λύρα was afterwards  
 confined to the primitive tortoise-shell  
 instrument; according to Monro, "the  
 later form of the cithara was developed  
 gradually, retaining the original name,  
 which therefore included all varieties,  
 until the new word λύρα came into  
 vogue for the commoner and more  
 primitive kind."

For Hermes' invention of the lyre cf.  
 Nicand. *Alex.* 560 f. ἄλλοτε δ' οὐρείης  
 κυττισηρόμου, ἦν τ' ἀκάκητα | αὐδήσσαν  
 ἔθηκεν ἀναύδητόν περ εὐόσαν | Ἑρμείης·  
 σαρκὸς γὰρ ἀπ' οὖν νόσφισσε χέλειον |  
 αἰδῶν, ἀγκῶνας δὲ δύω παρετεινато  
 πέφαις |, Arat. *Phaen.* 268 f. καὶ χέλυν ἥ  
 τ' ὀλίγη· τὴν γὰρ τ' ἔτι καὶ παρὰ λίκνῳ |  
 Ἑρμείας ἐτόρησε, λύρην δὲ μιν εἶπε λέγεσθαι |.  
 Neither account need have been borrowed  
 from the hymn; and Lucian's version  
 (*dial. deor.* vii.) is almost certainly  
 unconnected with it, as he makes  
 Apollo a lyre-player before Hermes  
 found the tortoise. Bion ix. 8 ὡς χέλυν  
 Ἑρμῶν, κιθάρην ὡς ἄνυσ' Ἀπόλλων, also  
 differs from the hymn; so Callim. *h.*  
*Del.* 253, where the seven-stringed lyre  
 is invented by Apollo. For the invention  
 as represented in art see Roscher i. 2432.

47. δόνακες : explained by Pollux as

equivalent to the κέρατα, or πήχεις of  
 the lyre : δόνακα δὲ τινα ὑπολύριον οἱ  
 κωμικοὶ ὠνόμαζον ὡς πάλαι ἀντὶ κεράτων  
 ὑποτιθέμενον ταῖς λύραις (iv. 62). This  
 is certainly wrong, the mistake being  
 probably due, as Gemoll points out, to  
 a misunderstanding of Arist. *Ran.* 232  
 προστέρπεται δ' ὁ φόρμιγκτὰς Ἀπόλλων  
 ἔνεκα δόνακος, ὃν ὑπολύριον ἐνυδρὸν ἐν  
 λίμναις τρέφω. The right explanation  
 (first given by Matthiae) is that the  
 reeds were cut in different lengths (ἐν  
 μέτροισι), and fixed in the shell; they  
 thus served as a framework for the ox-  
 hide which was stretched over them, to  
 form a sounding-board.

48. πειρήνας should mean "fastening  
 by the ends" (πείρατα) : cf. χ 175, 192  
 σείρην δὲ πλεκτὴν ἐκ αὐτοῦ πειρήναντε.  
 Here Ebeling translates *efficere ut per  
 totum transeat*, i.e. Hermes passes the  
 δόνακες (which must then be the obj.)  
 through the shell from end to end.  
 But the sense "pierce" seems clearly  
 required. It is possible that the verb  
 may be equivalent to πείρω, for which  
 Baumeister compares Manetho ii. 106.  
 Matthiae's correction τετρήνας has been  
 usually adopted, and this is supported  
 by the variants συντετραλινοντας συμ-  
 περαλινοντας Herod. ii. 11.

διὰ ῥινοῖο is unanimously made into  
 an adjective; but if one διὰ has expelled  
 anything, it is more likely to have  
 expelled another preposition : cf. K 54  
 ῥίμφα θέων παρὰ νῆας· ἐγὼ δ' ἐπὶ  
 Νέστορα δῖον; for παρὰ various MSS.  
 read ἐπὶ. So K 141 κατὰ νῆας ἀνὰ  
 στρατόν, where κατὰ στρατόν is also  
 found; on K 298 ἄμ φόνον, ἂν νέκνας,  
 διὰ τ' ἔντεα, Eust. quotes ἀνὰ τ' ἔντεα.  
 Cf. also the ms. reading in *h. Ap.* 452,  
*h. Herm.* 453. Here διὰ cannot be original  
 in both places, and as διὰ ῥινοῖο is clearly  
 the more appropriate, κατὰ νῶτα may be  
 suggested; cf. η 40 ἐρχόμενον κατὰ ἄστυ  
 διὰ σφέας, Apoll. Arg. Δ 1002 κατὰ  
 στόμα καὶ διὰ πέτρας. There is a simple  
 exchange of κατὰ and διὰ in N 383,  
 σ 341.



καὶ πήχεις ἐνέθηκ', ἐπὶ δὲ ζυγὸν ἤραρεν ἀμφοῖν, 50  
 ἐπτα δὲ συμφώνους οἶων ἐτανύσσατο χορδὰς.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τεύξε φέρων ἐρατεινὸν ἄθυρμα,  
 πλήκτρῳ ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέρος, ἥ δ' ὑπὸ χειρὸς  
 σμερδαλέον κονάβησε· θεὸς δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν αἶειδεν  
 ἐξ αὐτοσχεδῆς πειρώμενος, ἥντε κούροι 55  
 ἡβηταὶ θαλίῃσι παραιβόλα κερτομέουσιν,

51. TESTIMONIUM. Antigonus Carystius ed. Keller 1877 c. vii. ἴδιον δὲ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰ ἔντερα τῶν προβάτων· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τῶν κρῶν ἔστιν ἀφωνα, τὰ δὲ τῶν θηλειῶν εὐφωνα, ὅθεν καὶ τὸν ποιητὴν ὑπολάβοι τις εἰρηκέναι, πολυπράγμονα πανταχοῦ καὶ περιττὸν ὄντα κτλ.

50. ΠΗΧΥΣ M: ΠΗΧΕΑΣ Ilgen || δὲ om. MBΓN 51. ΣΥΜΦΩΝΟΥΣ] ΘΗΛΥΤΕΡΩΝ  
 Antigonus 52. ΧΕΡΩΝ Matthiae: ΤΕΥΞ' ΕΥΡΩΝ Hermann: ΕΦΕΠΩΝ Ludwich:  
 ΤΕΥΞΕ ΛΥΡΗΝ Guttman: ΧΕΡΟΙΝ seu ΚΑΜΩΝ Schneidewin: ΛΑΒΩΝ Schmidt  
 54. ΚΟΝΑΒΗΣΕ M: ΚΟΝΑΒΗΣΣΕ cet. (-ισε AtD) 55. ΗΝΤΕ ΚΟΡΑΟΙ M: ΟΪΑ ΤΕ  
 Matthiae 56. ΠΑΡΑΙΒΟΛΑ M

50. ΠΗΧΕΙΣ: the arms, made either of wood or goats' horns; see Guhl and Koner fig. 237. Cf. Luc. *dial. deor.* vii. 4 *πήχεις γὰρ ἐναρμόσας καὶ ζυγώσας κτλ.*; *dial. mar.* i. 4.

ΖΥΓΟΝ: the crossbar which joined the two horns; cf. I 107, where it was of silver. There is here no mention of the κόλλοις, pegs by which the strings were fastened to the bar. For the stringing of a lyre cf. φ 406-08.

51. On the variant in Antigonus of Carystus *θηλυτέρων* see Pref. p. xlv. The fem. of this word in Homer is only used of goddesses or women, with the exception of the variant *νήσων θηλυτέρων* for *τηλεδαπών* in Φ 454. Apollodorus substitutes the entrails of the cows; see on 24. On the seven-stringed lyre see *Introd.* p. 133. The invention of seven strings is attributed to Hermes by Lucian (*dial. deor.* vii. 4) and Ovid (*Fast.* v. 106), but to Apollo by Callim. (*h. Del.* 253), and to Amphion by Paus. (ix. 5. 7). According to Timotheus *Persae* 233 f., Orpheus invented the χέλυσ, Terpander the ten-stringed lyre.

52. ΤΕΥΞΕ ΦΕΡΩΝ, which has given offence, is supported by 63 *κατέθηκε φέρων*: in both cases the present participle contains the action antecedent to the aorist verb, the sense here being "when he had brought and fashioned his plaything." For a similar vague use of the participle cf. *h. Ap.* 491.

Gemoll's punctuation *τεύξε, φέρων* is preferable to the conjectures, but the rhythm requires that *φέρων κτλ.* should be taken with the preceding rather than the succeeding verb.

53, 54 are the model of 419, 420 and 501, 502.

53. ΚΑΤὰ ΜΕΡΟΣ: (each string) in turn. *μέρος* is not Homeric. On the lengthening see Hartel *Hom. Stud.* 35, 38; Eberhard *Metr. Beob.* ii. 26.

54. ΣΜΕΡΔΑΛΕΟΝ: so all mss. here and in 420, and M in 502 (the rest *ιμερόν*). The sense is quite suitable, as *σμερδαλέος* is from *σμερδ*, Lat. *mordeo*, Engl. *smart* (Doederlein *gl.* 589, Prellwitz *Et. Wört.* s.v.), and the primary meaning is therefore "acute," "penetrating," "clear." Cf. *h.* xxxi. 9 *σμερδὸν δ' ὃ γε δέρεται δόσοις*, of acute vision. The adverb *σμερδαλέον* (α) is frequent in Homer with *βοᾶν*, etc., where the physical sense may be retained.

55. ἥντε: rightly defended by Gemoll; Matthiae's *οἳα τε* would imply that the songs of Hermes were similar in subject to the jests at the banquet. The comparison of course lies in *ἐξ αὐτοσχεδῆς*.

56. ΠΑΡΑΙΒΟΛΑ = *παραβλήδην* (first in Δ 4), the meaning of which, however, is doubtful (see Ebeling s.v.). Apollonius (*Arg.* B 60, 448, Γ 107) seems to use *παραβλήδην* for "in answer," or "by retort." This cannot be the original meaning of adverbial forms derived from *παραβάλλω*, nor does it suit the Homeric passage.



ἀμφὶ Δία Κρονίδην καὶ Μαιάδα καλλιπέδιλον,  
 ὃν πάρος ὠρίζεσκον ἑταιρείῃ φιλότῃτι,  
 ἦν τ' αὐτοῦ γενεὴν ὀνομακλυτὸν ἐξονομάζων·  
 ἀμφιπόλους τε γέραιρε καὶ ἀγλαὰ δώματα νύμφης,  
 καὶ τρίποδας κατὰ οἶκον ἐπηετανούς τε λέβητας.  
 καὶ τὰ μὲν οὖν ἤειδε, τὰ δὲ φρεσὶν ἄλλα μενοίνα.  
 καὶ τὴν μὲν κατέθηκε φέρων ἱερῷ ἐνὶ λίκνῳ  
 φόρμιγγα γλαφυρήν· ὁ δ' ἄρα κρειῶν ἐρατίζων  
 ἄλτο κατὰ σκοπιὴν εὐώδεος ἐκ μεγάροιο,  
 ὀρμαίνων δόλον αἰπὺν ἐνὶ φρεσίν, οἷά τε φῶτες  
 φηληται διέπουσι μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἐν ὄρῃ.

60

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58. ὃν πάρος codd. : ὥς corr. ex ὃν Γ, Ernesti : οἱ Clarke || ὠρίζεσκον codd. : ἥριζεσκον Γ : ὠρίζεσκον Barnes || καὶ ἑταιρείῃ M 59. ὀνομακλυτὸν M : ὄνομα κλυτὸν xD : ὀνομακλυτὴν p || ἐξονομάζων M : ὀνομάζων cet. || ὀνομακλήδην ὀνομάζων Schmitt 65. ἄλτο M : ὠρτο cet. (ὠτο ELII) 67. φηληται MD : φηληται corr. Barnes

Leaf on Δ 4, comparing I 322 ψυχὴν παραβαλλόμενος, suggests "by way of risking one's self," hence "provokingly." Probably the adverb is connected with παραβάλλω in its literal sense, i.e. "with side-thrusts," "maliciously."

For the custom, which was especially Dorian, the editors compare Pind. *Ol.* i. 22, Herod. vi. 129, *Apoll. Arg.* A 458 (quoted on 454).

57. ἀμφί, as Baumeister notes, suggests the exordium of a hymn in praise of Zeus and Maia; see on *h.* xix. 1.

58. ὃν appears to be the internal accusative with ὠρίζεσκον, sc. *δαρον*. Cf. *h.* xxiii. 3 ὄρους ὀρίζει, and for the omission of the substantive (commoner with feminines) the proverbs ὁ λαγὼς τὸν περὶ τῶν κρεῶν τρέχει, sc. *δρόμον*, ar. *Diogen.* vi. 5, Zenob. iv. 85, and Plut. *non posse suaviter* c. 2 καὶ τὸν (τὴν Bernadakis) περὶ τῶν κρεῶν ἐπάξει; Synes. *Ep.* 5 τὸν ὑπὲρ ψυχῆς θέομεν, schol. Plato *Leg.* 739 A, 820 c κινήσω τὸν ἀφ' ἱερᾶς (sc. πεττὸν). Of the conjectures ὥς is inadmissible graphically, and of is awkward.

ἑταιρείῃ: not in Homer. The adjective gives a certain dignity to φιλότῃτι, "in the comradeship of love." With the line cf. *h.* xxiii. 2, 3.

59. For the repetition ὀνομακλυτὸν ἐξονομάζων cf. δ 178 ἐκ δ' ὀνομακλήδην Δαναῶν ὀνομάζες ἀρίστους.

61. ἐπηετανούς: whatever the derivation and original meaning may be, the

sense "abundant" is quite clear in this passage and in 113.

62. The line can only mean that Hermes had other plans in view *while* he was singing; i.e. he was devising the theft of the cattle, while he pretended to be occupied with other themes. This implies that he sang to an audience (see on 17).

64. κρειῶν ἐρατίζων = A 551, P 660 (of a lion).

65. ἄλτο (M): ὠρτο ar. The same variant occurs T 62 (*ἄλτο vulg.*, ὠρτο Massaliotic ed.).

66. Cf. δ 843 φόνον αἰπὺν ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ὀρμαίνοντες.

67. φηληται: the correct spelling φη- is almost entirely the property of *p*; in 175, however, the family also reads *φι*. This is not only the result of itacism, but of the authority of Herodian and Tryphon (in Choerob. *An. Ox.* ii. 2712); in Hes. *Op.* 375 the mss. are divided, but elsewhere the *iota* prevails (*Archil. fr.* 46, Aesch. *Cho.* 999, Soph. *fr.* 672, Eur. *Rhes.* 217, Callim. *Hecale* col. iv. 11 Gomperz). Photius has φηλοῦν· ἀπατᾶν in the series φη; add ἐφήλωσεν Aesch. *Ag.* 497 with schol. We may accept the common derivation from the root of σφάλλω, *fallō*. The word is not Homeric (= *ληϊστήρ*, as in 14). In *Rhes.* i.e. Hermes is φηλητῶν ἀναξ, C. I. G. 2299 (Kaibel *Ep.* 1108) Ἐρμῆν τὸν κλέπτην τίς ὑφέλετο; θερμὸς δ' κλέπτης | ὃς τῶν φηλητέων ᾤχετ' ἀνακτα φέρων.



Ἡέλιος μὲν ἔδυνε κατὰ χθονὸς ὠκεανόνδε  
 αὐτοῖσιν θ' ἵπποισι καὶ ἄρμασιν, αὐτὰρ ἄρ' Ἑρμῆς  
 Πιερίης ἀφίκανε θεῶν ὄρεα σκίοεντα, 70  
 ἔνθα θεῶν μακάρων βόες ἄμβροτοι αἰλιν ἔχεσκον,  
 βοσκόμεναι λειμῶνας ἀκηρασίους, ἐρατεινούς.  
 τῶν τότε Μαιάδος υἱός, εὖσκοπος Ἀργειφόντης,  
 πεντήκοντ' ἀγέλης ἀπετάμνετο βούς ἐριμύκους.  
 πλανοδίας δ' ἦλανε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον, 75  
 ἵχνι' ἀποστρέψας· δολίης δ' οὐ λήθετο τέχνης,  
 ἀντία ποιήσας ὀπλάς, τὰς πρόσθεν ὀπισθεν,  
 τὰς δ' ὀπιθεν πρόσθεν, κατὰ δ' ἔμπαλιν αὐτὸς ἔβαινε.

69. αὐτοῖς σύν Barnes: αὐτὸς σύν ε' Reiz || ε' om. Ilgen || αὐτὰρ δ' γ' Barnes  
 70. θεῶν D ed. pr.: εἰσὼν cet. 72. ἀκειρασίους xD 74. ἀγέλας M: ἀπετάμ-  
 νητο dubium visum est Stephano 75. πλanoδίας Schneider: πλαγκτοδίας vel  
 πλαγοδίας D'Orville J. P. xxv. 253 76. Ἰχνι' Hermann: ἵχνη' Hermann: ἵχνη'  
 Ilgen 78. πρόσθεν] πρώτας M: μετὰ δ' Hermann

70. θεῶν: the variant θεῶν came from θεῶν 71, and should not have been retained by Gemoll. There is the same variation in T 53, where θεῶν is certainly required. Hermes' haste is marked throughout this part of the hymn; cf. 86, 88, 94, 142, 150.

71. The hymn-writer calls the cows indifferently the property of the gods (cf. the use of ὑμέτερος 276, 310), or of Apollo (18, 22 etc.). On the analogy of the Vedic hymns (see Introd. p. 130) it might appear probable that in the oldest form of the myth the cattle belonged to the Sun, and afterwards to Apollo as Sun-god. In Homer Apollo has no herds of his own; the oxen slaughtered by the comrades of Odysseus belong to Helios (μ 127 f.). In Apollodorus the actual ownership is left vague (κλέπτει βόας ἃς ἔνεμεν Ἀπόλλων). The Sun is specified in schol. Dion. Thrac. (Bekker *Anecd.* i. p. 752). See on *h. Ap.* 412 f.

ἄμβροτοι: often of property belonging to the gods, "divine," not necessarily "immortal"; indeed Hermes kills two of them (though such inconsistency would not be serious in this hymn).

72. ἀκηρασίους: Curtius' derivation from κείρω suits this passage, and many examples of the similar form ἀκήρατος: Choerilus *fr.* 1 δτ' ἀκήρατος ἦν ἐτι λείμων, Ibycus *fr.* 1 κἄπος ἀκήρατος, Eur. *Hipp.* 73 ἐξ ἀκηράτου λειμῶνος. But in O 498, ρ 532 κτήματ' ἀκήρατα, the

form ἀκήρατος seems to mean "intact," like ἀκήριος, from κήρ. In ι 205 ἀκηράσιος is applied to οἶνος, and in Ω 303 ἀκήρατος to ὕδωρ. This suggests a connexion with κεράννυμι, but the use in these two passages may be due to false etymology, aided by ἀκητος. If, as seems probable, ἀκηράσιος and ἀκήρατος properly mean "unharmful," a similar false etymology (κείρω) would readily adapt the words to λειμῶν etc.

73, 74. The construction, with a double genitive, is grammatically rather complicated, but the sense is clear; cf. 82.

75. πλanoδίας: for the lengthening of the first syllable (of three short syllables) see Schulze *Q. E.* p. 187 f. The word has been understood by some as a cogn. acc. from a subst. πλanoδίη, but it is probably an adj. of three terminations. So Hesych. πλanoδιά· τῇ πεπλanoημένῃ τῆς ὁρθῆς ὁδοῦ. Schneider's πλanoδίας is recommended also by F. D. Allen *Harvard Studies* iv. 1893.

76. Ἰχνι': the mss. give this form in 218, 220, 342, 351. ἀποστρέψας, "turning their footsteps aside"; cf. X 197 τοσσάκι μιν προπάροιθεν ἀποστρέψασκε παραφθᾶς | πρὸς πεδίον. The words explain πλanoδίας, not ἀντία ποιήσας κτλ. δολίης δ' οὐ κτλ. = Hes. *Theog.* 547; cf. δ 455, 529, *Theog.* 560.

77, 78. Matthiae and others condemn these lines, objecting to κατὰ δ' ἔμπαλιν κτλ., which they translate "walking backwards"; they argue that Hermes'



σάνδαλα δ' αὐτίκα ρίψιν ἐπὶ ψαμάθοις ἀλίησιν  
 ἄφραστ' ἦδ' ἀνόητα διέπλεκε, θαυματὰ ἔργα,  
 συμμίσγων μυρίκας καὶ μυρσινοειδέας ὄζους.  
 τῶν τότε συνδήσας νεοθηλέος ἄγκαλον ὕλης,  
 ἀβλαβέως ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο σάνδαλα κοῦφα,  
 αὐτοῖσιν πετάλοισι, τὰ κύδιμος Ἀργεϊφόντης

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79. σάνδαλα ἔριψεν E: σάνδαλα κ' ἔριψεν L: σάνδαλα αὐτίκ' Π: ρίψιν  
 Postgate: ἔραψεν Matthiae || δ' εὐ τ' ἔρριψεν Schneidewin: δ' εὐτ' ἀπέριψεν  
 Baumeister: δ' ἡνίκ' Ludwich: κάλ' ὅτ' Stoll || ἀλίοισιν Γ 80. ἄφρατα δ'  
 ἡδ' Ilgen || σαυμαστὰ BNV: σαυτὰ Wolf 81. συμμίστων ET: συμμίστων L  
 82. νεοθηλέαν ἀγκαλωρήν M: ἀγκαλὼν xAt: νεοθηλέα ἀγκύλη ὕλην Ilgen  
 83. ἀβλαύτοις Pierson: ἀσφαλῶς Hermann: εὐλαβέως Schneidewin

sandals were a sufficient disguise. But O. Schulze points out that κατὰ δ' ἔμπαιον is only relative to the cows: "he walked the reverse way (to them)"; cf. κατεναντίον. That the explanation is correct is proved by 211 ἐξοπίσω δ' ἀνέεργε κάρη δ' ἔχον ἀντίον αὐτῶ. Ilgen compares the behaviour of Commodus, Herodian v. 6. Again, Hermann very needlessly objects to the cows walking backwards, as they were driven "by crooked ways." However the "backing" of the cows is undoubtedly genuine; cf. 211, 221, 345. Hermes is trying to make assurance doubly sure. For this device cf. the story of Cacus, Verg. *Aen.* viii. 210, Livy i. 7, Auct. orig. gent. vi. 2, Ov. *Fast.* i. 550, Prop. iv. 9. 12, Mart. v. 65. 6.

79, 80. The principal difficulty in these lines is that the mss. give two finite verbs (ἔριψεν 79, and διέπλεκε 80) without connexion. To introduce this, αὐτίκα has usually been attacked, as it was omitted in the archetype of x; the lacuna, however, is purely clerical, and gives no ground for suspicion. ἔριψεν is further difficult to explain, for Hermes was not now casting off his shoes, as in 139, but putting them on. Hence Matthiae conjectured ἔραψεν, an excellent word, were it not identical with διέπλεκε. Postgate's brilliant suggestion ρίψιν supplies a word very suitable to the context, and at the same time abolishes the first verb. The Homeric form is ρίπσσι, *ε* 286. The word and form are sufficiently rare to make corruption easy. These *skis* had a real use along the sandy coast between the mouth of the Alpheus and the Triphylian Pylos (for this district see on *h. Ap.* 424).

So on his return journey (139) Hermes throws them into the Alpheus. The writer, however, whether from imperfect geographical knowledge or from natural epic vagueness, imagines the route between Pieria and Onchestus (79) and the neighbourhood of Cyllene to be sandy; and Apollo states that the first part of Hermes' journey was διὰ ψαμαθωδέα χῶρον (350). By this he may have meant the coast below Olympus or nearer Boeotia (Introd. p. 132). For a historical parallel see Arrian quoted on 83.

80. σαυματὰ ἔργα = 440, *h.* vii. 34, Hes. *Scut.* 165. θαυματὸς is not Homeric.

81, 82. The editors compare K 467 συμμάρψας δόνακας μυρίκης τ' ἐριθηλέας ὄζους.

μυρσινοειδέας: the latter half of the compound is practically otiose (= μυρσίνους), the word being coined on the false analogy of *λοιδῆς* etc. Schäfer, indeed (quoted by Baumeister), on Dion. Hal. *comp. verb.* 170 explains "myrtle-like," *rhamus* of *genere myrtorum*.

82. ἄγκαλον: only here, for ἀγκαλῖς, a bundle, armful. M's corruption νεοθηλέαν ἀγκαλωρήν may, as Hermann thinks, contain a variant ὥρης for ὕλης. See *J. H. S.* xv. p. 284.

83. ἀβλαβέως, "securely," i.e. so as to walk safely, by disguising his footprints (cf. 222 f.). This somewhat proleptic sense, which Hermann and Schneidewin intended, may be extracted from the text without violence. Pierson quotes Suidas s.v. λύγος (from Arrian) οἱ δὲ κύκλους ἐκ λύγων τοῖς ποσὶ περιαρμύσαντες αὐτοὶ τε ἀβλαβῶς ἐπήρχοντο κατὰ τῆς χιόνος πιεζομένης ὑπὸ τῶν κύκλων.



ἔσπασε Πιερίθην ὁδοιπορίην ἀλεγύνων,  
οἷά τ' ἐπειγόμενος δολιχὴν ὁδὸν αὐτοτροπήσας.  
τὸν δὲ γέρων ἐνόησε δέμων ἀνθούσαν ἀλώην,

85

85. ἀλεείνων codd.: corr. Windisch cl. 361, 557 86. δολίην Matthiae: δολίης ὁδοῦ ἐντροπήσι Stoll || αὐτοτροπήσας Mry (αὐτοτροπήσας ὥς ET: αὐτοτροπήσας marg. LIH): αὐτοπρεπής ὥς DLH: φώς pro ὥς Martin: αὐλοτροπής φώς Ilgen aliaque: αὐτόμολος ὥς Groddeck (αὐτομολήσας Hermann): ἀνπιτορήσων Hermann: αὐτοτρεπής ὥς Boissonnade: εὐτράπελος παῖς Schneidewin: εὐτρέπις αὐτως C. F. Hermann: ἀλλοτροπήσας Ilgen: ἡπεροπεὺς ὥς seu φώς M<sup>d</sup> Daniel *Harvard Studies* xi. 73: αὐτίς ὀπίσω Windisch sq.: αὐτοπορήσας Tyrrell 87. δέμων ἀνθούσαν M: δόμων αἰθούσαν cet.: δέμων conl. Barnes: κομέων Martin: μέμων Fick: καμών ἀνά γουνὸν ἀλώης Gemoll

85. ἀλεγύνων, "preparing" or "busying himself about" his journey; this correction seems necessary to the sense, and is justified by the variants in 361, 557. Hermann retained ἀλεείνων, but his explanation "avoiding footprints" is impossible, as ὁδοιπορίην cannot mean ἵχνα. The only conceivable rendering would be "avoiding (the toil of walking," i.e. through the sand (347), where his sandals might serve the purpose of snow-shoes; but, if this is the meaning, it is very obscurely expressed.

86. The syntax of the line is fixed by Demosth. xix. 165 τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν . . . καθήμενοι, . . . ὅτε δὲ . . . ἐπειγόμενοι, *Antil.* Pal. ix. 83. 1 νηὶς ἐπειγομένης ὠκὺν δρόμον. The first four words of the line therefore go together. δολιχὴν is not to be altered into δολίην; Hermes made haste, for he had a long journey before him; cf. 143 δολιχῆς ὁδοῦ. The remarkable words αὐτοτροπήσας and αὐτοπρεπής ὥς should not be abandoned with the facility of most editors. αὐτοτροπήσας by its form should be an aorist of αὐτοτροπεῖν, for which the lexica give the parallel forms ἀλλοτροπεῖν, ἀλλοιοτροπεῖν, ἑτεροτροπεῖν. If these words mean to "vary" or "be like another," αὐτοτροπεῖν may mean to "keep the same" or to "resemble one's self," i.e. be original. αὐτοσυνωμονεῖν from ἀντογνώμων is a similar formation. αὐτοπρεπής, cf. ἀρχαιοπρεπής, δουλοπρεπής, may have much the same sense: "like one's self, not like any one else." Either word refers to the "original" or unique appearance of Hermes. As he invented fire and one musical instrument, so he introduced this monstrous, awful (πέλωρα, αἰνά 225, 226) mode of progression. This interpretation is perhaps strengthened

by the fact that the variants are synonyms. It is therefore unnecessary to suppose that one is a corruption of the other, although such corruption would be easy, cf. Plat. *Soph.* 219 c ἀν διαπρέψειεν, ἀντρέψειεν.

Of the conjectures Tyrrell's αὐτοπορήσας is alone possible; but the sense is weak. How should Hermes lift cows if not on foot?

87. δέμων ἀνθούσαν ἀλώην: this reading of M was defended in *J. H. S. xv.* p. 285 against Gemoll's objections. The old man's occupation is more specifically stated 90 ὅς τε φυτὰ σκάπτεις and 207 ἔσκαπτον περὶ γουνὸν ἀλώης οἰνοπέδιοι. His work was somewhat like that of Laertes, ω 227 λιστρύνοντα φυτόν, i.e. he was digging about his vines in bud (ἀνθοῦσαν), clearing the spaces between the rows, and making trenches round the roots. This process was called γύρωσις by Greek agriculturists, cf. Xen. *Oec.* xx. 20, *Georop.* v. 20 γυρώσομεν δέ, τουτέστι περισκάψομεν; cf. iv. 1. 5, 18. 1 etc. and v. 25 σκάπτειν δὲ χρή πρό βλαστοῦ προβολῆς. A later time for this operation is mentioned by Columella iv. 28 pubescentem vero et quasi adulescentem convenit religare foliisque omnibus nudare, tum et crebris fossionibus implere. This passage amply justifies ἀνθοῦσαν. Add Hesiod *Op.* 570-72 τότε δὲ σκάφος οὐκέτι οὐλῶν; Pallad. iv. 7, iv. 20, Aeschines ii. 156, Menand. *Georg.* 64, Mosch. iv. 100, Theocr. xxv. 27 φυτοσκάφος, and Luke xiii. 8. The verb δέμειν may very well be used of this work, "stablishing," i.e. building up or tending a vineyard to which the epithet εὐκτιμένη is applied, ω 226. In Homer δέμειν is confined to the building of walls or other edifices, but Herodotus uses it



ίμενον πεδίονδε δι' Ὀγχηστὸν λεχεποῖν·  
τὸν πρότερος προσέφη Μαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱός·

ὦ γέρον, ὅς τε φυτὰ σκάπτεις ἐπικαμπύλος ὦμος, 90  
ἢ πολυοινήσεις, εὖτ' ἂν τάδε πάντα φέρῃσι.

καὶ τε ἰδὼν μὴ ἰδὼν εἶναι καὶ κωφὸς ἀκούσας,  
καὶ σιγᾶν, ὅτε μή τι καταβλάπτῃ τὸ σὸν αὐτοῦ.  
τόσσον φὰς συνέσευε βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα.

88. ὄγχι<sup>νρ.</sup>στ<sup>ην</sup> λεχεποῖον M 90. ἐπικαμπύλα πύλα M 91. πολὺ οἰνῆσει  
M: πολὺ οἰμῆσει cet.: corr. Ilgen || lacunam post h. v. stat. Groddeck || φέρῃσει  
Ludwich 92. καὶ τοι Groddeck || μύων pro μὴ ἰδὼν Stadtmüller 93.  
μικέτι AtD: ποτὲ pro ὅτε Groddeck || ὥς μῆτι Ilgen: τότε, μὴ Lohsee 94.  
φάσιν ἔσευε codd.: φὰς συνέσευε ed. pr.: φὰς ἔσευε Cobet: ἀνέσευε Ludwich

for road-making. Fick perversely alters δέμων to νέμων here, and νέμοντα to δέμοντα 187 (B. B. xxii. p. 269).

88. On the site of Onchestus see *h. Ap.* 230. The place appears only in this version of the story; see *Intro.* p. 133.

90. ἐπικαμπύλος ὦμος: cf. *ω* 242 ἢ τοι ὁ μὲν κατέχων κεφαλὴν φυτὸν ἀμφελάχαυε. Ruhnken quotes Lucian *Tim.* 7 σκάπτει δὲ οἶμαι ἐπικεκρυφός. The reading of M ἐπικαμπύλα ξύλα is unmetrical; it may point to a variant ἐπικαμπύλα κᾶλα, borrowed from Hes. *Op.* 427. Cf. 112 *infra*. ξύλα would be a gloss on κᾶλα. In Hes. *l.c.* Proclus explained κᾶλα by ξύλα ἐπικαμπῇ ὄντα τὰ ἀμφιδέα. The "bent wood" might be in apposition to φυτὰ, of the crooked woody stem of the vine; cf. Eur. *Cycl.* 572 τὸ ξύλον τῆς ἀμπελός.

91. πολυοινήσεις: Ilgen's correction (after M) is certain. That the φυτὰ were vines appears from *οἰνοπέδοιο* 207. φέρῃσι, absolutely, "bear," is well attested; see L. and S. s.v. A 5. Hermes begins by a compliment, no doubt in a bantering spirit; at all events πολυοινία, πολύοινος have a double meaning, and the verb may be intended ambiguously. But the exact point of 91 is obscure, perhaps owing to the lacuna which Groddeck saw to be necessary after the line. The missing verse or verses must have contained a principal verb to govern εἶναι. The sense may be "(if you are asked questions remember) not to see when you have seen" etc. In this case there will be no close connexion between the ironic πολυοινήσεις κτλ. and 92, 93. It is possible, however, that the results of the *vindemia* are described in the two

latter lines; πολυοινήσεις will then mean only "you will be full of wine," and so "are not like to see when you have seen," and to be deaf when you have heard, and to hold your tongue (i.e. suffer aphasia from over-drinking) unless your own interests are harmed. This would be a covert hint not to inform on Hermes. (So Matthiae explains; see also *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 255, but the sense can hardly be deemed satisfactory.)

92. καὶ τε ἰδὼν μὴ ἰδὼν: it is clear from the inconsistency that the digamma was not felt in μὴ ἰδὼν, and that there is a real hiatus in τε ἰδὼν. The poet knew the latter collocation from Homer (e.g. Δ 279), but had no Homeric justification of the metre. See Windisch de *hymn. Hom. maj.* 1869 p. 40. For the expression cf. Aesch. *P. V.* 463 οἱ πρῶτα μὲν βλέποντες ἐβλεπον μάτην, "eyes have they, but they see not," *Sept. c. Theb.* 246 μὴ νυν ἀκούουσ' ἐμφανῶς ἀκού' ἄγαν, Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* ii. 6, 88, Demosth. xxv. 89 οἱ μὲν οὕτως ὁρῶντες τὰ τῶν ἡττηχικῶτων ἔργα ὥστε, τὸ τῆς παροιμίας, ὁρῶντες μὴ ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκούοντες μὴ ἀκούειν, Plutarch de *liberis educ.* 13 E ὡς ἔνια τῶν πραττομένων ὁρῶντας μὴ ὁρᾶν καὶ μὴ ἀκούειν ἀκούοντας.

93. καταβλάπτῃ: probably passive, "unless you are hurt on your own part," τὸ σὸν αὐτοῦ being then accusative; it might be nominative, "unless your own affairs hurt you," cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 990 μὴ τὸ σὸν κωλύετω, but this seems less suitable. The general sense is obviously a request to the old man to "mind his own business."

94. συνέσευε: an excellent conjecture of Demetrius; Hermes now drives the



πολλὰ δ' ὄρη σκίοεντα καὶ αὐλῶνας κελαδεῖνους 95  
καὶ πεδί' ἀνθεμόεντα διήλασε κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς.  
ὀρφναίῃ δ' ἐπίκουρος ἐπαύετο δαιμονίῃ νύξ  
ἡ πλείων, τάχα δ' ὀρθρος ἐγίγνετο δημοεργός.  
ἡ δὲ νέον σκοπιὴν προσεβήσατο διὰ Σελήνην,  
Πάλλαντος θυγάτηρ Μεγαμηδείδαι ἄνακτος, 100  
τῆμος ἐπ' Ἀλφειὸν ποταμὸν Διὸς ἄλκιμος υἱός

95. ὄρεα Ilgen 98. ἐγένετο M 99. εὔτε pro ἡ δὲ Matthiae || σκοπιᾷ  
AtD ed. pr. 100. ita *p* (Barnes): μέγα μηδείδαι M: μεγαμηδείδαι L: μέγα  
μηδείδαι Π (qui verum cruce notavit): μεγαμηδείδαι AtD: μεγαμηδείδαι, priore  
ei ex h correcto ET: μεγαμηδείδαι Ilgen: μέγα δυναμέναιοι Gemoll 101.  
ἄνακτος Ilgen

cows in a body, not straggling, cf. 106.  
βοῶν κτλ. = Ψ 260.

95. αὐλῶνας: not in Homer, who also does not use κελαδεῖνός of places.

97. ἐπίκουρος: either general, "that gives help" (rest), opposed to δημοεργός, or aider of Hermes in his theft.

δαιμονίῃ: for the Homeric ἀμβροτος, λ 330.

97f. The editors find difficulties in these lines, and eject either 97, 98 or 99, 100. Gemoll objects that morning cannot be breaking while Hermes has still so much to do: he steals the cattle at sundown 68, comes to the Alpheus at moonrise 99, and finally reaches home in the early morning 143 (cf. 155 πόθεν τόδε νυκτὸς ἐν ὥρῃ ἔρχη:). Moreover, the German scholars argue that one of these two pairs of verses must be spurious, as the moon would not rise in the early morning on the fifth of the month, the day after Hermes was born (cf. 19). This minute criticism may be chronologically and astronomically correct, but it is of no great value in dealing with a hymn in which the blame for such inconsistencies is to be laid on the writer, rather than on a supposed interpolator. Wolfe's poem on *The Burial of Sir John Moore* affords an exact parallel: the line *By the struggling moonbeam's misty light* has been shewn to be inaccurate, as the moon was invisible at the time of the burial (Ball *Story of the Heavens* p. 51); but it has yet to be suggested that the line was "interpolated." See further on 141.

98. ἡ πλείων: cf. K 252 παρόχηκεν δὲ πλέων νύξ | τῶν δύο μοιρῶν, τριτάτῃ δ' ἔτι μοῖρα λείπεται.

ὀρθρος: for the Homeric ἥως, first in Hes. *Op.* 577, and Ibycus *fr.* 7.

δημοεργός: the morning starts men on their work; cf. Hes. *Op.* 580 ἥως, ἥ τε φανείσα πολέας ἐπέβησε κελεύθου | ἀνέρας, Callim. *Hecale* col. iv. 8 f., *Orph. h.* 78. 6, Verg. *Aen.* xi. 183, *Ov. Met.* iv. 663. So Tennyson *In Memoriam* 121 *Bright Phosphor, fresher for the night, By thee the world's great work is heard Beginning.* Hesychius' explanation δημοεργός: ὁ ἥλιος ὅτι πάντα πέσσει καὶ θέρει is mistaken.

100. The genealogy of Selene, daughter of Pallas, the son of Megamedes, is confined to this hymn. According to Hes. *Theog.* 371 f., Selene is the daughter of Hyperion and Theia.

With regard to Pallas, Gemoll rightly rejects a connexion with Arcadian myths, in the person of Pallas the founder of Pallantium (Paus. viii. 3. 1). This hero was son of Lycaon (Apollod. iii. 8. 1), and could scarcely be related to Selene. The Hesiodian Pallas (a Titan) was son of Crius (*Theog.* 375 f.) and grandson of Uranus (*Theog.* 134). The brother of this Pallas, Perses, was father of Hecate (cf. *Theog.* 377 and 409), and Gemoll suggests that, if Pallas is related to Hecate, he may also be readily connected with Selene. This is probable enough, although the two goddesses are quite distinct in Hesiod. Nothing is known of Megamedes, who here takes the place of the Hesiodian Crius, but there seems no reason to deny his existence; see Mayer *die Giganten* p. 67.

101. The description is very elliptical. Hermes first drives the cows to the river (i.e. to the ford, as 398, Thryon or Epitalion) and thence to Pylos (first named at 216). On his return (129) he throws his shoes into the river, when they ceased to be useful. The mention of



Φοίβον Ἀπόλλωνος βοῦς ἤλασεν εὐρυμετώπους.  
 ἀδμήτες δ' ἵκανον ἐς αὐλῖον ὑψιμέλαθρον  
 καὶ ληνούς προπάροιθεν ἀριπρεπέος λειμώνος.  
 ἔνθ' ἐπεὶ εὖ βοτάνης ἐπεφόρβει βοῦς ἐριμύκους, 105  
 καὶ τὰς μὲν συνέλασσαν ἐς αὐλῖον ἀθρόας οὔσας,  
 λωτὸν ἐρεπτομένας ἥδ' ἐρσήεντα κύππειρον·  
 σὺν δ' ἐφόρει ξύλα πολλά, πυρὸς δ' ἐπεμαίετο τέχνην.  
 δάφνης ἀγλαὸν ὄζον ἔλων ἐπέλεψε σιδήρῳ

103. ἀκμάτες Ilgen : Ἀδμήτου conl. ap. Barnesium || ἐπ' pro ἐς Schneidewin || ἵκανον] ἤλαυνον AtD || ὑψιμέλαθρον Hermann 104. προπάροις' ἑαροτρεφέος Ruhnken 106. ἀρό' ιούσας Barnes : ἀλέας οὔσας Cobet : ἀρθευσεῖας Stadtmüller || 106 post 107 ponit Matthiae 108. τέχνην] τύνη M || τέχνη Ilgen : ἐπεμαίει' αὐτμήν Matthiae 109. ἐπέλεψε] ἐνιάλλε M : ἀπέλεψε Cobet : ἐπόλεψε Ludwich : λείαινε Postgate || post h. v. lacunam statuit Kuhn

the Alpheus fixes Pylos as the Triphylian or Lepreatic. The site of this place was lost even in antiquity, but it is generally placed on the hills looking over the lagoons and sandhills which extend from the mouth of the Alpheus southwards. See Introd. p. 132, h. *Ap.* 424.

103. ἀδμήτες, "unyoked"; cf. Ant. Lib. 23. 3 ἐκατὸν βοῦς ἀζυγας (ἀπελαύνει). The form (for the more common ἀδμητοί) occurs δ 637, of mules. There is no objection to the adjective here used adverbially with ἵκανον.

ἐς: here used loosely for ἐπὶ, "to" (not "inside," as the context shews; see on 106).

αὐλῖον: for the Homeric σταθμός. It is used of the cave itself=λαῖνον ἀντρον 401.

106. καί: in *apodosis*. ἐς αὐλῖον: here the preposition implies actual entrance. Any vagueness here and in 103 is due to the hymn-writer, and is not to be pressed as a mark of interpolation, with Hermann, who ejects 103-105.

ἀερώας οὔσας: however we account for -ās, the word is not to be disturbed. The influence of Hesiod is probably to be traced here, as elsewhere in the hymn; cf. *Theog.* 60 κοῦρās ὁμόφρονas, *Op.* 564 τροπās ἡελίοιο; other exx. *Theog.* 267, 401, 534, 653, 804, *Op.* 675, *fr.* 190.

οὔσας: the later form is defended by h. *Ap.* 330, where, however, emendation is easy; see note *ad loc.*

107. The line is probably modelled on

B 776 λωτὸν ἐρεπτόμενοι ἐλεόθρεπτόν τε σέλιον (of horses standing by the chariots). Here the writer presumably describes the cows as feeding while they are driven towards the stall; or, possibly, they feed again in the stall. At any rate it is needless to transpose 106, 107 (Matthiae), or to press the line.

108. ἐπεμαίετο with acc. seems established by 511 σοφίας ἐκμάσσατο τέχνην, as against the Homeric use with gen., K 401 δώρων ἐπεμαίετο θυμός. M's τύνη is probably a meaningless corruption, and does not authorise the conjecture of the dative τέχνη. Some part of τέχνη is certainly required, as the invention of the art of making fire is significant in the myth.

109-110. On this primitive method of fire-making in classical times cf. schol. on *Apoll. Arg.* A 1184, Sen. *quaest. nat.* ii. 22, Plin. *N. H.* xvi. 40, Hesych. s.v. στορεύς. Kuhn *Herabkunft des Feuers* p. 36.

109. δάφνης: the hard wood of the bay-tree was used as the τρύπανον or "borer"; Plin. *l.c.* sed nihil hederæ praestantius, quæ teratur, lauro quæ terat.

ἐπέλεψε, "prune to a point," "sharpen," of the τρύπανον. This sense of ἐπὶ in composition is recognised by the lexx. in ἐπικόπτειν, ἐπιτέμνειν. For the simple verb, of ordinary pruning, cf. A 236 περὶ γάρ ῥά ἐ χαλκὸς ἔλεψε | φύλλα τε καὶ φλοιούς. ἐνιάλλε, M's reading, may very possibly, as Postgate thinks, be a transposition of λείαινε, for which



ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃ, ἄμπνυτο δὲ θερμὸς αὐτμῇ. 110  
 Ἐρμῆς τοι πρώτιστα πυρήϊα πῦρ τ' ἀνέδωκε.  
 πολλὰ δὲ κάγκανα κᾶλα κατουδαίῳ ἐνὶ βόθρῳ  
 οὔλα λαβὼν ἐπέθηκεν ἐπητανά· λάμπετο δὲ φλόξ  
 τηλόσε φῦσαν ἰεῖσα πυρὸς μέγα δαιομένοιο.  
 ὄφρα δὲ πῦρ ἀνέκαιε βίη κλυτοῦ Ἥφαιστοιο, 115  
 τόφρα δ' ὑποβρυχίας ἔλικας βοῦς εἶλκε θύραζε

110. παλάμης Schneidewin || ἄμπνυτο δὲ M: ἀνά δ' ἄμπνυτο cet. (ἄμα Ruhnken: τάχα Ernesti): θερμὸς αὐτμῇ M, quod rec. Wolf: αὐτμῇ Sealiger ad *Aetnam* 562  
 112. κᾶλα M: κάλα xD 113. αὔα pro οὔλα Gemoll 114. φύσαν E: φύσαν cet.: φύσαν suspicatus est D'Orville *J. P.* xxv. 253: τᾶλ' εἰλυφάζουσα Ruhnken 116. ἐρι-  
 βρύχους ci. Barnes: ὑπερβρυχίας D'Orville: ὑποβρύχους Ludwich: ὑποβρυχίας Ilgen

cf. Quintus xii. 136 οἱ δ' ἄρ' ἀπ' ὄχους  
 λείανον.

As Kuhn pointed out, it is clear that a line in which the actual friction is described has been lost; otherwise the "hot blast" would have been the result of "trimming a laurel branch, held firmly in the hand, with a knife." Moreover, the words ἄρμενον ἐν παλάμῃ are appropriate, not to the τρύπανον, but to the στορεῖς, which needed to be kept steady. The missing line must have contained a word to indicate the στορεῖς (perhaps κισσός, cf. Pliny *l.c.*, or ῥάμνος, an alternative word in Hesych.) and a verb like τρίβειν.

110. παλάμη: the plur. παλάμης is not necessary, although read by Schneidewin from Σ 600, ε 234.

ἄμπνυτο: the correct quantity (cf. Schulze *Q. E.* 324) shews the exactness of M's reading, against the other mss.

θερμὸς αὐτμῇ = Hes. *Theog.* 696. On the citation ap. schol. on Σ 222 see p. li n. 1.

111. The editors eject the line as a gloss, but it may be as genuine as is, no doubt, the similar line 25. ἀνέδωκε, "gave forth," cf. ἀνέκαιε 115; not "gave back," for Baumeister is surely wrong in seeing an allusion to Hes. *Op.* 50 τὸ μὲν αὖτις εἴς παῖς Ἰαπετοῖο | ἐκλεψ' ἀνθρώποισιν. According to the usual tradition it was, of course, Prometheus that gave men fire, or restored it when hidden by Zeus. The present line does not necessarily imply a different tradition: Hermes does not discover fire, but only invents one method of ignition by "fire-sticks," and (so) "gave fire." Fire was also produced by the flint (Seneca *l.c.*), and by the burning-glass or crystal

(see Blaydes on Arist. *Nub.* 768); this was particularly used for sacred fire, *Orph. Lith.* 184 f.; and the myth of Prometheus is specially concerned with the preservation of fire in the fennel-stalk, although in one account (Diod. v. 67) the invention of πυρεῖα is also attributed to Prometheus; Sikes and Willson on Aesch. *P. V.* xvi. f.

113. οὔλα: Gemoll's αὔα (from the similar passage σ 308) cannot be accepted; οὔλα is sound, though the meaning is not certain. The Homeric sense of Φοῖλος is "close," "thick," but it is applied to wool or hair only. In later Greek the word has a wider extension, of plants or trees (see L. and S.). Here it might be roughly equivalent to ἐπητανά, "in thick bundles," or possibly "bushy," with leaves, twigs and all. Ebeling, however, is probably right in connecting with ὅλος (for οὔλος in this sense cf. ρ 343, ω 118 and *infra* 137), i.e. "whole" branches; so Meyer (*Griech. Et.* s.v. ὅλος i.e. ὅλφος).

ἐπητανά: with synizesis, as in Hes. *Op.* 607, *Orph.* "Ἐργ. καὶ Ἥμ. 11, 10, Maximus 465; cf. βασιλῆς Hes. *Op.* 263, τοκῆς *h. Dem.* 137. The word has open vowels in 61.

114. The mss. form φύσαν may be dialectal; cf. e.g. Herwerden *Lex.* s.v. Ζ.

116. ὑποβρυχίας: the adjective elsewhere means "submerged," but as two verbs ὑποβρυχάομαι and ὑποβρύχω exist, in the sense of "roaring in a low tone," ὑποβρύχως may exist in the same meaning. There is, however, the difficulty that the υ in βρυχάομαι and cognates is long; hence Ludwich with some probability writes ὑποβρύχους. But a synizesis of -ια is possible.



δοιὰς ἄγχι πυρός, δύναμις δέ οἱ ἔπλετο πολλή·  
 ἀμφοτέρας δ' ἐπὶ νῶτα χαμαὶ βάλε φυσιοώσας·  
 ἐγκλίνων δ' ἐκύλινδε δι' αἰῶνας τετορήσας  
 ἔργῳ δ' ἔργον ὅπαζε ταμὼν κρέα πίονα δημῷ·  
 ὥπτα δ' ἀμφ' ὀβελοῖσι πεπαρμένα δουρατέοισι,  
 σάρκας ὁμοῦ καὶ νῶτα γεράσμια καὶ μέλαν αἷμα  
 ἐργμένον ἐν χολάδεσσι· τὰ δ' αὐτοῦ κεῖτ' ἐπὶ χώρης,  
 ῥινοὺς δ' ἐξετάνυσσε καταστυφέλῳ ἐνὶ πέτρῃ,

120

117. ἔσπετο Stadtmüller 119. ἐκκρίνας M: ἐγκλίνων cet.: ἐγκλίνας Ilgen: ἀγκλίνων Gemoll || δι' αἰῶνας MzΓ corr.: δι' αἰῶνος p || τετορήσας codd.: τ' ἐτόρηνεν Ilgen || ἀγκλίνων δὲ μῖνυνθα τότε Gemoll: lacunam finxit Schneidewin 120. πίονα M: πίονι cet., eadem varietas Ψ 750, ι 464, ρ 241 121. δ' ἄρ ἀμφ' Γ 124. κατὰ στυφέλῳ D ed. pr.: κατὰ στυφέλα M || ἐνί] ἐπὶ Barnes

119. The manuscript reading seems satisfactory and complete in sense; ἐγκλίνων, to which objection has been taken, certainly means much the same as ἐκύλινδε, but the action thus pleonastically expressed is clear: the cows being on their backs (118) Hermes "turned them round and rolled them over" in order to reach their αἰῶνες or backbones. These he pierced with his γλύφανον, a process essentially similar to the modern method of pole-axing; cf. P 520 f. See J. H. S. xv. p. 286. Gemoll's ἀγκλίνων, from *Orph. Arg.* 314 f. σφάζον ἀνακλίνας κεφαλῇ, does not suit the context; Hermes would not throw back the cows' heads to strike at their backbones. M's ἐκκρίνας can hardly be given a meaning. τετορήσας: it is curious that the editors have rejected the manuscript reading here. The form is quite justified as a "reduplicated aorist"; see Leaf on K 267. So Fick (*B. B.* xxii. p. 269), comparing Arist. *Raz* 381 τετορήσω. The aor. τετορεῖν is quoted by Hesych. The usual reading τε τορήσας must involve a lacuna, which is here unnecessary.

120. ἔργῳ δ' κτλ.: cf. Hes. *Op.* 382 ἔργον δὲ τ' ἐπ' ἔργῳ ἐργάζεσθαι.

122. γεράσμια: not in Homer; explained by 129.

124 f. O. Müller thinks that the writer refers to a stalactite cave, now called τὸ σπήλαιον τοῦ Νέστορος, near the Messenian Pylos, the formation of which suggested the skins. The view is attractive, and is accepted by Baumeister and Frazer. In one of the caves at Cheddar there is a stalagmite configuration which closely resembles a curtain;

at Adelsberg (Austria) there are stalactites in the form of drapery. But the theory breaks down if the reference is to the Triphylian, not to the Messenian Pylos (see *Introd.* p. 132); at least there is no known stalactite cave in that region. D'Orville first suggested (see *J. P.* xxv. p. 254) that these were actual skins, preserved as relics. As Gemoll notes, the skins were probably exhibited outside the cave, which would negative the theory of stalactites (see below). Instances of such relics are quoted in *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 257 (e.g. the skin of Marsyas, Herod. vii. 26); to these may be added Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 4 (the horns of a cow dedicated by Servius Tullius in the temple of Diana on the Aventine), Paus. iii. 16. 1 (Leda's egg), vi. 22. 1 (bones of Pelops), ix. 19. 7 (plane-tree at Aulis), schol. T on O 21 (μύδροι shown by guides). The list could be amplified, especially for relics which served as talismans (see Frazer on Paus. viii. 47. 5). The hymn-writer seems to refer to a local Triphylian legend; but nothing is known of the cave where the skins were preserved.

In regard to the disposition of the skins of victims in actual ritual, the practice was to sell them (*Ath. Mitth.* vii. 72, Dittenberger 566, 620; the proceeds were called *δερματικόν*), or they became the perquisites of the priests (*Ath. Mitth.* xiii. 166, xxiv. 267 f., *C. I. G. G. S.* 235, Dittenberger 595, 599 f., 734 § 4 etc., Paton and Hicks *Inscr. Cos* 37, 38).

124. καταστυφέλῳ: first in Hes. *Theog.* 806; Hesych. explains by *κατάζηρος*. ἐνί: Barnes' ἐπὶ is from 404, but is not absolutely necessary here; as



ὥς ἔτι νῦν τὰ μέτασσα πολυχρόνιοι πεφύασι, 125  
 δηρὸν δὴ μετὰ ταῦτα καὶ ἄκριτον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
 Ἑρμῆς χαρμόφρων εἰρύσατο πίονα ἔργα  
 λείψ ἐπὶ πλαταμῶνι καὶ ἔσχισε δώδεκα μοίρας  
 κληροπαλεῖς· τέλεον δὲ γέρας προσέθηκεν ἑκάστη.  
 ἔνθ' ὅσῃς κρεάων ἡράσσατο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς. 130  
 ὁδμὴ γάρ μιν ἔτειρε καὶ ἀθάνατόν περ ἔοντα  
 ἡδεῖ· ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς οἱ ἐπέιθετο θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ,

125. τὰ μέτασσα M (O. Müller): τὰ μετ' ἄσσα x: ἄσσα p: τὰ μέταζε Baumeister: πολυχρόνιον Barnes: ταμίνς, τὰ πολυχρόνια πεφύασι seu κε φυλάσσοι Ilgen: τάνυε', ἄσσα Hermann 126. κατ' ἄκριος pro καὶ ἄκριτον Gemoll 127. χαρμοφέρων Mx: χάρμα φέρων p: corr. Stephanus 132. ἔθει vel ἔδει codd.: corr. Ruhnken || ἐπέπειθετο omisso οἱ M

ἐνί can be taken as a loose equivalent of ἐπὶ. At all events the skins were probably hung outside the cave; cf. 404 πέτρῃ ἐπ' ἡλιβάτῳ.

125. The line was left hopelessly corrupt until O. Müller (*Hyperbor. Röm. Stud.* p. 310, quoted by Baumeister) accepted M's μέτασσα. Previous critics had combined τάμετ', τάνυθ' etc. The neut. plur. μέτασσα is recognised in Cramer *An. Ox.* i. 280 ὥσπερ παρὰ τὴν ἐπὶ γίνεταί ἐπισσα οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τὴν μετὰ μέτασσα. The fem. occurs i 221 χωρὶς μὲν πρόγονοι χωρὶς δὲ μέτασσαι. See Smyth *Ionian* p. 305 n. 3, Schulze *K. Z.* xxix. 263. The neuter may no doubt be used adverbially, so that it is unnecessary with Schneidewin and Baumeister to write μέταζε. The meaning of τὰ μέτασσα may be "in the time intervening" (from then till now), or, more probably, "thereafter" simply. The sense is further emphasised in the next line by μετὰ ταῦτα, just as the idea of πολυχρόνιοι is repeated by δηρὸν καὶ ἄκριτον.

126. ἄκριτον: adverbial, as in 577 τὸ δ' ἄκριτον, and *h.* xix. 26 ἄκριτα. Gemoll's objection to the word is quite unfounded. The sense is "without bounds," i.e. continually. Hermann compares Verg. *Georg.* iii. 476 *nunc quoque post tanto*.

127. χαρμόφρων: the true reading is again preserved by Hesychius, who quotes it as a title of Hermes.

πίονα ἔργα: elsewhere of rich fields; Gemoll compares M 283, δ 318. Here the phrase suggests a parodic style, "the rich works of his hands."

128. δώδεκα μοίρας: this is the first

reference to a system of twelve gods, of whom Hermes is one. As Gemoll rightly explains, Hermes is consciously claiming his prerogative, and is himself instituting the ritual which is hereafter to be observed by men.

129. κληροπαλεῖς: ἀπαξ λεγ. γέρας: cf. 122 νῶτα γεράσµα, and δ 66 where also the back is the portion of honour. The word was technical in worship for the portion set aside whether for gods or priests; see Dittenberger *index* s.v.

130. ὅσῃς κρεάων: cf. *h.* Dem. 211 ὅσῃς ἔρεκεν. The "rite" of course lay in eating sacrificial meat.

131. ὁδμὴ . . . ἔτειρε: from δ 441 f.

132. M's ἐπεπειθετο is the conjecture of a scribe for metrical reasons, after the loss of οἱ, with a reminiscence of β 103 ἡμῖν δ' αὐτ' ἐπεπειθετο θυμὸς ἀγῆνωρ. For similar instances see *J. H. S.* xv. p. 287.

The reason why Hermes, although κρεῶν ἐρατίζων (64), refrains from eating is not evident. Robertson Smith (*Rel. Sem.* rev. ed. p. 306) remarks that Hermes is called βουφόνος (436, where see note), and that "the story seems to be one of the many legends about the origin of sacrifice." The present passage, however, appears only to allude to the institution of sacrifice to the twelve gods, with special reference to Hermes' inclusion in the number (see on 128). Further, although Robertson Smith proves the sanctity of oxen in early times, it does not seem that the idea is present here. The sanctity would be violated by killing as well as by eating oxen; whereas Hermes has no scruple in killing, but only refrains from



καί τε μάλ' ἰμείρουσι, †περὴν† ἱερῆς κατὰ δειρῆς.  
 ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν κατέθηκεν ἐς αὐλίον ὑψιμέλαθρον,  
 δημόν καὶ κρέα πολλά, μετήορα δ' αἰψ' ἀνάειρε,  
 σῆμα νέης φωρῆς· ἐπὶ δὲ ξύλα κάγκαν' αἰείρας  
 οὐλόποδ' οὐλοκάρηνα πυρὸς κατεδάμνατ' αὐτῇ.

135

133. περῆν M: πέρην p: πέρην' xAtD: περῆν Barnes: περῆν' Clarke: περ  
 εἶν' Allen 136. versum om. M || φωνᾶς codd.: φωρᾶς Hermann cl. 385:  
 νεοσφαγῆς Ruhnken: νεφονῆς Ilgen || ἀείρας Ilgen 137. οὐλοπόδ' οὐλο-  
 κάρηνα M

eating. The passage may imply that Hermes was unwilling to eat the flesh of any animal; he was honoured *λιβανωτοῖς καὶ ψαιστοῖς καὶ ποπάνοις* Theopomp. ap. Porphy. *de abst.* ii. 16 (at Methydrium); milk and honey were offered to him (cf. *Anth. Pal.* ix. 72, 318 and 744). It is true that animals were also sacrificed to Hermes, e.g. a ram (Sauppe *die Myster. von Andania*, ausgewählte Schrift. p. 274), and a goat at Eleusis (*C. I. A.* i. 5), cf. a vase in the B. M. (Cat. ii. B 362), and victims were offered at Cyllene (Gemin. *elem. astr.* i. 14); so in Homeric times τ 398 (lambs and goats); but the local ritual recorded by the writer may have demanded a bloodless sacrifice. Otherwise we must accept Gemoll's explanation that Hermes is humorously placed in an awkward predicament: he has sacrificed to the twelve gods, and is now about to begin his meal, like a human sacrificer; but he remembers in time that he is himself one of the twelve, who have to be content with the savour of sacrifice, without its substance.

Apollodorus (iii. 10. 2) does not follow the hymn; see *Intro.* p. 130.

133. †περῆν†: the scribe who wrote this (and perhaps πέρην' also) intended to read περῆναι from περαινῶ; but neither this verb nor περῆν (Barnes' conjecture usually accepted) are suitable to the act of eating. Perhaps πέρην may be retained as an adverb, πέρην κατὰ meaning "across (the ἔρκος δόοντων) and down the throat." This would imply a lacuna, with a verb like καθήμι, cf. Ω 642 *λαυκανῆς καθήκα*, and T 209. The proposal in *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 258 *ἰμείρουσι περ εἶν'* would introduce this verb, but the metre seems decisive against the emendation. For the throat in this or similar contexts cf. also Eur. *Ion* 1037, *Orest.* 41, Nicand. *Alex.* 131.

134f. There has been doubt about

Hermes' arrangement; but it seems clear that the two cows were divided into three parts: the skins were left outside on a flat rock (124); the flesh, chins, and tripe, etc. (122), which had been cooked on spits and then divided into twelve portions, were now brought into the cave (134), and put away; lastly the heads and feet were burned. τὰ μὲν (i.e. δημόν καὶ κρέα) is answered by ἐπὶ δέ. There is no question of a lacuna, as Schneidewin and Baumeister suppose.

135. μετήορα κτλ.; Hermes stowed the portions higher up in the cave (? on a ledge of rock), "to be a memorial of his childish theft." Here again, some of the commentators see allusion to the natural configuration of the cave, whose stalactites, in what way is not clear, suggested the "twelve portions." It is more probable that Hermes was initiating some piece of ritual which was afterwards observed inside the cave, in honour of the twelve gods.

136. φωρᾶς: Hermann's neat emendation depends on 385, where M (which is wanting here) alone has φωρῆν; see there on the word.

ἀείρας: ἀγείρας, which is usually accepted, is not necessary: Hermes lifted, i.e. piled, fresh wood upon his old fire. The repetition of the verb is no objection. The fire was allowed to burn down to hot embers, before the meat could be roasted (121), as it was held directly over the fire on spits (cf. I 212f.); Hermes now needs a blazing fire to burn the heads and feet.

137. οὐλόποδ' οὐλοκάρηνα: there was now nothing left of the cows except the heads and feet; Ruhnken is therefore right in understanding these words as substantival, "all the feet and heads." Gemoll compares ὀλόπερος, ὀλόσχοινος. The words may belong to ritual (as Gemoll suggests); cf. ὀλοκαντῶ. In any case οὔλο- is here from οὔλος, Ion. for



αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τοὶ πάντα κατὰ χρέος ἤνυσε δαίμων,  
 σάνδαλα μὲν προέηκεν ἐς Ἀλφειὸν βαθυδίνην,  
 ἀνθρακίην δ' ἐμάρανε, κόνιν δ' ἀμάθυνε μέλαιναν 140  
 παννύχιος· καλὸν δὲ φῶος ἐπέλαμπε Σελήνης.  
 Κυλλήνης δ' αἰψ' αὖτις ἀφίκετο διὰ κάρηνα  
 ὄρθριος, οὐδέ τις οἱ δολιχῆς ὁδοῦ ἀντεβόλησεν  
 οὔτε θεῶν μακάρων οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
 οὐδὲ κύνες λελάκοντο· Διὸς δ' ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς 145  
 δοχμωθεὶς μεγάριοιο διὰ κλήϊθρον ἔδυνεν,  
 αὔρη ὀπωρινῇ ἐναλίγκιος, ἥτ' ὁμίχλη.

133. τοὶ A ed. pr.: om. cet.: ἐπειδὴ M || ἤνυσε] ἤλυσε M 141. παννύχιον  
 M || κατέλαμπε M 142. ἀψ Ilgen 143. ὄρθρια E: τι pro τις Hermann  
 145. υἱὸς pro ἐρμῆς Ilgen 147. ὁμίχλην H

δλος, in spite of the fact that in τ 246 οὐλοκάρηνος means "with curly hair."

138. κατὰ χρέος: for the Homeric κατὰ μοῖραν. So Apoll. Arg. Γ 189.

140. ἐμάρανε: for the form in a Hermann compares Φ 347 ἀνξηράνη. ἀμάθυνε apparently = "dusted," "sanded," like ἄματος.

141. The line is ejected by Matthiae and others. Gemoll considers it inconsistent with 99, 100, but genuine if 97, 98 are an interpolation. There seems to be no serious difficulty (see on 97 f.). παννύχιος: all the rest of the night; Gemoll compares παννήμεριος in A 472; add β 434 παννυχίη and Σ 453 πᾶν ἡμαρ. M's παννύχιον is less idiomatic, but could stand adverbially.

ἐπέλαμπε: cf. P 650; but it is an open question whether κατέλαμπε (M) should not be preferred, as although not Homeric it is a very suitable word; see L. and S.

144 = ι 521, h. Aphr. 35; cf. A 339.

145. οὐδέ: co-ordinate with οὐδέ τις 143; the translation "not even" (Edgar) is wrong.

Διὸς . . . Ἑρμῆς: the expression is not very common, but perfectly good Greek in poetry from Homer onwards: cf. B 527 Ὀϊλῆος ταχὺς Ἀίας, Hippon. fr. 21 A Κυλλήνιη Μαϊάδος Ἑρμῆ, Soph. Aj. 172 Ταυροπόδα Διὸς Ἀρτεμῖς, *ibid.* 1302, Anth. Pal. vi. 334. 3 Μαϊάδος Ἑρμᾶ, Anth. Plan. i. 11. 3 Μαϊάδος Ἑρμᾶν.

146 f. The cave had an αὐλή in the open air (see on 26), but the μέγαρον, through the keyhole of which Hermes passed, must be identical with part, at least, of the ἀντρον. There is thus a

tautology in saying "he passed through the keyhole of the hall, and made straight for the cave." But this repetition does not warrant us in suspecting 148, 149 with Baumeister, or in seeing two recensions with Hermann.

The temple of Hermes was on the summit of Cyllene; it was in ruins by the time of Pausanias (vii. 17. 1). There is no record of the cave.

146. δοχμωθεὶς: the use of δοχμός, δόχμιος in Homer (M 148, Ψ 116) shews that the verb means "turning sideways," not, as Baumeister translates, *incurvata cervix*; so of a boar turning suddenly Hes. Scut. 389. The passage is no doubt a reminiscence of δ 802 ἐς θάλαμον δ' εἰσῆλθε παρὰ κληῖδος ἱμαντα. There the subject is an εἶδωλον which is unsubstantial; here δοχμωθεὶς and ἦκα ποσὶ προβιβῶν 149 shew that there is no metamorphosis of Hermes, as some commentators suppose; the god only "squeezes through sideways," like (i.e. as quickly or easily as) a wind or mist. The passage is no support to Roscher's theory of a wind-god.

147. Cf. ζ 20 ἢ δ' ἀνέμου ὡς πνοὴ ἐπέσσυτο δέμνια κούρης (of a dream). For the double comparison cf. Apoll. Arg. Δ 877 αὐτῇ δὲ πνοὴ ἔκλεη δέμας, ἥτ' ὄνειρος (of Thetis). Here two aspects may be illustrated, "as quick as the wind, as invisible as air"; probably, however, the comparison refers simply to the unsubstantial quality of wind and air; see on 45. αὔρη ὀπωρινῇ: cf. ὀπωρινὸς Βορέης, Φ 346, ε 328, and, for ὀπωρινός, Schulze Q. E. 474, Danielsson p. 60. Quintus iv. 111 has αὔρη ὑπὸ ῥῇ ἐναλίγκιον.



ἰθύσας δ' ἄντρον ἐξίκετο πῖονα νήον,  
 ἦκα ποσὶ προβιβῶν· οὐ γὰρ κτύπεν, ὥς περ ἐπ' οὔδει.  
 ἐσσυμένως δ' ἄρα λίκνον ἐπώχετο κύδιμος Ἑρμῆς· 150  
 σπάργανον ἀμφ' ὅμοις εἰλυμένος ἥντε τέκνον  
 νήπιον, ἐν παλάμῃσι περ' ἰγνύσι λαΐφος ἀθύρων,

148. ἰούσας M: ἰούνας cet. || ἄντρον M 149. προβιβῶν MxD || ἐπ' οὔδει] ἐπωδῇ Fick 150. huic versui puncta apponit M || ἐσώχετο Ilgen 151. ἄλυμένος M || σπάργανον δ' Ilgen || lacunam ante h. v. Schneidewin 152. περιγνύσι MD: περ' ἰγνύσι α: παρ' ἰγνύσι β: παλάμῃσι περὶ M'Daniel l.c.: παροιγνύς Hermann || λαΐφος ἀείρων Martin: ἀείρων Ilgen: φαίδρος ἀεύρων Ruhnken: ἀεύρων et ἑέρων (153) transp. Matthiae: λαΐφες' ἀεύρων Ilgen: λαΐφει Franke: λαΐφει αὔρων Gemoll: ἠρώων M'Daniel

148. ἰούσας: governing ἄντροιο "making straight for the cave"; cf. O 693, and the gen. after ἰθύς, α 119, γ 17.

πῖονα νήον: not the cave generally, but the inner part, which was the nymph's special dwelling-place; cf. the use of ναός = the cella of a temple. The word recognizes her divinity, and perhaps alludes also to a later cult in the cave; cf. 247.

149. προβιβῶν: for the form see on 225.

ὥς περ ἐπ' οὔδει, "as (might be expected) on the floor"; i.e. there was no echo in the cave; cf. the common Attic use of ὥς in οὐδὲ ἀδύνατος, ὥς Λακεδαιμόνιος, εἰπεῖν Thuc. iv. 84, etc. This sense seems quite satisfactory, though there is neatness in Fick's ὥς περ ἐπωδῇ (B. B. xxii. 269).

151. It is doubtful whether there is an asyndeton here or at 153. Gemoll punctuates at ἀθύρων, but that participle and εἰλυμένος seem logically to depend on κείτο rather than on ἐπώχετο. In either case, there is no need to suppose a lacuna, with Schneidewin. The asyndeton is a marked characteristic of this hymn; cf. 17, 25, 111, 237, 438, 447, 478, 482, 512.

εἰλυμένος: there is of course no difficulty in the accusative σπάργανον, although the dative is Homeric with this verb, and occurs in 245.

152. περ' ἰγνύσι: περὶ, "about his thighs," is required by the sense, as in Theoc. xxv. 242 περ' ἰγνύσιν ἐλίζει κέρκον (where there are similar variants); παρὰ, of β, is less good, as we should expect παρ' ἰγνύας. The question whether περὶ can admit elision, is raised on Pindar Ol. iv. 265, vi. 38, and (in composition) Pyth. iii. 52, Nem. xi. 40, fr. 122. In

composition there are exx. in Hesiod (*Theog.* 678 περαχε, 733 περοίχεται), and even in Attic (Aesch. *Ag.* 1144 περεβάλοντο, *Eum.* 637 περσεκήνωσεν, recognised by scholia). For the evidence of inscriptions cf. *C. I. G.* 1064 περ' ἐμείο (Megara), 1688 πέροδος = περίοδος (Delphi). Schulze *Q. E.* 133 n. 7, Smyth *Ionic* § 683 allow no exceptions; Kühner-Blass i. § 53 give the exceptions to the general rule; van Leeuwen *Ench.* p. 540 defends the elision in Aeolic and Doric. See further La Roche *Hom. Unters.* i. p. 121, schol. A on O 651 where Hellanicus took περ ἑταίρων for περὶ, Αἰολικῶς. The possibility of the elision in Pindar seems clearly established, and the licence may very well be allowed in a hymn which admits forms like ἀθροῖς 106. M'Daniel's non-Ionic παλάμῃσι περὶ would remove the elision.

λαΐφος ἀεύρων: both words seem sound; "playing with the bed-clothes" is evidently the meaning required. λαΐφος is not found elsewhere in this sense. The construction is hard; ἀθυρομένη (485) is of a musical instrument, the pass. of a cognate like μούσαν ἀθύρων, *h. Pan* 15. Other exx. in L. and S., whether material or figurative, are cognate. But the construction is essentially similar to παίζειν with acc. of person, "play with," *Anth. Pal.* ix. 49 παίζετε τοὺς μετ' ἐμέ, *ib.* x. 64 and 70, Lucian *Nigr.* 20. Possibly, however, the original was a dat. λαΐφει, or better λαΐφες' (with ι again elided). Gemoll's λαΐφει αὔρων is flat. Matthiae's exchange of ἀθύρων and ἑέρων is negated by the objection that χελὺν ἀθύρων should mean (with an instrument) playing on his shell; but Hermes is simply holding it like a toy (418 is different).



κεῖτο, χέλυν ἑρατὴν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς ἑέργων.

μητέρα δ' οὐκ ἄρ' ἔληθε θεὸν θεός, εἶπέ τε μῦθον·

τίπτε σύ, ποικιλομήτα, πόθεν τόδε νυκτὸς ἐν ὄρῃ 155

ἔρχῃ, ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε; νῦν σε μάλ' οἶω

ἢ τάχ' ἀμήχανα δεσμὰ περὶ πλευρῇσιν ἔχοντα

Λητοῖδου ὑπὸ χερσὶ διέκ προθύροιο περήσειν,

ἢ σὲ φέροντα μεταξὺ κατ' ἄγκρα φηλητεύσειν.

ἔρρε πάλιν· μεγάλην σε πατὴρ ἐφύτευσε μέριμναν 160

θητοῖς ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.

τὴν δ' Ἑρμῆς μύθοισιν ἀμείβετο κερδαλέοισι·

μῆτερ ἐμή, τί με ταῦτα τιτύσκειαι ἢ τε τέκνον

154. ἔλασε M    εἶπε δὲ Ilgen	155. τάδε codd.: corr. Wolf    χέτλιε pro
τίπτε cū Gemoll	156. δέ ce D
Hermann: Ἡ (pro Ἡ) τάχ' Barnes    πλευροῖσι p	157. δύσαχ' M: δύσταχ' Ilgen: δις τόcs'
cet.: corr. Baumeister    λητοῖδew Hermann	158. διεκ MELDB: δι' ἐκ
ἐ λαβόντα κατ' ἄγκας Ilgen    λαβόντα Matthiae: Ἡ cē κακὸν τὰ μέταξε Schmitt:	159. φέροντα M: λαβόντα cet.:
Ἡ ce κολὼν sive κολοβὼν Schmidt    φηλητεύσειν p: φιλ- cet.    ἡ ἐ λάοντα μάλ' οἷς	
ὄσῳ Ludwig	160. τάλαν pro πάλιν Ruhnken
τιτύσκειαι codd.: θεδίσκειαι Pierson: πινύσκειαι Ruhnken	161. θνητῶν E 163.

155. *τίπτε* . . . *πόθεν*: the double question does not "indicate the haste of the speaker" (Baumeister), but is the usual succinct idiom, like the familiar *τίς πόθεν*, etc. *τόδε*, "in this way," or "hither," as not infrequently in Homer, especially in the *Odyssey*; see M. and R. on α 409. Only the singular occurs in this local sense; the corruption of the mss. (*τάδε*) is paralleled by one ms. (N) in α 409.

156. *ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε* = A 149.

157-159. The passage is usually considered corrupt; Matthiae's *λαβόντα* has been accepted, but this would not account for *λαβόντα*, much less *φέροντα*. The latter can be retained in the sense of "raiding": for the absolute use (common in combination with *ἀγειν*) cf. Pind. *Ol.* viii. 14 *εἰ τις ἐκ δόμων φέρει*, Arist. *Eq.* 205 *ὅτι ἀγκύλαις ταῖς χερσὶν ἀρπάγων φέρει*, Demosth. v. 12 *ἀργύριον . . . σίχεται φέρων*. The alternatives are that Hermes will either be caught by Apollo, or (if he escapes) he will live an outlaw's life in the glens, eked out by occasional raids. *μεταξὺ* may thus stand: Hermes would "rob by whiles," when necessity should compel; cf. 287 *ὅπταν κρειῶν ἐρατῶν ἀντὶς κτλ.* *μεταξὺ* might also be "meanwhile," i.e. "until you are finally caught," opposed to *τάχα* 157, and this would give equally good sense.

The substitution of *μέταξε* is possible; the word is corrupted into *μεταξὺ* in Hes. *Op.* 394. The meaning will then be "you will live a robber's life ever afterwards." For wooded hills as the resort of brigands cf. 287, Dicaearch. i. 8 (*geogr. min.* i. p. 100 Müller), *Anth. Pal.* vii. 544, Juv. iii. 307 with Mayor's note.

Whatever the reading or translation of 159, there are certainly two co-ordinate alternatives; *ἢ* (159) cannot stand for *μᾶλλον ἢ*, as Matthiae and Gemoll suppose (i.e. "I think you will be caught sooner than you will have another chance of stealing"). The particle in 157 is therefore disjunctive, and should be accented with Barnes *ἦ*.

158. *Λητοῖδου*: the patronymic is not found in Homer; the older form would be *Λητοῖδew*, which Hermann needlessly restores.

160. *πάλιν* should not be supplanted by Ruhnken's *τάλαν*. Maia wishes to escape the responsibility, and bids her son "go back again," to the scene of his depredations. Cf. *πᾶσα πάλιν*, of Persephone's forced departure, *h. Dem.* 398.

163. *τιτύσκειαι*: if this word is to be kept it must bear the sense of *τιτύσκειτο* *θεσπιδαῖς* *πῦρ* Φ 342 and of the cognate *τετύκοντό τε δαῖτα* etc., but with a figura-



νήπιον, ὃς μάλα παῦρα μετὰ φρεσὶν αἴσυλα οἶδε,  
 ταρβαλέον, καὶ μητρός ὑπαιδείδοικεν ἐνιπάς; 165  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τέχνης ἐπιβήσομαι, ἥ τις ἀρίστη,  
 βουκολέων ἐμὲ καὶ σὲ διαμπερές· οὐδὲ θεοῖσι  
 νῶϊ μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀδώρητοι καὶ ἄλιστοι  
 αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένοντες ἀνεξόμεθ', ὥς σὺ κελεύεις.  
 βέλτερον ἤματα πάντα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι δαρίζειν 170  
 πλούσιον, ἀφνειόν, πολυλήϊον, ἥ κατὰ δῶμα

164. πολλὰ ἐνὶ φρεσὶν ἄρμενα M || παῦρα — αἴσιμα Ruhnken 165. ταρ-  
 βαλέων L 166. τίμης pro τέχνης Matthiae 167. βουκολέων] βουλεύων  
 codd.: corr. Ludwich (βουκολέειν Gemoll): ὀλβίζειν seu πλουτίζειν Schneidewin:  
 ἀγλαῖων Baumeister: κηδεύειν Stadtmüller: κυδαίνων Dyroff (Schanz's Beiträge  
 z. hist. Syntax ix. 69) 168. ἄπαστοι MxAtDp: ἄλιστοι γ (sc. ET in textu:  
 λι  
 LΠ superser.): ἄπαστοι etiam L<sub>2</sub>NPR<sub>1</sub>: ἄπλαστοι R<sub>2</sub>: ἄπλιστοι ACL<sub>3</sub>Q: ἄπ στοι  
 B: ἄπυστοι Hermann 169. αὐτῶς pro αὐτοῦ Matthiae || ἀεζόμεσ' M

tive application: "why do you give me this dressing?" In Greek this is conveyed by πλύνειν, which properly applies to things, clothes, tripe, etc., and has the parallels *lavata di testa*, *laver la tête* in the Romance languages, "dust his jacket," "dress him down" in English. A legitimate construction is also provided for ταῦτα. Of course there is no other instance of this sense of τιτύσκεσθαι or τεύχειν. Pierson's conjecture δεδίσκει is strongly supported by the very similar passage T 200f. Πηλεΐδῃ, μὴ δὴ μ' ἐπέεσσιν γε νηπίτιον ὥς | ἔλπεο δευδίσσθαι, ἐπεὶ σάφα οἶδα καὶ αὐτὸς | ἡμὲν κερτομίας ἧδ' αἴσυλα μυθήσασθαι. The change from τ to δ, however, is improbable, for the instances given on h. Ap. 244 (δρύφακτος τρύφακτος etc.) are phonetic rather than graphical. It should be noted that δευδίσσθαι is fut. of δευδίσσκει "frighten," whereas δεδίσκει should mean "welcome" from δεδίσκομαι. The correct form would therefore be δεδίσσαι, which, however, is further from the mss. Later writers seem to have confused the two verbs; cf. Arist. Lys. 564 ἐδεδίσκετο "scared."

164. παῦρα and αἴσυλα are undoubtedly the best readings, the latter word being supported by the Homeric passage quoted above, where schol. B gives the correct sense αἴσυλα τὰς παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον λεγόμενας ἀπειλὰς: "like a child who knows few words of blame." M's reading πολλὰ . . . ἄρμενα would imply much the same thing conversely,

but the negative παῦρα is more effective, and to protest against a child possessing "fit thoughts" is perhaps too cynical. The point is that Hermes can blame as well as be blamed.

165. καὶ μητρός κτλ.: added as a kind of afterthought, as the acc. ταρβαλέον precedes.

167. βουκολέων: this correction may be accepted; for the error of the mss. cf. N 445, where, for βουκολέοντι, the

pap. B. M. 732 has βουλεοντι. The older attempts, either to make βουλεύειν govern an accusative, or to take it absolutely, ἐμὲ following ἐπιβήσομαι, are impossible. For the metaphor cf. the use of ποιμαίνω in Pind. Isthm. iv. 12, Aesch. Eum. 91.

168. Of the two readings, ἄλιστοι is the better; throughout the hymn Hermes makes a point of being recognised as a god, to whom gifts and prayers belong. Moreover, ἄπαστοι is unsuitable; Hermes and his mother were not starving, with ἀμφίπολοι, and stores of nectar and ambrosia (248). Ridgeway (J. P. xvii. p. 109) need not have objected to the form ἄλιστος, although ἄλλιστος is elsewhere found (see L. and S.); for the double form cf. πολύλιστος and πολύλλιστος.

169. αὐτοῦ τῇδε: Matthiae quotes Herod. vii. 141 αὐτοῦ τῇδε μένομεν. Add Hom. ep. iii. 5. In Hermes' mouth the words are contemptuous, "in this hole and corner."



ἄντρῳ ἐν ἡερόεντι θαασσέμεν· ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμῆς,  
 καὶ γὰρ τῆς ὀσίης ἐπιβήσομαι ἥς περ Ἀπόλλων.  
 εἰ δέ κε μὴ δώῃσι πατὴρ ἐμός, ἦ τοι ἔγωγε  
 175 πειρήσω, δύναμαι, φηλητέων ὄρχαμος εἶναι.  
 εἰ δέ μ' ἐρευνήσῃ Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος υἱός,  
 ἄλλο τί οἱ καὶ μεῖζον ὅτομαι ἀντιβολήσῃν.  
 εἰμι γὰρ εἰς Πυθῶνα μέγαν δόμον ἀντιτορήσων·  
 ἔνθεν ἄλῃς τρίποδας περικαλλέας ἥδὲ λέβητας  
 180 πορθήσω καὶ χρυσόν, ἄλῃς τ' αἰθῶνα σίδηρον,  
 καὶ πολλὴν ἐσθῆτα· σὺ δ' ὄψῃαι, αἶ κ' ἐθέλῃσθα.  
 ὥς οἱ μὲν ῥ' ἐπέεσσι πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀγόρευον,  
 υἱός τ' αἰγιοόχοιο Διὸς καὶ πότνια Μαῖα.  
 ἥως δ' ἡριγένεια φόως θνητοῖσι φέρουσα  
 ὠρνυτ' ἀπ' Ὀκεανοῖο βαθυρρόου· αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων  
 185 Ὀγχηστόνδ' ἀφίκανε κιών, πολυήρατον ἄλσος

172. τιμᾱς codd. : τιμᾱς Gemoll : τιμᾱ Schneidewin 173. κᾱγὼ M : ἥπερ E  
 174. αὐτὸς pro ἦ τοι Ilgen 175. δύναμαι δὲ φιλητεύων codd. (φιλητέων M) :  
 δὲ om. ed. pr. : φηλητέων vel φηλητῶν Stephanus || ante et post δύναμαι inter-  
 punxit Bothe 181. αἶκε ἐσέλῃσθα xΓ (αἶκε) 183. μαῖα] μήτηρ M 186.  
 ὀγχηστόνδ' codd. praeter Π (ὀγχηστόνδ) D (ὀγχηστὸν δ')

172. ἀμφὶ δὲ τιμᾱς: for ἀμφὶ with  
 genitive = *de* cf. Π 825 πίδακος ἀμφ'  
 ὀλίγης, θ 267 ἀμφ' Ἀρεος φιλότῃτος.  
 Gemoll's τιμῆς does not seem indispens-  
 able. In *h. Dem.* 85 the accusative is  
 used in the same phrase. See *H. G.*  
 § 184.

173. κᾱγὼ: in Homer only καὶ ἐγὼ  
 without crasis. For crasis with καὶ see  
 on *h. Dem.* 13.

175. The quantity of φηλητέων (even  
 if we write it φλητέων) requires the  
 omission of δέ, but the punctuation is  
 uncertain. Demetrius down to Franke,  
 inclusive, read πειρήσω· δύναμαι φηλη-  
 τέων ὄρχαμος εἶναι. Bothe and Schneide-  
 win, followed by Baumeister, Gemoll,  
 and Ludwig, take δύναμαι parentheti-  
 cally, which is far more elegant here.  
 Cf. the parenthetic σαφὲς δ' οὐκ οἶδα 208,  
 τὰ δέ τ' οἶδε καὶ αὐτὸς 376, ἐρατὴ δέ οἱ  
 ἔσπετο φωνή 426. This frequent use of  
 parenthesis is akin to that of asyndeton  
 (see on 151), and is in keeping with the  
*staccato* style of the hymn. For φηλητῆς  
 in connexion with Hermes see on 67,  
 and cf. *infra* 292.

176. εἰ δέ μ' ἐρευνᾷσῃ: there is here  
 hardly any distinction to be drawn  
 between this use of *ei* with the future  
 and of *ei* κε with the subjunctive 174.

Strictly, the former use should imply  
 greater probability or necessity; see  
*H. G.* § 292 b, and § 326. 5.

178. μέγαν δόμον ἀντιτορήσων: cf.  
 K 267, where for ἀντιτορήσας Döderlein  
 (*Gloss.* 672) reads ἀντετορήσας. This is  
 probable, as the preposition ἀντι- seems  
 out of place. There is, however, no  
 reason why the real form should not  
 have been forgotten by later imitators,  
 and the false ἀντιτορέω ἀντιτόρησις coined.  
 The fact that the hymn-writer seems to  
 have known the form τετορεῖν (see on  
 119), and that Aristophanes has τετο-  
 ρήσω, need not tempt us to conjecture  
 ἀντετορήσων.

179. τρίποδας κτλ. = ν 217. 181 = Θ  
 471, ω 511; cf. Δ 353. For the wealth  
 of the temple at Pytho see *h. Ap.* 536  
 and *infra* 335.

183. M's μήτηρ seems to be not so  
 much a gloss on Μαῖα as a reminiscence  
 of the familiar Homeric phrase; on the  
 other hand it is of course possible that  
 μήτηρ is original, and Μαῖα a gloss.

186. For the precinct of Poseidon see  
 on *h. Ap.* 230. The accent on the place-  
 name Onchestus varies between oxytone  
 and proparoxytone in the mss. at B 506  
 and here; at *h. Ap.* 230 they all have the  
 proparoxytone. The genitive, however,



ἀγνὸν ἐρισφάραγον Γαιήοχον· ἔνθα γέροντα  
κνώδαλον εὔρε νέμοντα παρέξ ὁδοῦ, ἔρκος ἀλώης.  
τὸν πρότερος προσέφη Λητοῦς ἐρικυδέος υἱός·

ὦ γέρον Ὀγχηστοῖο βατοδρόπε ποιήεντος,  
βοῦς ἀπὸ Πιερὸς διζήμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνω,  
πάσας θηλείας, πάσας κεράεσσιν ἐλικτάς,  
ἐξ ἀγέλης· ὁ δὲ ταῦρος ἐβόσκετο μῦνος ἀπ' ἄλλων  
κῶνεος, χαροποὶ δὲ κύνες κατόπισθεν ἔποντο  
τέσσαρες, ἥντε φῶτες, ὁμόφρονες· οἱ μὲν ἔλειφθεν,  
οἳ τε κύνες ὃ τε ταῦρος, ὃ δὲ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκται·  
ταὶ δ' ἔβαν ἡελίοιο νέον καταδυόμενοι

190

195

188. νέμοντα] ἐλῶντα Ilgen : λέγοντα Schneidewin : ἀμῶντα Tyrrell : δέμοντα Barnes || κνώδαλον] κάνδαλον Ilgen : ἰκμάδα Groddeck : τρόχμαλον seu νωχαλὸν Hermann : κλῶνας ὅ γ' Schneidewin : καμπύλον Stoll 190. βατοδρόπε Ilgen 193. ἐβόσκετο om. p 196. τέτυκτον II || μέγα pro περὶ Wolf 197. καταδυόμενοι Voss

is uniformly -οῖο, and the paradosis prescribed the oxytone (Herodian i. 223. 29 Lenz). We have therefore written the word oxytone in both hymns.

187. ἐρισφάραγον : not in Homer ; cf. Bacchyl. v. 20 Ζηνὸς ἐρισφάραγον.

188. If this line is corrupt, as is usually supposed, no convincing emendation has yet appeared. The commentators (except Gemoll) assume that κνώδαλον disguises an adjective, with γέροντα, or a substantive, as object of a participle after εὔρε. With regard to this participle, it is clear that νέμοντα will stand if κνώδαλον is sound ; if not, some other verb is required, as νέμειν ἔρκος makes no sense. In *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 259 the manuscript reading was defended : κνώδαλον usually connotes some sort of monster (e.g. a serpent), but it is used of beasts in general in Hes. *Theog.* 582, and of beasts of burden or draught-animals in Aesch. *P. V.* 478, Pind. *Pyth.* x. 36. It is not out of keeping with the style of this hymn to take it here of "his ox or his ass," probably of the latter. While the old man was at work (βατοδρόπε 190, ἔσκαπτον 207), he let graze (νέμοντα) his "beast" by the roadside, i.e. outside the ἀλώη. There would still be ἔρκος ἀλώης to explain ; and here perhaps lies the main difficulty. Gemoll, who alone of the editors defends the text, understands νέμειν to take a double acc., "letting his beast graze on the fence," which

may have been a hedge (cf. βατοδρόπε), although in ω 224 the ἔρκος ἀλώης is a stone-wall ; but the construction νέμειν τινά τι seems impossible, and Xen. *Cyr.* iii. 2. 20 is no parallel. The alternative (suggested in *J. H. S. l.c.*) is to take ἔρκος ἀλώης metaphorically, in apposition to κνώδαλον, "the stay of his vineyard." This would be a parody of the Homeric ἔρκος Ἀχαιῶν, of Ajax ; cf. πύργος Ἀχαιοῖς, ἔρμα πόλλος, and ἔρκος Ὀλύμπου viii. 3, of Ares. The parody is not a more violent perversion of Homeric usage than πῖονα ἔργα 127. Possibly, however, ἔρκος is a corruption of ἐκτός (cf. *h. Aphr.* 159 ἄρκτων, ἐκ τῶν). Otherwise we must assume a corruption in κνώδαλον, which, however, though found in Hom., Hes., and Attic poetry, is too unfamiliar to be readily substituted.

190. βατοδρόπε : cf. the description of Laertes in the vineyard, ω 230 χειρὶδὰς τ' ἐπὶ χερσὶ βάτων ἔνεκ'.

192. κεράεσσιν ἐλικτάς : apparently equivalent to the Homeric ἔλικας, which the hymn-writer must have understood to mean "with crumpled horn." See Leaf on I 466.

195. ἥτε φῶτες, ὁμόφρονες, "clever as men, and one in heart" (Edgar).

196. ὃ δὴ . . . τέτυκται : cf. Σ 549 τὸ δὲ περὶ θαῦμα τέτυκτο, which disposes of Wolf's μέγα for περὶ here.

197. καταδυόμενοι : for the metrical lengthening of the υ see Schulze *Q. E.* p. 136 f.



ἐκ μαλακοῦ λειμῶνος, ἀπὸ γλυκεροῖο νομοῖο.  
 ταῦτά μοι εἰπέ, γεραιὲ παλαιγενές, εἴ που ὅπως  
 ἀνέρα ταῖσδ' ἐπὶ βουσί διαπρήσσοντα κέλευθον. 200  
 τὸν δ' ὁ γέρων μύθοισιν ἀμειβόμενος προσέειπεν·  
 ὦ φίλος, ἀργαλέον μὲν ὅσ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἴδοιτο  
 πάντα λέγειν· πολλοὶ γὰρ ὁδὸν πρήσσουσιν ὁδίται,  
 τῶν οἱ μὲν κακὰ πολλὰ μεμαότες, οἱ δὲ μάλ' ἐσθλά,  
 φοιτῶσιν· χαλεπὸν δὲ δαήμεναί ἐστιν ἕκαστον. 205  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ πρόπαν ἡμαρ ἐς ἥλιον καταδύντα  
 ἔσκαπτον περὶ γουνὸν ἁλῶης οἰνοπέδιοιο·  
 παῖδα δ' ἔδοξα, φέριστε, σαφές δ' οὐκ οἶδα, νοῆσαι,  
 ὅς τις ὁ παῖς ἅμα βουσὶν ἐυκράϊρῃσιν ὀπήδει  
 νήπιος, εἶχε δὲ ῥάβδον, ἐπιστροφάδην δ' ἐβάδιζεν, 210  
 ἐξοπίσω δ' ἀνέεργε, κάρη δ' ἔχεν ἀντίον αὐτῷ.  
 φῆ ῥ' ὁ γέρων· ὁ δὲ θᾶσσον ὁδὸν κίε μῦθον ἀκούσας.  
 οἶωνόν δ' ἐνόει τανυσίπτερον, αὐτίκα δ' ἔγνω

200. κέλευεα M 202. Ἰδοιμι M: Ἰδοιτο cet.: Ἰδοι τις ci. Barnes: Ἰδοιο

Ernesti 203. ὁδίται E 205. φοιτῶσιν] πρήσσουσιν M || δαήμεναι ἐστίν  
 codd.: corr. Barnes 208. νοήσας M || ἔδοξα] ὅπως Ruhnken 209. ἐυκράϊρᾱ-  
 σιν M: εὐκράϊροισιν p || ὀπῆδειν Schäfer 211. ἔχεν codd.: ἔχον Hermann  
 212. μῦθον ἀκούσας My (sc. γρ. margo ELIIT): φοῖβος ἀπόλλων cet.

202. Ἰδοιτο: the omission of *τις*, though rare, is here amply justified by N 287 οὐδέ κεν ἔνθα τεόν γε μένος καὶ χεῖρας ὄνειτο, X 199 ὥς δ' ἐν ὄνειρῳ οὐ δύναται φεύγοντα διώκειν; so in Hes. *Theog.* 741, and (with a participle) *Op.* 12, v. l. 291, *h.* xxix. 6, and *Ξ* 58 (*γνοίη* Aristoph.). See Kühner-Jelf § 373. 6, L. and S. s.v. *τις*. In later poetry cf. e.g. *Theocr.* xvii. 41; for prose cf. *Xen. Symp.* i. 8, *Rep. Ath.* i. 10. The indefinite third person is preferable to M's *Ἰδοιμι*, which, however, is not necessarily a correction.

206. πρόπαν . . . καταδύντα: a common formula; A 601 etc.

207. γουνὸν ἁλῶης οἰνοπέδιοιο = a 193, λ 193; cf. also I 534, Σ 57.

208 f. ἔδοξα (in Homer *ἐδόκησα*): qualified by the parenthetical *σαφές δ' οὐκ οἶδα*; *ὅς τις* κτλ. is only loosely connected with *παῖδα*, not governed by *οἶδα*: "whoever the boy was that . . ." For this use of *ὅς τις* cf. 277, 311, *h.* *Dem.* 58, 119, and often in Attic poetry (Blaydes on Arist. *Nub.* 883).

210. ἐπιστροφάδην: from side to side, as he followed the oxen; cf. Hippocr.

*Mochlikon* 20 ὁδοιπορέουσι δὲ περιστροφάδην ὥς βόες, and *vv.* 226, 357.

211. ἔχεν, "held," "kept" their heads facing him (see on 77). Hermann's *ἔχον*, changing the subject, is not necessary. *ἀντίον αὐτῷ*: the dative with this adverb is not Homeric. The old man is not here said to tell Apollo that Hermes went in the direction of Pylos, though this information is implied in 354 f. *τὸν δ' ἐφράσατο βροτὸς ἀνὴρ | εἰς Πύλον εὐθὺς ἐλθὼν*, and in 216 Apollo starts for Pylos. We need not, however, suppose a lacuna; if there is any inconsistency, it may be attributed to the hymn-writer.

213. οἶωνόν . . . τανυσίπτερον: it is disputed whether this refers to the old man's obscure hinting, which Apollo interprets like an "omen," or whether the god actually saw a bird, which helped to clear up the mystery. Baumeister and Gemoll take the former view, understanding *τανυσίπτερον* as a mere *epitheton ornans*, here inappropriate to *οἶωνός*. This explanation seems highly improbable, and it is clear that an actual bird of omen is intended, which informed



φλητὴν γεγαῶτα Διὸς παῖδα Κρονίωνος.  
 ἐσσυμένως δ' ἤϊξεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων  
 ἐς Πύλον ἡγαθέην διζήμενος εἰλίποδας βοῦς,  
 πορφυρέῃ νεφέλῃ κεκαλυμμένος εὐρέας ὤμους.  
 ἵχνια τ' εἰσενόησεν Ἑκηβόλος εἶπέ τε μῦθον.

215

ὦ πόποι, ἦ μέγα θαῦμα τόδ' ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρῶμαι  
 ἵχνια μὲν τάδε γ' ἐστὶ βοῶν ὀρθοκραϊράων,  
 ἀλλὰ πάλιν τέτραπται ἐς ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα.  
 βήματα δ' οὔτ' ἀνδρὸς τάδε γίγνεται οὔτε γυναικός,  
 οὔτε λύκων πολιῶν οὔτ' ἄρκτων οὔτε λεόντων.  
 οὔτε τι κενταύρου λασιαύχενος ἔλπομαι εἶναι,  
 ὅς τις τοῖα πέλωρα βιβᾶ ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισιν.  
 αἰνὰ μὲν ἔνθεν ὁδοῖο, τὰ δ' αἰνότερ' ἔνθεν ὁδοῖο.

220

225

ὥς εἰπὼν ἤϊξεν ἄναξ Διὸς υἱὸς Ἀπόλλων,

214. ΦΙΛΗΤΗΝ MDLP: ΦΙΛΟΤΗΝ E: ΦΗΛΩΤΗΝ p: corr. ed. pr. 215 om. L  
 217. ΚΕΚΑΛΥΜΜΕΝΟΙ Π, qui versum cruce notat 218, 219 om. M 224. οὐδέ  
 Hermann || ἔλπομαι εἶναι My (sc. in text. E: in marg. γρ'. LII): ἔστιν ὁμοία  
 cet. (ἔστιν Π: ἔστην L) || versum cruce notat Π 225. οὔτις Ludwig || βιβᾶς  
 διεπυρπαλάμηνσεν Stadtmüller

Apollo that the thief was Hermes (214). This view is also supported by Apollodorus (iii. 10. 2, 5) οἱ δὲ ἰδεῖν μὲν παῖδα ἐλαύνοντα ἐφασκον, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ εἰπεῖν, ποῖ ποτε ἡλάθησαν διὰ τὸ μὴ εὐρεῖν ἵχνος δύνασθαι. μαθὼν δὲ ἐκ τῆς μαντικῆς τὸν κεκλοφῶτα, πρὸς Μαίαν εἰς Κυλλήνην παραγίνεται.

On the route taken by Apollo (Onchestus—Pylos—Cyllene) see Introd. p. 131.

216. The first mention of Pylos; the Alpheus was the only geographical indication given in the account of the actual journey (101).

217. Cf. Π 360 and 790. The dark cloud here makes the god invisible, as in E 186. In O 153 ἀμφὶ δέ μιν θύεν νέφος ἐστεφάνωτο the "fragrant cloud" is rather for adornment than concealment; so in Hor. Od. i. 2. 39 *nube candentes humeros amictus* | *augur Apollo*.

224. The reference to the centaur's foot-prints does not help to determine the date of the hymn, as the writer does not explain his conception of the centaur. This verse leaves the question open, whether he regarded the centaur as a hairy wild man, with nothing equine in form (probably the original and Homeric conception; see Mannhardt

A. W. F. p. 79 f.); or as having two human and two equine legs (as in archaic art, e.g. the chest of Cypselus); or, finally, with four horse's legs (the fifth-century type). On the centaurs see reff. in Roscher Lex. s.v.

ἔλπομαι εἶναι, "I guess they are not," livelier than ἐστὶν ὁμοία, but there is no difficulty about the construction of the latter; they are alternatives.

225. βιβᾶ: the form is supported by 149 προβιβῶν, h. Ap. 133 ἐβίβασκεν, Pind. Ol. xiv. 25 βιβῶντα. In Γ 22, H 213 Aristophanes (followed by most edd.) restored the forms from βιβᾶς for the vulgate βιβῶν.

226. αἰνὰ μὲν κτλ.: according to some editors, αἰνὰ μὲν refers to the cow's footprints, τὰ δ' αἰνότερα to those of Hermes. This view is quite possible, as, although Apollo recognises the tracks of the cows, their backward direction might strike him as "strange." But it is better to understand that Apollo's astonishment refers here to Hermes' unearthly spoor, "strange here, and stranger there"—wherever Apollo looked from one side of the road to the other. Hermes floundered, ἐπιστροφάδην ἐβάδιζεν 210, or bustled across the road, διαπυρπαλάμηνσεν ὁδοῦ τὸ μὲν ἔνθα, τὸ δ' ἔνθα 357.



Κυλλήνης δ' ἀφίκανεν ὄρος καταείμενον ὕλη,  
 πέτρης εἰς κευθμῶνα βαθύσκιον, ἔνθα τε νύμφη  
 ἀμβροσίῃ ἐλόχευσε Διὸς παῖδα Κρονίωνος. 230  
 ὁδμὴ δ' ἰμερόεσσα δι' οὔρεος ἡγαθείοιο  
 κίδνατο, πολλὰ δὲ μῆλα ταναύποδα βόσκετο ποίην.  
 ἔνθα τότε σπεύδων κατεβήσατο λαῖνον οὐδὸν  
 ἄντρον ἐς ἡρόεν ἐκατηβόλος αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων.  
 τὸν δ' ὥς οὖν ἐνόησε Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱὸς 235  
 χωόμενον περὶ βουσὶν ἐκηβόλον Ἀπόλλωνα,  
 σπάργαν' ἔσω κατέδυσε θυήεντ'· ἦύτε πολλῶν  
 πρέμνων ἀνθρακὴν ὕλης σποδὸς ἀμφικαλύπτει,  
 ὡς Ἑρμῆς Ἐκάεργον ἰδὼν ἀνεείλε' ἔ' αὐτόν.

230. κρονίωνα M 232. ταναύποδα x ed. pr.: τανύποδα cet. 234.  
 ἀγνὸς Ἀπόλλων seu ἀργυρότοκος Hermann 236. χωόμενος ed. pr.  
 238. ὀλοσποδὸς M: ὕλη σποδὸς Matthiae: ἀλεὸς σποδὸς Eldike: οὕλη σποδὸς  
 Hermann || ἀμφικαλύπτει D ed. pr.: ἀμφικαλύπτει cet. 239. ἀλέεινεν codd.  
 praeter EΠ (ἀλέεινον): corr. Postgate (ἀνέειλεν Lohsee): ἀλέεινεν Ilgen:  
 ἀλέεινε, ἔ' αὐτόν Hermann: ἀλέγουνεν Ludwig || ἑαυτὸν codd.: corr. Hermann:  
 ἐνιπὰς Stadtmüller

228. ὄρος καταείμενον ὕλη: see on *h. Ap.* 225.

230. ἀμβρόσιος: not in Homer as epithet of persons; the hymn-writer obviously takes it as equivalent to ἀμβροτος.

ἐλόχευσε: also a post-Homeric verb, though frequent in later poetry.

231. ὁδμὴ κτλ.: the "pleasant smell" may be a reminiscence of *ε* 59 f. (the scent of Calypso's fire); but the hymn-writer leaves it doubtful whether he refers (1) to Maia's fire, or (2) to a miraculous scent betokening a deity (cf. on *h. Dem.* 277), or (3) to the fresh smell of natural earth; cf. Mosch. i. 92 λειμῶνος ἐκαίνυτο λαρὸν αὐτμῆν (of a flowery meadow); Mart. iii. 65. 4 *gramina quod redolent quae modo carpsit ovis* and 7 *gleba quod aestivo leviter cum spargitur imbre*, and may be correct, although parallels from early poetry appear to be wanting. Atalanta's cave (Ael. V. H. xiii. 1) is fragrant with flowers. The analogy of *θηωδέος Οὐλύμποιο* (322), and perhaps *ἀντρω ἐν εὐώδει* (xxvi. 6), rather supports the second explanation.

234. αὐτός: in *h. Aphr.* 151 (ἐκηβόλος αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων) αὐτός is forcible, "Apollo's self." Here the word has been suspected, as the emphasis is not clear. Baumeister rightly gave up his idea that the meaning was "in his own person"; Apollo

had not assumed another form. Possibly the antithesis is in *ἀντρον ἐς ἡρόεν*: the bright Far-darter went into the dim cave. More probably the writer uses αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων as a fixed formula, "great Apollo," without antithesis; cf. A 47 with Leaf's note, and *h. Ap.* 181; so 406 *ἡψρα*, Mosch. iv. 13. In any case αὐτὸς is sound; Baumeister's criticism "*αὐτὸς saepe turbas fecit*" is not justified by *h. Dem.* 371, *h. vii.* 22, where it needs no emendation.

236. Cf. Hes. *Scut.* 12 *χωσάμενος περὶ βουσί.*

238. ὕλης σποδὸς: ὀλοσποδὸς is one of M's corruptions (see p. xviii); it may be partly due to οὐλόποδ' οὐλοκάρηνα 137. ὕλης σποδὸς seems original; σποδὸς includes "dust" generally, and the defining genitive of material "wood-ash" is not otiose. In 140 the fire is extinguished with ordinary dust, *κόνις μέλαινα*. The simile is modelled on *ε* 488 f. where Odysseus keeps up his spark of life in a covering of leaves, just as a man hides a smouldering brand under a heap of ashes. Cf. Theocr. xi. 5, xxiv. 88, Callim. *Ep.* 44, and perhaps *h. Dem.* 239.

239. ἀνέειλε' ἔ' αὐτόν: ἀλέεινεν is evidently impossible; a word parallel to ἀμφικαλύπτει is required by the simile. Ilgen's ἀλέεινεν would naturally mean "warmed himself," which is unsuitable,



ἐν δ' ὀλίγῳ συνέλασσε κάρη χεῖράς τε πόδας τε,  
 φή ῥα νεόλλουτος προκαλεύμενος ἥδυμον ὕπνον,  
 ἐγρήσσω ἐτέον γε· χέλυν δ' ὑπὸ μασχάλῃ εἶχε.  
 γνῶ δ' οὐδ' ἠγνόησε Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱὸς  
 νύμφην τ' οὐρεῖην περικαλλέα καὶ φίλον υἱόν,

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240. συνέλασσε Gemoll: εἰν ὀλίγῳ ἔλσας Hermann 241. προκαλούμενος M ||  
 νήδυμον p || θῆρα νέον λοχάων (λοχεύων II) προκαλεύμενος ἡδύ γ (sc. marg.  
 ἐν ἄλλῳ οὕτως ELII): θά ῥα νεόλλουτος προκαλεύμενος ἥδυμον ὕπνον cet. ||  
 φῆ Barnes: στῆ vel βα Martin: οἶα Ilgen: ἤ Matthiae: νέον γεγαώς ci. Bau-  
 meister: ἥρα νεολλούτου Ludwig: θηγάρεον seu ἡκαλέον seu θηκαλέον Fick  
 242. ἄγρης· εἰνέτεόν τε seu εἰνέτεόν τε (εἰν ἐτέον τε M: εἰνέτιον At: εἰ νέον τε,  
 marg. εἰνέτεόν τε Γ) libri: ἄγρη B: ἄγρη Γ || εἰ ἐτέον Steph.: ἐγρήσσω,  
 ἐρατὴν τε Martin: ἐγρήσσειν ἐρατὴν τε sive ἔτι τὴν δὲ Barnes: ἀγνῆς· νηέτεόν  
 τε χέλυν Ilgen: ἐτέον γε· χέλυν δ' Hermann

and Ludwig's ἀλέγυνεν, "took heed to himself" quite misses the sense; this is correctly given by ἀνελείν "cuddled himself up," which Lohsee suggested, although his form ἀνέειλεν should be corrected to ἀνείλει or ἀνείλε'. The latter gives a completer metathesis. For the uncontracted form cf. κατεκόσμεε Δ 118, μετεφώνεε θ 201 (-ει Ar.), προσεφώνεε π 308, 354, Smyth § 665, Hoffmann p. 467. For the sense cf. Plat. *Symp.* 206 D συσπειράται . . . καὶ ἀνείλεται (v.l. ἀνείλλεται).

240. συνέλασσε: not meaningless, as Gemoll thinks; it is vivid and quite appropriate: "he forced together head, hands, and feet, into a small space."

241. φῆ: this brilliant emendation of Barnes (who accented it φῆ) was made again by Hermann; it is confirmed by the reading of γ θῆρα. φ and θ are easily exchanged in MSS.; φησὶν θηροῖν A 268, αὐτόφει αὐτόθι M 302. For φῆ in Homer and later poets see Leaf on B 144. It is now found in Callim. *Hecale* col. iv. 4 Gomperz. For the derivation see Prellwitz *B. B.* xxii. 76 f., and *Et. Wört.* s.v.

The comparison is evidently to "a newborn infant asking only for sleep." The sense is given by νεόλλουτος (i.e. newly washed after birth); B. Martin (*Varior. lect.* ed. 2, 1755) quotes Theocr. xxiv. 3, Lycophr. 321, Callim. *h. Del.* 6, *Jov.* 16, Plaut. *Amphitr.* v. 1. 50. The reading of γ νέον λοχάων cannot be explained.

ἥδυμον: the form recurs *infra* 449; in *h. Aphr.* 171, xix. 16 the mss. give

νήδυμος. Probably ἥδυμος is the older word (from ἡδύς, as κάλλιμος from καλός), νήδυμος being a later mistaken form, due to the ν ἐφελκυστικόν of preceding words, as in B 2 (Buttmann *Lex.* i. 173 f.). The history of the form would therefore be like "a nickname" for "an ekename" etc. Meyer (*Griech. Et.* i.) rejects this view, holding νήδυμος to be original, in which case ἥδυμος would be due to a false connexion with ἡδύς. Brugmann also (*I. F.* xi. 277 sq.) returns to νήδυμος, and (after schol. B 2) explains νη=down, -δυμος from δύω "that into which one sinks," cf. νηδύς. In the mss. of Homer νήδυμος prevails, but there is some authority for ἥδυμος in B 2, δ 798, μ 311. Here and in 449 the form is proved by the metre; but the certainty of ἥδυμος in this hymn is no reason for rejecting νήδυμος in the two other hymns in which the word occurs.

242. In this line Martin has successfully emended ἄγρης· εἰν- into ἐγρήσσω, for which compare Hipponax 89 Ἐρμῆ μάκαρ καθ' ὕπνον οἶδας ἐγρήσσειν. For the confusion of ἀγ, ἐγ cf. P 660 where some mss. give ἀγρήσσοντες; so one MS. in ν 53. ἐτέον is also certain; the word is corrupted in T 255. The nearest approach to the mss. would be ἐγρήσσω ἐτέον δὲ without a stop (a reading suggested in *J. H. S.* xvii. 260); but Hermann's punctuation, with the addition of δέ, is preferable, as giving a clearer antithesis; for ἐτέον γε cf. Θ 423 (one MS. τε as here), M 217, γ 122 etc.

243. γνῶ δ' οὐδ' ἠγνόησε = Hes. *Theog.* 551.



παῖδ' ὀλίγον, δολίης εἰλυμένον ἐντροπήσι. 245  
 παπτήνας δ' ἀνὰ πάντα μυχὸν μεγάλοιο δόμοιο  
 τρεῖς ἀδύτους ἀνέωγε λαβὼν κληῖδα φαεινὴν,  
 νέκταρος ἐμπλείους ἡδ' ἀμβροσίης ἐρατεινῆς·  
 πολλὸς δὲ χρυσός τε καὶ ἄργυρος ἔνδον ἔκειτο,  
 πολλὰ δὲ φοινικόεντα καὶ ἄργυφα εἴματα νύμφης, 250  
 οἷα θεῶν μακάρων ἱεροὶ δόμοι ἐντὸς ἔχουσιν.  
 ἔνθ' ἐπεὶ ἐξερέεινε μυχοὺς μεγάλοιο δόμοιο  
 Λητοῖδης, μύθοισι προσηύδα κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν·  
 ὦ παῖ, ὃς ἐν λίκνῳ κατὰκειται, μήννέ μοι βοῦς  
 θάττον· ἐπεὶ τάχα νῶϊ διοισόμεθ' οὐ κατὰ κόσμον. 255  
 ῥίψω γάρ σε λαβὼν ἐς Τάρταρον ἡρόεντα,  
 εἰς ζόφον αἰνόμορον καὶ ἀμήχανον· οὐδέ σε μήτηρ  
 ἐς φάος οὐδὲ πατήρ ἀναλύσεται, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ γαίῃ  
 ἐρρήσεις ὀλίγοισι μετ' ἀνδράσιν ἡγεμονεύων.

245. ἐελυμένον Matthiae || εὐτροπήσι Gemoll 246. ἀνὰ M: ἄρα cet.  
 248. ἐμπλείους M: ἐκπλείους cet. 249. τε] γε M 254. λίκνῳ Mγ (sc. in  
 text. E: in marg. γρ. LI) p (λύκνῳ L<sub>2</sub>R<sub>2</sub>: λήκνῳ Γ: λίμνῳ R<sub>1</sub>: λήμνῳ B):  
 κλῖνη xAtD || κατὰκειται p (praeter N): κατὰκειται Gemoll 255. θάττον· ἐπεὶ  
 om. M: ὁἴσων Ilgen 256. βαλὼν codd.: corr. Ilgen 259. μετ' M: ἐν cet. ||  
 ἐρρεῖς ὀλλυμένοισιν ἐν Groddeck: ἀλιτροῖσι Ilgen: ὁλοίοισιν Hermann: ὀνοτοῖσιν  
 Ludwich: ὀλοοῖσι Bothe || ἡπεροπεύων Matthiae

245. ἐντροπήσι: the sense required is obviously "tricks," "twists." The word can bear this meaning, as the cognate ἐντροπαλίζομαι = "turn round again and again"; cf. the English "dodge." Baumeister's translation "shame" (*fictio pudore*) cannot stand. εὐτροπία (Gemoll) is not known for early Greek.

246. ἀνὰ: for this preposition with παπταίνειν cf. M 333, Apoll. Arg. Γ 1284. The direct accusative is also possible (cf. Δ 200); but ἀνὰ seems forcible here, of an exhaustive search, and ἄρα may have been corrupted from it; cf. 514.

247. ἀδύτους: only here known to be masculine; in Homer (E 448, 512) the gender is doubtful, as in Pind. Ol. vii. 59, though presumably neuter. Elsewhere the word is applied only to sacred "recesses," and here also it is probably complimentary, as suitable to the home of a goddess; cf. 148. The ἀδύτα of temples served as treasuries.

252. ἐξερέεινε: cf. μ 259 πόρους ἀλὸς ἐξερεῖνων. The hymn-writer favours the verb: see on 313.

254. κατὰκειται: on the form see Schulze Q. E. p. 443, Smyth *Ionic* § 713.

255-257. A reminiscence of Θ 12 f. (Leaf *ad loc.* suggests that the Homeric passage may be borrowed from the hymn; but this seems improbable, although Θ may be a late book). So *infra* 466 = Θ 40.

255. θάττον: if the hymn is Boeotian (see Pref. p. lxxiii), this form is probably a survival of the Boeotian dialect remaining in the hymn. The form ἔλαττον occurs in the same Oropian inser. which supports ἡχοῦ in 400 (where see note). On ττ = σσ in Boeotian see Meister *die griech. Dialekte* i. p. 264 f. Baumeister retains θάττον as an Atticism, but in that case it must have ousted an original θάσσον, as the hymn must be earlier than the use of ττ for σσ in Attic.

ἐπεὶ, "or else," as in O 228.

256. λαβὼν: so Ilgen for βαλὼν, which can hardly be tolerated with ῥίψω. The metathesis is of course common. λαβὼν is supported by the equivalent ἐλὼν in the Homeric parallel Θ 13, and h. Ap. 218 ῥίψ' ἀνὰ χερσὶν ἐλοῦσα.

259. ὀλίγοι: Hermes will have to be content with the leadership of "little men," i.e. children, like himself. There is no parallel to this use of ὀλίγοι ἄνδρες,



τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆς μύθοισιν ἀμείβετο κερδαλέοισι· 260  
 Λητοῖδῃ, τίνα τοῦτον ἀπηνέα μῦθον ξείπας,  
 καὶ βοῦς ἀγραύλους διζήμενος ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνεις;  
 οὐκ ἴδον, οὐ πυθόμην, οὐκ ἄλλου μῦθον ἄκουσα·  
 οὐκ ἂν μηνύσαιμ', οὐκ ἂν μήνυτρον ἀροίμην·  
 οὐδὲ βοῶν ἐλατῆρι, κραταιῷ φωτί, ἔοικα. 265  
 οὐκ ἐμὸν ἔργον τοῦτο, πάρος δέ μοι ἄλλα μέμηλεν·  
 ὕπνος ἐμοί γε μέμηλε καὶ ἡμετέρης γάλα μητρός,  
 σπάργανά τ' ἀμφ' ὥμοισιν ἔχειν καὶ θερμὰ λοετρά.  
 μή τις τοῦτο πύθοιτο, πόθεν τόδε νεῖκος ἐτύχθη·  
 καὶ κεν δὴ μέγα θαῦμα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι γένοιτο, 270  
 παῖδα νέον γεγαῶτα διὰ προθύροιο περῆσαι  
 βουσὶ μετ' ἀγραύλοισι· τὸ δ' ἀπρεπέως ἀγορεύεις.  
 χθὲς γενόμην, ἀπαλοὶ δὲ πόδες, τρηχέια δ' ὑπὸ χθών.  
 εἰ δὲ θέλεις, πατρὸς κεφαλὴν μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι·

260. puncta huic versui praefigit M 261. ξείπας D ed. pr. 262. ἦ pro  
 καὶ Matthiae 263. πιεύμην DE || οὔτε codd.: corr. Baumeister: οὔτι Hermann:  
 οὗτ' ἄλλου Matthiae 265. κρατερῷ M 266. οὔτ' Gemoll || πάρα δέ μοι  
 ἄλλ' ἃ μέμηλεν Grotdeck 271. διὲκ Stadtmüller 272. βουσὶν ἐπ' Schnei-  
 dewin || ἀγραύλῃσι M

but the expression seems to suit the serio-comic style of the hymn. *ὀλίγοις* is defended by Boissonade and Tyrrell; the latter interprets "for all your primacy among little folk," but in this case *περ* would seem necessary. Matthiae also keeps the word, but understands it of the dead generally, "feeble folk." But *ὀλίγος* should bear the same sense as in 245, 456, of a child; cf. e.g. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 632. 1 *ὀλίγον βρέφος*, Theocr. i. 47 *ὀλίγος τις κῶρος*. For the place of children in Hades cf. Verg. *Aen.* vi. 427. There is a coincidence of language in Perses' epigram on Hermes *Anth. Pal.* ix. 334 *κάμῃ τὸν ἐν σμικροῖς ὀλίγον θεὸν ἦν ἐπιβόσσης | εὐκαίρως τεύξῃ· μὴ μεγάλων δὲ γλίσχον* (*B. C. H.* xxii. 614). The emendations of *ὀλίγοις* are at best unconvincing.

**ἡγεμονεύων**: not in Homer with a preposition (461 *infra* is corrupt). Here *μετά* and *ἐν* seem equally good; for the latter cf. Plat. *Rep.* 474 c.

262. **καί**: not to be altered to *ἦ* (Matthiae, who afterwards restored *καί*, and Baumeister); the sense is "why do you speak so sharply and come in quest of cows?"

263, 264 = 363, 364. For 263 cf. ψ 40.

265, 266. The mss. give *οὔτε* 265, *οὐκ* 266. It is therefore open either to alter *οὐκ* into *οὔτε*, or to change *οὔτε* to *οὐδέ*, *οὐκ* being retained. The latter alternative is perhaps more effective, in view of the asyndetic character of Hermes' words. Hermann's *οὔτι* for *οὔτε* is also possible.

266. **πάρος**, "before that," i.e. rather than steal cattle; for this use of *πάρος* Ilgen compares Θ 166 *πάρος τοι δαίμονα δώσω*. Add II 629 (not "till now").

267. **ἡμετέρης**: Gemoll suggests that the word marks the dignity of the offended Hermes; cf. 465.

271, 272. Hermes remarks that it would be strange for a child to come *in through* (*διὰ*) the door *with* (*μετά*) cows. This sense seems quite possible, as Apollo expected to find the cows inside the cave (246 f.). According to the general view, Hermes speaks of going out of doors (*διὰ* for *διέκ*), to fetch the cows. This explanation seems to involve the substitution of *ἐπὶ* for *μετά*.

274. **ἐλεῖς**: for the form see on *h. Ap.* 46.



μή μὲν ἐγὼ μήτ' αὐτὸς ὑπίσχομαι αἴτιος εἶναι, 275  
μήτε τιν' ἄλλον ὅπωπα βοῶν κλοπὸν ὑμετεράων,  
αἶ τινες αἱ βόες εἰσὶ· τὸ δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούω.

ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη καὶ πυκνὸν ἀπὸ βλεφάρων ἀμαρύσσων  
ὀφρύσι ριπτάζεσκεν, ὀρώμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, 280  
μάκρ' ἀποσυρίζων, ἄλιον τὸν μῦθον ἀκούων.

τὸν δ' ἀπαλὸν γελάσας προσέφη ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων·  
ὦ πέπον, ἡπεροπευτά, δολοφραδές, ἥ σε μάλ' οἷω  
πολλάκις ἀντιτοροῦντα δόμους εὖ ναιετάοντας  
ἔννυχον οὐχ ἓνα μῦνον ἐπ' οὔδεϊ φῶτα καθίσσαι,  
σκευάζοντα κατ' οἶκον ἄτερ ψόφου, οἳ ἀγορεύεις. 285

279. ριπτάζεσκεν M: ρυστάζεσκεν Alberti: ὀφρύς Hermann: ὀφρύς' ἐνιπτά-  
ζεσκεν Ruhnken: κρυπτάζεσκεν Ilgen 280. τὸν γ (sc. E in text., L superscr.,  
Π τὸν ὥς) AtD: ὥς M ed. pr.: ὥς τὸν γ: ἄλιον τὸν Hermann || ἀκούων]  
ὑποσχών vel ὑποστάς Baumeister: ἀνιῶνε' Ludwig: ὑλακτῶν Stadtmüller  
283. ἀντιτοροῦντα Hermann 284. οὐκ] οὔδ' M || μῦνον] γυμνὸν Jacobs ||  
καεῖσαι Gemoll

275. μή . . . ὑπίσχομαι: for the con-  
struction of μή with indic. in an oath  
cf. K 330, O 41, and occasionally in  
later poetry (Goodwin *M. T.* § 686).

277. Cf. B 486 κλέος οἶον ἀκούομεν.

279. ὀφρύσι ριπτάζεσκεν, "kept lift-  
ing his eyebrows." The intransitive use  
of ριπτάζειν has been suspected, and  
Hermann's ὀφρὺς has found favour. But  
the verb is intrans. in Hippocrates (e.g.  
*Acut.* ii. 18) of patients tossing in bed, and  
ῥίπτει appears to be intrans. in Eur. *Hec.*  
1325. The verb is not elsewhere used  
in this context, but ῥιπή, which is doubt-  
less cognate, is frequent of any quick  
motion (of wings, eyes, etc.). The hymn-  
writer is fond of allusions to quick  
glances or vibrations of the eyelids; cf.  
45, 387.

ὀρώμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα = Hes. *fr.* 4  
(176). 2, of Argus.

280. ἀποσυρίζων: to shew his in-  
difference; not as Baumeister under-  
stands, *ad indignationem simul et*  
*fideliam declarandam*.

ἄλιον τὸν μῦθον ἀκούων certainly  
presents a difficulty, which has probably  
caused the variant ὥς. The adverb  
ἄλιως (*Soph. Phil.* 340) is possible, but E  
715 ἄλιον τὸν μῦθον ὑπέστημεν Μενελάω  
fixes the words, which must mean  
"listening to those words as if they were  
senseless." For the further predicate  
with ἀκούω cf. 443, a passage which  
justifies the text. The construction may

be dialectal; cf. Suid. and *E. M.* (s.v.  
*χαίρω*) χαίρω σε ἐληλυθότα· Ὀρωπικοὶ  
οὕτως λέγουσιν. The corrections of  
ἀκούων are improbable, and rest on the  
unnecessary belief that μῦθον refers to  
the words of Hermes.

284. ἐπ' οὔδεϊ . . . καεῖσαι, to  
"strip," "plunder"; the expression  
is no doubt drawn from popular speech,  
but no close parallel is quoted, and the  
origin of the phrase is doubtful.  
Baumeister suggests that it is used by  
thieves who strip a house to the last  
chair. Ernesti compares Theocr. i. 51  
ἐπὶ ξηροῖσι καθίζειν, where, however, the  
meaning is obscure. The best illustra-  
tion is perhaps the proverb attributed  
to Stesichorus (*Ar. Rhet.* ii. 21) οὐ δὲ  
ὑβριστὰς εἶναι, ὅπως μὴ οἱ τέττιγες χαμῶθεν  
ῥῶσιν; cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 723 οἰωνοὶ δὲ  
κατὰ χθονὸς οἰκία θέντες. In both cases  
the reference is to a country devastated  
by an enemy; this is analogous to a  
house "stripped to the boards."

The future καθίσειν is suggested by  
ἀκαχήσεις (286), but is not necessary:  
Apollo regards Hermes as a practised  
thief, who has already stripped more than  
one house, and has a wider career before  
him (cf. 159).

285. σκευάζοντα: hardly "making  
all ready" as Passow and L. and S., but  
"carrying off the σκεύη," i.e. ransacking  
the house. Cf. συσκευάζεσθαι = *vasa*  
*colligere*, and σκευωρεῖσθαι (*Plut. Caes.*



πολλοὺς δ' ἀγραύλους ἀκαχήσεις μηλοβοτῆρας  
οὔρεος ἐν βήσσης, ὅπῳταν κρειῶν ἐρατίζων  
ἀντῆς βουκολίοισι καὶ εἰροπόκοις ὀϊεσσιν.  
ἀλλ' ἄγε, μὴ πύματόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ὕπνον ἰαύσης,  
ἐκ λίκνου κατάβαινε, μελαίνης νυκτὸς ἑταῖρε. 290  
τοῦτο γὰρ οὖν καὶ ἔπειτα μετ' ἀθανάτοισι γέρας ἔξεις,  
ἀρχὸς φηλητέων κεκλήσεται ἤματα πάντα.  
ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη καὶ παῖδα λαβὼν φέρε Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων.  
σὺν δ' ἄρα φρασσάμενος τότε δὴ κρατὺς Ἀργειφόντης  
οἰωνὸν προέηκεν, αἰερόμενος μετὰ χερσί,  
τλήμονα γαστρὸς ἔριθον, ἀτάσθαλον ἀγγελιώτην. 295  
ἔσσυμένως δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν ἐπέπταρε, τοῖο δ' Ἀπόλλων  
ἔκλυεν, ἐκ χειρῶν δὲ χαμαὶ βάλε κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν.

286. θραυλους xD pro δ' ἀγραύλους 287. μήλων pro κρειῶν M 288.  
ἀντήσης (ἀντήσεις AtDETL<sub>3</sub>R<sub>1</sub> ed. pr.) ἀγέλης βοῶν καὶ πώεσι μήλων codd.:  
ἄντην βουκολίοισι καὶ εἰροπόκοις ὀϊεσσιν γ (sc. marg. ELIT) || ἀντῆς Baumeister:  
ἀντῆς Gemoll 289. ἀλλάγε πύματόν M || τε om. AtD ed. pr. || ἰαύσεις MD:  
ἰαύς Π 292. αὔχος M: εὔχος ci. Ilgen || φιλητέων MDELHBP<sub>2</sub>: φηλιτέων  
ATL<sub>3</sub>L<sub>3</sub>NQR<sub>1</sub>V: corr. ed. pr. 294. κρατὸς M: κρατοὺς L 296. τλήμονα  
μετὰ ET

51 τὴν Πομπήϊου οἰκίαν) in the sense of "plunder."

οἱ ἀγορεύεις: i.e. Hermes is and will be as deceitful in deeds as he is in words; the cleverness of his defence marks him as an accomplished thief.

288. The variants give exactly the same meaning; it is hard to see how one is preferable to the other. Cf. Hollander *l.c.* p. 27. ἀντην seems a corruption; Gemoll's ἀντῆς is nearer to ἀντην than ἀντῆς, but η is doubtful (Smyth *Ionic* § 637 n.).

289. πύματόν τε καὶ ὕστατον = X 203, v 116.

295-303. The incident is quite in keeping with the general tone of the hymn; see *Introd.* p. 134. But the precise meaning of the two "omens" is doubtful. Both are clearly intentional (cf. σὺν δ' ἄρα φρασσάμενος); but it is uncertain whether the second omen is merely a reduplication of the first, or whether Hermes intended to supplement the original οἰωνός. The further question arises, whether the omens refer to Hermes or Apollo. According to Hermann, *Mercurius*, καταπαρδὼν Ἀπόλ-

λως, significabat parum se ira Apollinis moveri. So Baumeister, who adds that the sneeze is also intentional, *ut inhonestius augurium honestiori callide occultaret*, although Apollo is not to be deceived. This explanation is not satisfactory; and Gemoll is probably right in understanding that Hermes intends both omens to confirm Apollo's prophecy ἀρχὸς φηλητέων κεκλήσεται. The first omen is, in Gemoll's view, a mere piece of impudence; this is no doubt correct, but the editors do not notice that it is a parody of a favourable omen from Zeus ὑψιβρεμέτης. Cf. *Arist. Eg.* 639 (with Neil's note). An accidental sneeze would also be lucky; the humour lies in the fact that it is intentional. For the omen of sneezing cf. ρ 541, 545, Herod. vi. 107, Xen. *Anab.* iii. 2. 9, and other exx. quoted by Bouché-Leclercq *Divination* i. p. 162 f. and Blaydes on *Arist. Av.* 720 παρὼν τ' ὄρνιθα καλεῖτε. Apollo of course is not deceived by Hermes, but ironically interprets the "omens" in his own way.

296. ἀγγελιώτην: elsewhere only in Callim. *Hecale* col. i. 4.



ἔζετο δὲ προπάροιθε, καὶ ἐσσύμενός περ ὁδοῖο,  
Ἑρμῆν κερτομέων, καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε· 300

θάρσει, σπαργανιώτα, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱέ·  
εὐρήσω καὶ ἔπειτα βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα  
τούτοις οἰωνοῖσι· σὺ δ' αὖθ' ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύσεις.

ὥς φάθ'· ὁ δ' αὖτ' ἀνόρουσε θοῶς Κυλλήνιος Ἑρμῆς  
σπουδῇ ἰών· ἄμφω δὲ παρ' οὐατα χερσὶν ἐώθει 305  
σπάργανον ἄμφ' ὅμοισιν ἐελμένος, εἶπε δὲ μῦθον·

πῇ με φέρεις, Ἑκάεργε, θεῶν ζαμενέστατε πάντων;  
ἦ με βοῶν ἔνεχ' ὧδε χολούμενος ὀρσολοπεύεις;

300. κερτόμεεν Barnes 303. τούτοις] αὐτοῖς M || οἰωνοῖσι. cū M<sub>p</sub> (εὐ margo Γ): οἰωνοῖσιν εὐ αD: οἰωνοῖς εὐ ed. pr. 304. ἔφασ' M: φάτ' cet. || ὁ δ'—Ἑρμῆς et 305 ἄμφω—ἐώθει transponit Ilgen omisso ἰών 306. ἐέλμενος M: ἐλιγμένος (ἐλ.) cet.: ἐλιγμένον Wolf: ἐελμένον Baumeister: ἐιλυμένος Windisch: ἐλελιγμένον Gemoll: ἐλιγμένος Fick || post σπάργανον interpunct D'Orville J. P. xxv. 254 308. ἐνέχων δε M || ὀρσοπολεύεις p

299. ἔζετο: perhaps to interpret the omen *ex cathedra*, with mock gravity (Gemoll).

302. καὶ ἔπειτα, "in the end," "after all," as in Θ 520.

304. Κυλλήνιος: first in ω 1, where Aristarchus objected to the epithet as post-Homeric.

305. σπουδῇ: in Homer the usual sense is "hardly," but in ο 209 σπουδῇ γυν ἀνάβαινε the adv. certainly = "quickly"; so perhaps in B 99 (Ariston. ἐν τάχει), v. 279. This sense suits the passage: Hermes now wishes to get done with the business; cf. 320. The words could not imply his haste in keeping pace with Apollo, *non passibus aequis*; at least in 321 Hermes leads. Possibly, however, σπουδῇ may mean "seriously," no longer in jest, as often in post-Homeric Greek; cf. σπουδαῖον (332), a "serious" thing.

305, 306. The lines are difficult; ἐλιγμένος is a *vox nihili*, and ἐελμένος cannot be regarded as certain. The editors mostly correct to ἐελμένον or another acc. partic., agreeing with σπάργανον; but it is most improbable that an original acc. should become a nom. It is just possible to take ἐελμένος absolutely: Hermes "pushed with his hands the clothes up to both his ears, round his shoulders, huddled up" (in the wraps). The clothes had fallen off his head while he was being carried by Apollo; they are now rearranged. On the whole it seems almost necessary to

alter ἐελμένος. The variant ἐλιγμένος points to a corruption; the original may have been ἐιλυμένος, which, however, has escaped alteration in 245, h. *Ap.* 450; σπάργανον would be taken ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with ἐώθει and ἐιλυμένος. In any case παρ' must mean "up to"; not, as suggested in *J. H. S.* xv. p. 290, "*done* past," as if Hermes now uncovers his head. This sense of παρὰ is not justified by such passages as Xen. *Symp.* iv. 23 παρὰ τὰ ὦτα ἄρτι ἰουλος καθέρπει, where the meaning is really inherent in the verb.

It would be possible to suggest that παρ' . . . ἐώθει = παρεώθει, governing ἄμφω οὐατα, i.e. he "pushed back both his ears," by rubbing his cheeks; cf. σ 199 τὴν δὲ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνῆκεν | καὶ ῥ' ἀπομόρετο χερσὶ παρείδς φώνησέν τε (see below 361). But the expression, if physically accurate (the flat of the hands being moved away from the eyes across the cheeks), is at least curious, without some further explanation to shew that rubbing the eyes is intended. Otherwise the sense would be excellent: Hermes now pretends to wake up at last. With this translation σπάργανον must be governed by the participle ἐιλυμένος (ἐελμένος would be less suitable); for the construction cf. 151.

307. φέρεις: either "carry," as in 293, although Hermes is no longer in Apollo's hands; or = ἐλαύνεις 330.

308. ὀρσοπολεύεις: rare and poetic; cf. Hesych. ὀρσοπολεῖται· διαπολεμεῖται,



ὦ πόποι, εἴθ' ἀπόλοιτο βοῶν γένος· οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γε  
 ὑμετέρας ἔκλεψα βόας, οὐδ' ἄλλον ὄπωπα,  
 αἵ τινες εἰσι βόες· τὸ δὲ δὴ κλέος οἶον ἀκούω.

310

δὸς δὲ δίκην καὶ δέξο παρὰ Ζηνὶ Κρονίωνι.

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τὰ ἕκαστα διαρρήδην ἐρέεινον  
 Ἑρμῆς τ' οἰοπόλος καὶ Λητοῦς ἀγλαὸς υἱός,  
 ἀμφὶς θυμὸν ἔχοντες· ὁ μὲν νημερτέα φωνήν

315

οὐκ ἀδίκως ἐπὶ βουσὶν ἐλάζυτο κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν,

- 
311. αἵ τινες αἱ βόες εἰσὶ Schäfer coll. 277 312. θέσαι παρ ρ 313.  
 ἐρέεινον ρ: ἐρέεινον cet.: ἐρίδαινον Schneidewin 315. lacunam hic statuimus:  
 φωνεῖν Hermann: φωνῶν Wolf: νημερτέα φωνῆ Ludwich: νημερτέα φῶρα  
 Windisch 316. οὐκ ἀδίκως] οὐκὶ δίκην Martin: ἐκδεδαώς Baumeister
- 

ταράσσεται· Αἰσχύλος (*Pers.* 10); so ὀρόλοπος, of Ares, *Anacr. fr.* 74. Hesychius' explanation, i.e. "harry," no doubt gives the sense, but the derivation is quite unknown, and the suggestions (mentioned by Gemoll) are not convincing: Müller-Strubing's derivation (*δρρος* and *λοπεύειν*, *λοπίζω* "skin") would suit the humour of the hymn; but a word of such suggestions could not have been used by Aeschylus unless he was ignorant of its original meaning. Prellwitz s.v. suggests *δρρυμι* and *δλόπτω*; see also Fröhde *B. B.* xx. p. 222 who compares the German *verrarn*, *wirren*.

311=277 with slight variation. Epic usage would prefer an exact verbal repetition, but later poets are careless of the rule; Gemoll compares 264, 364.

313. διαρρήδην, "expressly," elsewhere, apparently, only found in Attic prose.

ἐρέεινον, "questioned," has been suspected, but is better than Schneidewin's *ἐρίδαινον*, which does not suit διαρρήδην. There is no real difficulty: Apollo and Hermes had "questioned" one another explicitly. Perhaps, however, the writer uses the word vaguely in the sense of "speak." The verb occurs in the hymn with several shades of meaning: *ἐξερέεινε* *μυχούς* 252 "explored," *ἐξερέεινη* 483, *ἐρεείνη* 487 "questioned," "made trial of" the lyre, *ἐξερεείνειν* 547 "question" the prophetic art.

314. οἰοπόλος: by anticipation; Hermes is to be a shepherd-god; cf. 570 f. Matthiae's explanation "dwelling alone" (of a thief) is quite impossible.

Gemoll makes the apodosis begin at this line (reading *φωνῶν* 315). This is almost certainly wrong; the line clearly contains the subject of *ἐρέεινον*; there is a parenthesis in *ὁ μὲν κτλ.* (315), and the apodosis is marked by *δὴ ἐπειτα* (320), after an epanalepsis *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ* (319).

315 f. *φωνήν*: the words as handed down give no connexion; hence *φωνήν* has been altered to *φωνῶν*, *φωνεῖν*, *φωνῇ* (*νημερτέι*), none of which would have readily passed into *φωνήν*. In Goodwin's edition, *φωρήν* was conjectured, on the analogy of 136, 385; this is a graphical change ( $\rho = \nu$ ), but it involves the construction *λάζυσθαι Ἑρμῆν φωρήν* "convict Hermes of a clear theft," which can hardly be defended by the Attic *ἐλεῖν τινά τι*. It is also an argument against *φωρήν* that in 385 M (which here reads *φωνήν*) has *φωρήν* uncorrupted. Tyrrell accepts *φωρήν*, with Baumeister's *ἐκδεδαώς*, for *οὐκ ἀδίκως*; but the latter is not to be disturbed. The alternative therefore seems to be a lacuna of one line, and this is made probable (1) by the excellent sense of *νημερτέα φωνήν*, "a true utterance," opposed to *αἰμυλίοισι λόγοισι*; (2) by the homoeoteleuton between 315, 316. The lacuna will then have contained a participle (e.g. *ιέls*) governing *φωνήν*.

316. οὐκ ἀδίκως: prosaic; see *Introd.* p. 134. *ἐπὶ βουσὶν ἐλάζυτο*, "was haling Hermes for (on account of) the cows." *ἐπὶ* here expresses the cause or occasion; commonly *ἐπὶ βουσί* would mean "in charge of cattle"; cf. 200, 556, 571, v 209 etc.



αὐτὰρ ὁ τέχνησιν τε καὶ αἰμυλίοισι λόγοισιν  
 ἤθελεν ἑξαπατᾶν Κυλλήνιος Ἀργυρότοξον.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πολύμητις ἔὼν πολυμήχανον εὔρεν,  
 ἐσσυμένως δὴ ἔπειτα διὰ ψαμάθοιο βάδιζε  
 πρόσθεν, ἀτὰρ κατόπισθε Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς υἱός.  
 αἶψα δὲ τέρθρον ἵκοντο θυώδεος Οὐλύμποιο  
 ἐς πατέρα Κρονίωνα Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα.  
 κεῖθι γὰρ ἀμφοτέροισι δίκης κατέκειτο τάλαντα.  
 εὐμίλη δ' ἔχ' Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον, ἀθάνατοι δὲ

320

325

320. δ' ἔπειτα codd.: corr. Hermann 321. Λητός Barnes 322. δὲ  
 τέρερον ἵκοντο MDx: δ' ἵκοντο κάρηνα py (sc. E in text., marg. γρ. LII)  
 325. εὐμίλη M: εὐμυλίη cet.: αἰμυλίη Heyne: εὐμελίη seu ἐμμελίη Hermann:  
 εὐελίη Franke: ἀδωολῇ Bergk: εὐδίη Baumeister: αἰερίη Schmitt: εὐκηλίη  
 Sikes: εὐμελίη, εὐνομίη, στωμυλίη D'Orville J. P. xxv. 255

322. On the variants see *J. H. S.* xv. p. 311 f. It may be doubted whether *τέρθρον* and *κάρηνα* are due to independent reciters, or whether *κάρηνα* is a gloss on the comparatively rare *τέρθρον*. The word (which is generally a nautical term) is not elsewhere used as a mountain-top, but it is equivalent to *τέρμα* in *Eur. fr.* 372 (cf. *Erotian Gl. Hipp.* p. 366 *τέρθρον* γὰρ ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ ἔσχατον καὶ ἐπὶ τέλει); so of the tip of a nose, *Emped.* 346.

εὐώδεος Οὐλύμποιο = *h. Dem.* 331 (where see note), and cf. *supra* 231.

324. δίκης κατέκειτο τάλαντα, "the scales of justice were set"; cf. *Bacchyl.* xvii. 25 *δίκας ῥέπει τάλαντον*, *Aesch. Ag.* 250 *δίκαι ἐπιρέπει*, *Anth. Pal.* vi. 267. 4 *ἐκ Διὸς ἰθείης οἶδε τάλαντα δίκης*. In *Homer* Zeus balances the scales of destiny; *Θ* 69, *Π* 68, *T* 223, *X* 209. With the language of the present passage the editors compare *Σ* 507 f. *κεῖτο δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι δῶν χρυσοῖο τάλαντα*, | *τῷ δόμεν δὲ μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰδύντατα εἶποι*, where the reference is to talents of gold, probably deposited as a court fee (see *Leaf ad loc.*). *Ridgeway (J. P.* xvii. 1888, p. 111) argues that in this hymn also the *τάλαντα* are "talents" (not "scales") deposited with Zeus as judge. In that case the expression would be metaphorical, for Apollo and Hermes have of course deposited no fees. But it is far more probable that the hymn-writer, while possibly imitating the language of *E* 507, either misunderstood or consciously perverted the meaning of *τάλαντα* there; he was, no doubt, familiar with the other sense of the word = scales.

325. The word *εὐμίλη* or *εὐμυλίη* is not known to exist; in *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 261, the latter form was defended, as probably connected with *μῦ* *Arist. Eq.* 10, *μυλιώντες* *Hes. Op.* 530. *μῶν μοιμύλλω* etc., of a muttering sound produced by closing the lips. The sense suggested was "a pleasant hum," which, however, does not seem particularly suited to the present context. Pending the production of fresh evidence, another attempt may be made to derive the word. *δμιλος*, formerly connected with *δμός*, is now divided *δ-μλ-ος*, as cognate with Sanscr. *milati*, Lat. *miles*, *mille* (*Johansson I. P.* ii. 34 n., *Fick Wörterbuch* i. 177, 723, iv. 235, *Stokes B. B.* xi. 293, *Petr B. B.* xxv. 143). From the same stem a formation *εὐμίλια* would not be impossible, and the sense "good fellowship" or merely "company" would be equivalent to *ἡγερέθοντο* in the next line. For the metre cf. *Anth. Pal.* ix. 573 *κλαιωμίλη* and *γελωμίλη*. This attempt preserves the spelling of M, as the derivation from *μύλλω*, etc., that of the other mss. Either meaning seems in accordance with the light tone of the scene, which D'Orville recognised by conjecturing *στωμυλίη*. On the other hand, if there is corruption, no emendation commands assent; of the conjectures; those which depart from the letters of the mss. are too violent, while those that resemble them (*εὐμελίη* *ἐμμελίη*) do not account for the loss of such familiar words. A rare word is required, and perhaps *εὐκηλίη* satisfies the conditions (the confusion of *κ* and *μ* is common in minuscules). This would involve a rare



ἄφθιτοι ἡγερέθοντο μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἧῶ.  
ἔστησαν δ' Ἑρμῆς τε καὶ ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων  
πρόσθε Διὸς γούνων· ὁ δ' ἀνείρετο φαίδιμον υἱὸν  
Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμέτης καὶ μιν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε·

Φοῖβε, πόθεν ταύτην μενοεικέα ληΐδ' ἐλαύνεις,  
παῖδα νέον γεγαῶτα, φυὴν κήρυκος ἔχοντα ;  
σπουδαῖον τόδε χρῆμα θεῶν μεθ' ὁμήγυριν ἦλθε.

τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέειπεν ἄναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων·  
ὦ πάτερ, ἥ τάχα μῦθον ἀκούσσαι οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν,  
κερτομέων, ὥς οἶος ἐγὼ φιλολῆϊός εἰμι.

παῖδά τιν' εὗρον τόνδε διαπρύσιον κεραῖστήν  
Κυλλήνης ἐν ὄρεσσι, πολλὴν διὰ χῶρον ἀνύσσας,  
κέρτομον, οἶον ἐγὼ γε θεῶν οὐκ ἄλλον ὄπωπα,

330

335

326. μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἧῶ γ (sc. E in text., marg. γρ'. LII): ποτὶ πτύχας οὐλύμπιο cet. || ἄφθιτοι] ἀερόοι Groddeck: αὔετοι Ilgen: ἀψ εσοί Schneidewin: αὔει τότ' Baumeister 335. οἶος LII Matthiae: οἶον Bothe 338. τέρτομον M praefixis punctis || κέντρων' Stadtmüller

synizesis, which may have helped the corruption. *εὐκῆλια* is attested by Hesychius, and the sense is excellent: the "quiet" of dawn held Olympus—Zeus was not thundering. Cf. Theocr. ii. 166 *εὐκῆλοιο νυκτός*, "stilly night"; and for the stillness of a mountain, Callim. *h.* v. 72 *μεσαμβρινὰ δ' εἶχ' ὄρος ἀσυχία*; *ib.* 74.

326. ἄφθιτοι: this cannot be quasi-adverbial, as *ἀδμητες δ' ἴκανον* 103, for the word makes nonsense if joined closely with *ἡγερέθοντο*. Hence Groddeck's *ἀθρόοι* has been generally accepted; cf. β 392, ω 468. But there is no great difficulty in taking *ἀφθιτοι* as an adjective with *ἀθάνατοι* (= *θεοί* as often), i.e. the deathless immortals. Gemoll compares *θνητοὶ βροτοὶ* γ 3.

μετὰ χρυσόθρονον ἧῶ: this seems preferable to the variant *ποτὶ πτύχας* Οὐλύμπιο, as Olympus has just been mentioned. The reading in the text seems to be a reminiscence of A 493 f., where the gods assemble on Olympus in the morning; cf. also ε 1 f.

331. φυὴν κήρυκος ἔχοντα: how the infant Hermes had "the look of a herald" is not clear; there can be no allusion to Hermes' speed, as Baumeister supposes. Probably the hymn-writer is merely anticipating the later functions of Hermes as *κῆρυξ*; cf. on *οἰσπόλος* 314.

332. σπουδαῖον τόδε χρῆμα: ironical "a serious matter," or "a fine thing," rather than "a costly booty" as Gemoll understands. The adjective is not Homeric.

334. οὐκ ἀλαπαδνόν: with *σθένος* E 783 etc., but not in Homer as epithet of *μῦθος*.

335. φιλολῆϊος: no doubt with special reference to the wealth of Delphi. Baumeister compares Lycophr. 208 *Δελφινίου παρ' ἄντρα κερδαίνου θεοῦ*. Apollo's love of gain appears in 495, see also 179; in 549 the idea is probably different.

336. διαπρύσιον: the proper meaning appears to be "piercing," "penetrating." The sense suits *h. Aphr.* 19, of a piercing noise; cf. *διάτορος*, and the adverb *διαπρύσιον* in Homer, who does not use the adjective. Here the word is applied to a robber; cf. 178 *ἀντιτορήσων*, 283 *ἀντιτοροῦντα δόμους*. Voss's translation "manifest" is unlikely.

337. πολλὴν κτλ.: cf. Hes. *Op.* 635 *πολλὴν διὰ πόντον ἀνύσσας*.

338. κέρτομον: first in Hes. *Op.* 788, for the Homeric *κερτόμιον*. The word is needlessly suspected here; the meaning may well be "cheating," "tricky," as in Eur. *Alc.* 1128 (other exx. in L. and S.), or rather, perhaps, "cheeky."



οὐδ' ἀνδρῶν, ὅποσοι λησίμβροτοί εἰς' ἐπὶ γαίαν.  
 κλέψας δ' ἐκ λειμῶνος ἐμὰς βοῦς ὥχετ' ἐλαύνων 340  
 ἐσπέριος παρὰ θίνα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης,  
 εὐθὺ Πύλονδ' ἐλάων· τὰ δ' ἄρ' ἴχνια δοιὰ πέλωρα,  
 οἷά τ' ἀγάσασθαι, καὶ ἀγανοῦ δαίμονος ἔργα.  
 τῆσιν μὲν γὰρ βουσὶν ἐς ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα  
 ἀντία βήματ' ἔχουσα κόνις ἀνέφαινε μέλαινα· 345  
 αὐτὸς δ' οὗτος ἴδδ' ἐκτός, ἀμήχανος, οὗτ' ἄρα ποσσὶν

339. εἰς' M: εἰς' cet.: corr. Stephanus || λησίμβροτος Fick || γαίαν M: γαῖν αρ  
 342. εὐεύπυλον δ' M: εὐευπόρον δ' cet.: corr. Clarke: εὐεύ πόρονδ' Stephanus ||  
 δοιὰ MæAtD: δῖα p: τοῖα Barnes, cl. 225 343. ἀγάσασθαι M: ἀγάσσεσθαι cet.  
 (ἀγάσσεσθαι D): corr. Ilgen 344. τοῖσι M 346. ἴδ' ἐκτός] ὁ δεκτός Bothe  
 ἄικτος Hermann e gloss. Hesychii: ὄλεσρος Schneidewin: ὀδαῖος atque postea  
 ὁ λεπτός Ludwich || pro οὗτος, οἶος Ilgen: οἶος Barnes || pro ἐκτός, ἔσοχ'  
 Ruhnken

339. λησίμβροτον: only here, on the analogy of περιμήβροτος.

γαίαν: the accusative is to be retained; it is not uncommon with ἐπὶ, chiefly in the *Odyssey*, without any idea of motion; cf. δ 417, η 382, ρ 386, ψ 371, *H. G.* § 199. 4.

342. εὐεύ: first here, for the Homeric *ιθὺ*; cf. 355 εἰς Πύλον εὐθὺς ἐλῶντα, which confirms Πύλονδ' in this line.

δοιὰ: Barnes' conjecture (usually accepted) rests upon 349, but there, and in 225, τοῖα has not been corrupted. In *J. H. S.* xv. p. 265 δῖα was proposed; there is, however, no good reason why δοιὰ should not be accepted. The reading of ρ (δῖα) may be paralleled by δ 526, where one ms. has διά for δοιὰ. The sense is "there were double footprints, wonderful," i.e. those of the cows (μὲν 344), and of Hermes (δ' 346). This was the view of Hermann and Schneidewin. The ἴχνια are therefore the footprints of both Hermes and the cows; Gemoll's remark, that πέλωρα is only applied to the tracks of Hermes, prejudices the question.

345, 346. The construction is intricate, and there is some probability in Schneidewin's lacuna; he conjectures ἴχνη ἀέστραπτο in the missing line (cf. 76). But the passage may be translated as it stands: the dative τῆσιν βουσὶν is "ethic," loosely equivalent to the genitive, but rather belonging to the whole sentence than to βήματα (see Goodwin *G. G.* § 184. 5): "As for the cows, the black dust held and shewed their foot-

prints facing towards the meadow," i.e. the pasture from which they had been stolen; cf. 221 πάλιν τέτραπται ἐς ἀσφοδελὸν λειμῶνα. The construction ἀντία ἐς is unique, for ρ 333 is no parallel, but cf. ἐναντίον πρὸς Plat. *Phaed.* 60 b and ἀχρι, πέραν εἰς (ἀχρι and πέραν with gen. are analogous to ἀντίος with dat.); possibly the meaning is not simply "facing towards," but "reversed, in the direction of." Cf. 77 ἀντία ποιήσας ὁπλὰς, "reversing the feet." On κόνις see Schweizer *I. F.* x. 205 n.

346. Since neither ἐκτός sixth, ἐκτός from ἔχω, nor ἐκτός (= "outsider," Aristoph. and Plato) can be entertained, and a connexion with ἐχθός = ἐχθρός (Wackernagel *K. Z.* xxxiii. 40, 41) is improbable, Bothe's ὁ δεκτός seems the slightest and most satisfactory correction. δεκτός appears not to be found before the N. T. (see Stephanus), and is always passive (as Bothe intended it). That verbals of deponents may be active, however, appears from the exx. in *K. B.* ii. 289 (μεμπτός, δυνατός, φθειγτός, πλανητός, λωβητός). δεκτός may mean either "receptive," sc. thievish (as δέκτης of a beggar, δ 248), or "watcher" in the sense of πυληδόκος; cf. on 15.

In sense some compound of ὀδός (= ὀδιος, ἐνόδιος) would be acceptable, but ὀδαῖος (Ludwich) and ὀδουρός are too far from the tradition. A negative adjective also to balance ἀμήχανος might be thought possible; this is given by Hermann's ἀῖκτος (= ἀπρόσιτος Hesych.), but the resemblance is slight.



οὐτ' ἄρα χερσὶν ἔβαινε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον·  
 ἀλλ' ἄλλην τινὰ μῆτιν ἔχων διέτριβε κέλευθα,  
 τοῖα πέλωρ', ὥς εἴ τις ἀραιῇσι δρυσι βαίνει.  
 ὄφρα μὲν οὖν ἐδίωκε διὰ ψαμαθώδεα χῶρον, 350  
 ρεία μάλ' ἵχνια πάντα διέπρεπεν ἐν κούρησιν·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ψαμάθοιο μέγαν στίβον ἐξεπέρησεν,  
 ἄφραστος γένετ' ὦκα βοῶν στίβος ἡδὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ  
 χῶρον ἀνὰ κρατερόν· τὸν δ' ἐφράσατο βροτὸς ἀνὴρ  
 εἰς Πύλον εὐθύς ἐλῶντα βοῶν γένος εὐρυμετώπων. 355  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τὰς μὲν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ κατέερξε,  
 καὶ διαπυρπαλάμησεν ὁδοῦ τὸ μὲν ἔνθα, τὸ δ' ἔνθα,  
 ἐν λίκνῳ κατέκειτο μελαίνῃ νυκτὶ ἑοικώς,  
 ἄντροφ' ἐν ἡρόεντι κατὰ ζόφον, οὐδέ κεν αὐτὸν

348. διέπρησε Pierson 349. βαίνων M || ἀραιῇ cūn ὀρύι Gemoll 352.  
 μέγαν] πολὺν M || τρίβον Matthiae, "in uno horum versuum τρίβος videtur  
 legendum" D'Orville *l.c.* 255 355. ἐλόντα V : ἐλῶντα xAD 356. ἡσυχία M ||  
 κατέερξε p : κατέρεξε(n) cet. 357. διαπύρ MDL : διὰ πύρ cet. || παλάμην M :  
 μάλ' ἔμνησεν cet. : corr. Ilgen

348. διέτριβε: according to Gemoll this refers to the trailing or "rubbing" tracks of Hermes: it is more probably to be explained by τρίβος, a "beaten" track. For the short vowel before *τρ* see La Roche *Homer. Unters.* i. p. 9; cf. ἀπέκρυψε 394.

349. τοῖα πέλωρ': either agreeing with κέλευθα, or an accusative defining the whole expression διέτριβε κέλευθα = βαίνει; the latter view is supported by 225 τοῖα πέλωρα βιβᾶ.

ὄρυσι: the instrumental dative is as good as ποσσίν and χερσίν in 346, 347. For similar datives cf. M 207 πέτετο πνοιῇς ἀνέμοιο, Solon xi. 5 ἀλώπεκος ἵχνησι βαίνει. The editors explain δρυσι as oak-branches, for which there is no parallel. This translation also neglects the force of ἀραιῇσι, which is not otiose: Hermes seemed to be walking on "young trees." As a matter of fact, he had used ὄζοι, branches (81); but Apollo did not know the details.

352, 353. The repetition of στίβον and τρίβος seems inelegant, but the hymn-writer is careless on this matter; cf. the repetitions in 340, 342 (ἐλαύνων, ἐλάων), 365 (ἄρ' twice), 385 (ποτ', ποτέ) 398, 400 (ἔξον, ἐξίκοντο), and see further on 424. στίβος must mean "path" in 352, "footprints" in 353; so ἐν' ἀριστερά is used in different contexts 418, 424.

354. κρατερόν: not elsewhere of hard ground; but Ilgen compares ψ 46 κραταίπεδον οὐδας.

356. κατέερξε: this reading is right, as Apollo did not know that any cows had been killed (κατέρεξε); for the confusion cf. E 650 ἐρξάντα βέξαντα, I 535 ἐρε' ἐρεξ' βέξ'.

357. διαπυρπαλάμην, "juggled." Ilgen's correction is certain, and should have been recognised by L. and S., although the compound verb is elsewhere unknown. Eustathius 513. 30 has πυρπαλαῖσθαι· κακοτεχνεῖν καὶ οἶον διὰ πυρὸς ἵναί τῃ κακοτεχνίᾳ. (The explanation is no doubt wrong; Ilgen sees an allusion to juggling with torches, which may be correct; cf. Archil. *fr.* 87.) Photius and Suidas preserve a substantive πυρπαλάμης, explaining ὁ ταχέως τι ἐπινοῶν καὶ παλαμῶμενος ἴσα τῷ πυρὶ. Hesychius attests an adjective πυρπάλαμος. For similar disintegrations of rare words cf. Hippocr. *Mochl.* 11 καταναισιμοῦται (Galen, Erotian) κατατινε· σιμοῦται etc. mss., Hipp. 638. 42 ἰσεννύουσι (Galen, lexx.) ἴσα νῦν ἔουσαι mss. The excellence of M is clearly demonstrated in this line.

ὁδοῦ τὸ μὲν κτλ.: cf. 226.

358. μελαίνῃ νυκτὶ ἑοικώς: i.e. invisible; cf. A 47.



αἰετὸς ὃξὺ λάων ἐσκέφατο· πολλὰ δὲ χερσὶν 360  
 αὐγὰς ὠμόργαζε δολοφροσύνην ἀλεγύνων.  
 αὐτὸς δ' αὐτίκα μῦθον ἀπηλεγάς ἀγόρευεν·  
 οὐκ ἴδον, οὐ πυθόμην, οὐκ ἄλλου μῦθον ἄκουσα,  
 οὐδέ κε μηνύσαιμ', οὐδ' ἂν μῆνυτρον ἀροίμην.  
 ἦ τοι ἄρ' ὥς εἰπὼν κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων·  
 Ἐρμῆς δ' ἄλλον μῦθον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔειπε, 366  
 δείξατο δ' εἰς Κρονίωνα, θεῶν σημάτορα πάντων·  
 Ζεὺ πάτερ, ἦ τοι ἐγὼ σοι ἀληθείην ἀγορεύσω·  
 νημερτὴς τε γάρ εἰμι, καὶ οὐκ οἶδα ψεύδεσθαι.  
 ἦλθεν ἐς ἡμετέρου διζήμενος εἰλίποδας βοῦς 370

βλέπων

360. **λάων** E || **χέρω** (servato in 361 **ὠμάртаζε**) Ludwig 361. **ὠμάртаζε**  
 ME: **ὠμάρταζε** cet.: corr. Ilgen: **αὐραῖς ε' ὠδ' ἄρταζε** Groddeck || **ἀλεγύνων**  
 xD: **ἀλεγίζων** M: **ἀλεείνων** p: **ἀλεαίνων** Ilgen 362. **ἀπολεγάς** LI 365.  
 δ γ' pro ἄρ' Barnes 366. **δ' ἄλλον μῦθον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔειπεν** γ (sc. E in  
 text.: LI in marg.): **δ' αὖθ' ἑτέρωθεν ἀμειβόμενος ἔπος ἤδα** cet. 368. **κοι]**  
**τοι** Hermann || **ἀγορεύω** M: **καταλέω** cet. || **ἀλήθειαν** Barnes 370. **ἡμέτερον**  
 Barnes

360. **λάων**: only here in the sense of **βλέπων**; but Hesychius recognises another (lost) passage: **λάετε· σκοπεῖτε, βλέπετε**. Cf. **ἀλαός**. In T 229, 230 **λάω** can hardly bear this sense but must rather mean "seize," "grip." Possibly the hymn-writer may have misinterpreted the Homeric passage; more probably a verb **λάω** was used in both senses, which might be derived from the root **λα** (**λαβεῖν** etc.). Aristarchus explained the verb in Homer by **ἀπολαυστικῶς ἔχων**, "devouring," as usual neglecting the hymn.

361. **ὠμόργαζε**: a brilliant emendation. The form does not recur, but for the radical verb (in the same context) cf. σ 199 **τὴν δὲ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἀνῆκε, καὶ β' ἀπομόρξατο χερσὶ παρείας**. Baumeister notes that **αὐγαί** for "eyes" is elsewhere first found in Attic tragedy.

**ἀλεγύνων**: the reading is settled by **ἀγλαῖας ἀλέγυνε** 476; for the variants cf. 85, 557. In Homer **ἀλεγύνειν** is found only in the *Odyssey*, of preparing a meal.

362. **ἀπηλεγάς ἀγόρευεν**: cf. I 309, α 373. The old derivation of **ἀπηλεγάς** from **ἀπό** and **ἀλέγω**, "outright," "bluntly," seems still to obtain.

365. For the repetition of **ἄρα** Hermann compares π 213, a very similar passage.

366. On the alternatives see Hollander

p. 26, *J. H. S.* xv. p. 302. There is no peculiarity in either version to give it a distinct preference. **ἄλλον μῦθον**, "another story," i.e. his account of the affair.

367. **δείξατο δ' εἰς Κρονίωνα**, "pointed to Zeus" to call his attention; the gesture, as Gemoll remarks, shews Hermes' audacity, and perhaps the feigned simplicity of childhood. Baumeister's translation *ad Iovem convertit orationem* cannot be right; T 83 **ἐνδείξομαι** is different. **θεῶν σημάτορα πάντων**: so Hes. *Scut.* 56.

369. **νημερτής**: Gemoll repeats Greve's erroneous statement that this word is only applied to things, not persons, in Homer. It is a constant epithet of Proteus, δ 349, 384 etc., and of Nereus in Hes. *Theog.* 235.

370. **ἦλεεν**: the omission of the subject may be intentionally naive (Gemoll), but it is perhaps rather meant as an open discourtesy; Hermes refuses to utter Apollo's name throughout his speech.

**ἐς ἡμέτερου**: the genitive in this expression occurs, with varying manuscript support, in β 55, η 301, ρ 534. The scholia note the reading, which was that of Aristarchus (see La Roche on β 55). The genitive is also given by the mss. in Herod. i. 35, vii. 8. It is no doubt due to the false analogy of **εἰς**



σήμερον ἡελίοιο νέον ἐπιτελλομένοιο,  
οὐδὲ θεῶν μακάρων ἄγε μάρτυρας οὐδὲ κατόπτας.  
μηνύειν δ' ἐκέλευεν ἀναγκαίης ὑπὸ πολλῆς,  
πολλὰ δέ μ' ἠπείλησε βαλεῖν ἐς Τάρταρον εὐρύν,  
οὐνεχ' ὁ μὲν τέρεν ἄνθος ἔχει φιλοκυδέος ἥβης, 375  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ χθιζὸς γενόμεν—τὰ δέ τ' οἶδε καὶ αὐτός—  
οὐ τι βοῶν ἐλατῆρι, κραταιῷ φωτί, εἰκώς.  
πέιθεο, καὶ γὰρ ἐμεῖο πατὴρ φίλος εὐχεται εἶναι,  
ὥς οὐκ οἴκαδ' ἔλασσα βόας, ὥς ὄλβιος εἶην,  
οὐδ' ὑπὲρ οὐδὸν ἔβην· τὸ δέ τ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύω. 380  
Ἥελιον δὲ μάλ' αἰδέομαι καὶ δαίμονας ἄλλους,  
καί σε φιλῶ καὶ τοῦτον ὀπίζομαι· οἶσθα καὶ αὐτός,  
ὥς οὐκ αἰτίός εἰμι· μέγαν δ' † ἐπιδαίομαι ὄρκον·  
οὐ μὰ τὰδ' ἀθανάτων εὐκόσμητα προθύραια.

371. ΝΕΟΝ Γ' ρ (praeter AQ) D (Γ' add. m. p.) 373. ἀνάγκης M: ἀναγκαίης  
ἐπὶ πολλῇ Matthiae 375. ἐρικυδέος Schneidewin 376. τάδε οἶδε Barnes  
377. ἔοικα Barnes 380. τόδε δ' codd.: corr. Hermann 381. δὲ M: om. cet. ||  
μάλα τ' (om. δὲ) Gemoll 382. καὶ cē M 383. αἴτιος εἰμι ME || ἐπιδεύομαι  
M: ἐπιδαίομαι cet. (ἐπιδέομαι II: δαι in ras. L<sub>2</sub>): ἐπιδώσομαι Barnes: ἐπομόσσομαι  
quidam apud Stephanum: ἐπιμαίομαι van Herwerden: δ' ἐπὶ ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι  
Allen 384. οὐ MDLP || πρόευρα M

πατρός etc. Many editors read *ἡμέτερον* in the *Odyssey*; it is quite possible that the accusative is original in Homer, and that the genitive may have become idiomatic by the time of the hymn-writer and Herodotus.

373. ΜΗΝΥΕΙΝ: on the quantity of *ῥ* see Schulze *Q. E.* p. 340.

375. ΦΙΛΟΚΥΔΕΟΣ: only here and in 481, "loving glory," "splendid." The line may be a reminiscence of Hes. *Theog.* 988 *τέρειν ἄνθος ἔχοντ' ἐρικυδέος ἥβης*, but this is no justification for Schneidewin's violent *ἐρικυδέος* here.

378. ΠΑΤΗΡ κτλ.: a parody of the epic *νῆος . . . εὐχομαι εἶναι* (Gemoll).

379. The abruptness of the construction quite suits Hermes' parenthetic style.

ὥς . . . ἔλασσα . . . ἔβην: dependent on *πέιθεο*, *ὥς ὄλβιος εἶην* being interjectional, "so may I prosper." Hermann unaccountably ejects 379–381, although the whole passage is full of humour. Before Apollo, Hermes did not scruple to perjure himself freely (cf. 263 f., 309 f.); but in the presence of Zeus, his words are literally true, as the editors note: he did not drive the cows home, but to a cave; nor did he step

across the threshold on his return journey, but passed through the keyhole.

381. There is irony in the mention of Helios. Hermes pretends to respect the Sun who sees all things; but the Sun had set when he started, and did not rise until he had returned. There is a further covert allusion to the night-time, in which Hermes loves to thieve (15, 67, 578). Gemoll quotes Hes. *Op.* 607 *ἡμερόκοιτος ἀνὴρ*.

383. † ΕΠΙΔΑΙΟΜΑΙ: this and *ἐπιδεύομαι* are certainly corrupt, and point to an older corruption *ἐπὶ δέομαι*; Barnes' conjecture, *ἐπιδώσομαι*, is too familiar to be mutilated, apart from the fact that the sense of the verb in X 234 *θεοὺς ἐπιδώμεθα* is doubtful; Herwerden's *ἐπιμαίομαι* is not used in the connexion. The suggestion in *J. H. S.* xv, p. 291 that the original here was *μέγαν δ' ἐπὶ ὄρκον ὁμοῦμαι* may still hold: if *ὄρκον* was once displaced, and added at the end of the line, *δεσιμονομαι ὄρκον* might give a corruption out of which δ' ἐπιδέομαι ὄρκον might arise; such transpositions are frequent; see *J. H. S.* l.c.

384. The "great oath" which Hermes swears "by the door" must have some special propriety; according to Bau-



καὶ ποτ' ἐγὼ τούτῳ τίσω ποτὲ νηλέα φωρήν, 385  
καὶ κρατερῶ περ ἐόντι· σὺ δ' ὀπλοτέροισιν ἄρηγε.  
ὥς φάτ' ἐπιλλίζων Κυλλήνιος Ἀργεϊφόντης,  
καὶ τὸ σπάργανον εἶχεν ἐπ' ὠλένη οὐδ' ἀπέβαλλε.  
Ζεὺς δὲ μέγ' ἐξεγέλασεν ἰδὼν κακομηδέα παῖδα, 390  
εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως ἀρνεύμενον ἀμφὶ βόεσσιν.  
ἀμφοτέρους δ' ἐκέλευσεν ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντας  
ζητεύειν, Ἑρμῆν δὲ διάκτορον ἡγεμονεύειν,  
καὶ δεῖξαι τὸν χώρον ἐπ' ἀβλαβίησι νόοιο,  
ὅππῃ δὴ αὐτ' ἀπέκρυψε βοῶν ἱφθιμα κάρηνα.  
νεύσεν δὲ Κρονίδης, ἐπεπείθετο δ' ἀγλαὸς Ἑρμῆς· 395  
ῥῆϊδίως γὰρ ἔπειθε Διὸς νόος αἰγιόχοιο.

385. ποτὶ M: οὐ ποτ' Ilgen: που pro ποτ' Hermann: γ' ἔτι pro ποτε Matthiae ||  
φωρήν M: φωνήν cet.: φώρην Matthiae 386. κραταῖω p; cf. 265 394.  
τ' αὐτ' Ilgen: δ' αὐτ' ἔκρυψε Schneidewin

meister, Hermes swears as ἀγνείως or προπύλαιος. Whatever the ostensible significance, there is no doubt a cryptic allusion to Hermes *πυλῆδοκος* (see on 15).

385. καί, which has been suspected, is in character: 385 is an addition, after Hermes has taken his oath.

ποτ' . . . ποτέ: the repetition is not more offensive than that of ἀρα in 365, and can be justified by the emphasis of the threat "some day—I say—some day." It is possible, but unlikely, that ποτ' is for ποτὶ, and the elision another Aeolism, like περ' ἰγνύσι 152; καὶ ποτὶ would be for καὶ πρὸς in prose, ποτὶ δέ and ποτὶ δ' αὖ in Homer, ποτὶ καὶ in Hippocrates e.g. *περὶ ἀρθρῶν ἐμβολῆς* 97, 247, 286. Or, again, M's ποτὶ νηλέα may be right, = πρὸς adverbial, if the preceding ποτ' is for ποτε. In any case Hermann's που, though appropriate to a threat, and an easy change, is not required.

φωρήν: for the accent see Schneider on Nicand. *Alex.* 273. Cf. Hesych. *φωρᾶν τὸ τὰ κλεψυμαῖα ζητεῖν καὶ φωριᾶν· φῶραν δὲ τὴν ἔρευναν.* "Some day I will pay him out for his pitiless search." There may be here also a hidden meaning as Gemoll suggests: "I will pay him with a pitiless theft" (cf. the use of *φωρή* in 136).

387. ἐπιλλίζων: in σ 11 οὐκ αἶτις ὅτι δὴ μοι ἐπιλλίζουσιν ἅπαντες the verb = "make sidelong glances at a person" (cf. ἰλλός "squinting"), with a further idea of "hinting." So here also Hermes

probably "winks" or "leers" at Zeus to enlist his support. In *Apoll. Arg.* A 486, Γ 791, the action is an insult (Matthiae). Cf. *Anth. Pal.* v. 199. 3 *θῆλυ κατὶλλῶπτοντι Πιρήπῳ*, "leering at," and other compounds of ἰλλῶπτω.

391. ὁμόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντας: cf. X 263, *h. Dem.* 434, *Theogn.* 81, 765; a formulaic ending.

392. διάκτορον: Solmsen *I. F.* iii. 90 ff. connects this epithet with κτέρεα, κτερίζω, etc., in the sense of "giver," "dispenser." For other views see Oestergaard *Hermes*, 1902, p. 333, *Cook Class. Rev.* 1903, p. 177.

393. ἐπ' ἀβλαβίῃ νόοιο, "in all innocence of heart," without guile. The commentators quote *Cic. Tusc.* iii. 8. 16, where ἀβλάβεια is given as the nearest equivalent of *innocentia*; Ἀβλαβίαι are personified, inser. Dittenberger *Syll.* 600. 68. The adjective ἀβλαβής = "innocent" is more common in this sense. ἐπί may imply the purpose (*ut animum insontem habeat*, Franke, Ebeling), as in 524; but it seems rather to indicate present circumstances, "in," so that the expression = ἀβλαβῶς, *bona fide*.

394. δὴ αὐτ' (δ' αὐτ'); see Leaf on A 340, and for the crasis or elision *H. G.* § 350. αὐτε here emphasises the question: ποῦ δὴ αὐτ' ἀπέκρυψας "where have you hidden now?"

ἀπέκρυψε: for the quantity of the second syllable cf. ἐνέκρυψε ε 488; *H. G.* § 370, and n. on 348.



τὸ δ' ἄμφω σπεύδοντε Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα  
 ἐς Πύλον ἡμαθόεντα ἐπ' Ἀλφειοῦ πόρον ἴξον·  
 ἀγροὺς δ' ἐξίκοντο καὶ αὖλιον ὑψιμέλαθρον,  
 ἡχοῦ δὴ τὰ χρήματ' ἀτάλλετο νυκτὸς ἐν ὥρῃ.  
 400  
 ἔνθ' Ἑρμῆς μὲν ἔπειτα κιὼν παρὰ λαίονον ἄντρον  
 εἰς φῶς ἐξήλαυνε βοῶν ἴφθιμα κάρηνα·  
 Λητοῖδης δ' ἀπάτερθεν ἰδὼν ἐνόησε βοείας  
 πέτρῃ ἐπ' ἡλιβάτῳ, τάχα δ' ἤρετο κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν·  
 405  
 πῶς ἐδύνω, δολομήτα, δύω βόε δειροτομήσαι,  
 ὧδε νεογνὸς ἐὼν καὶ νήπιος; αὐτὸς ἐγὼ γε  
 θαυμαίνω κατόπισθε τὸ σὸν κράτος· οὐδὲ τί σε χρὴ  
 μακρὸν ἀέξεσθαι, Κυλλήνιε, Μαιάδος υἱέ.  
 ὥς ἄρ' ἔφη, καὶ χερσὶ περιστρεφε καρτερὰ δεσμά,

397. σπεύδοντε M<sup>p</sup>: σπεύδοντο *xAtDF* superscr. 398. δ' ἐπ' *xAtD*:  
 ἡμαθόεντ' ἰδ' ἐπ' Ruhnken || ἴξον libri: corr. ed. pr. 400. ἡχοῦ Fick: ἡχ'  
 οὐ L<sup>1</sup>BNPQR<sup>1</sup>V: ἡχ' οὐ At<sup>1</sup>D<sup>1</sup>: ἡχ' οὐ EAC<sup>1</sup>L<sup>2</sup>L<sup>3</sup>R<sup>2</sup>: οἱ pro οὐ Barnes: ὄππου  
 D<sup>1</sup> Ilgen: ἡχ' οὐ Matthiae: ἡχί ρα οἱ Hermann: ὦχ' οὐ Gemoll: ἡχι ἄδην  
 Ludwich: ὄππου οἱ Wolf || ἀπιβάλλετο E: ἀντιτάλλετο T: ἀπιτάλλετο cet.:  
 corr. ed. pr.: τ' ἄγρευμ' ἀπιτάλλετο Döderlein: ὄχου δὲ τὰ χρήματα τιτάλλετο M  
 401. παρὰ] ἐς M 402. ἔλαυνε *p* 403. ἀπάνευθεν M 404. πέτρῃ ἐπ']  
 γαῖν κατ' M || εἴρετο M 406. νεογνὸς ἐὼν] νεογνοῖων M || αὐτὰρ Hermann  
 407. δειμαίνω pro θαυμαίνω Steph.: θαυβαίνω Hermann 408. ἀέεσσαι M

400. ἡχοῦ: this form (= Attic *δπον*) is restored by Fick (*B. B.* xxii. p. 271), who compares ἡχοῖ in an inscription of Oropus (*Ἐφ. ἀρχ.* 1885 p. 93, *C. I. Gr. Sept.* i. 235, Dittenberger *Syll.* 589); see Smyth *Ionic* § 716, Hoffmann p. 16, Herwerden *Lex. Supp.* s.v. ἡχοῖ, Solmsen *inscr. graec. dial.* 1903, p. 95. The inser., according to Fick, is in the Eretrian dialect, but the form may be local, and its presence in the hymn may be added to the argument for Boeotian authorship (see also on 255).

The previous emendations either depart from the tradition or, as Matthiae, suppose a double relative (ἡχ' οὐ). Ludwich's ἡχι ἄδην and Gemoll's ὦχ' are better, but *ωκα* is distinctly weak.

χρήματ', "chattels," is remarkable for "beasts" in this context, but need not be suspected. If any emendation were required, *κτῆνε'* might be suggested (cf. xxx. 10); the word is sufficiently rare to admit a gloss *χρήματα*. So Hesychius *κτῆνεα*: *χρήματα*, *βοσκήματα*.

401. κιὼν παρὰ: Hermes "went to" the cave, and drove out the cattle. The

expression is loose, whether we read *παρὰ* or *ἐς*, as Hermes obviously *entered* the cave. Franke's explanation that he stood at the mouth of the cave (*solent enim boves apertis stabuli valvis, nisi vinculis retinentur, ultro exire*) seems over-subtle.

403. ἀπάτερθεν, "apart," i.e. the hides were outside the cave. For the confusion of this word with *ἀπάνευθεν* (M) cf. E 545.

405. ἐδύνω: not elsewhere in epic.

406. αὐτός is as sound here as in 234, where see note.

407. θαυμαίνω: this seems original, for even with Stephanus' alteration *δειμαίνω*, *κατόπισθε* must mean "for the future." The verb occurs in *θ* 108, *h. Aphr.* 84.

409f. Here, as Baumeister saw, a lacuna is imperatively required, for *ταί* cannot possibly have an antecedent *δεσμά* *ἄγνω*. A line must have fallen out containing a plural feminine substantive, and referring to some plant (cf. 410, 411), with which Apollo prepares to bind Hermes, either as a punishment for



ἄγνου· ταὶ δ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶ κατὰ χθοινὸς αἶψα φύοντο 410  
 αὐτόθεν, ἐμβολάδην ἐστραμμέναι ἀλλήλησι,  
 ρεῖά τε καὶ πάσῃσιν ἐπ' ἀγραύλοισι βόεσσιν,  
 Ἑρμέω βουλῇσι κλεψίφρονος· αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων  
 θαύμασεν ἀθρήσας. τότε δὴ κρατὺς Ἀργεϊφόντης  
 χῶρον ὑποβλήδην ἐσκέψατο, πῦρ ἀμαρύσων, 415  
 ἐγκρύψαι μεμαῶς· Λητοῦς δ' ἐρικυδέος υἱὸν

410. ἄγνου M ed. pr.: ἄγνου AtDE: ἄγνου L: ἄγνουται Pr (ἀγ ταὶ B): ἄγνων Franke || λύοντο pro φύοντο Martin: κέχυντο Stadtmüller: lacunam ante h. v. stat. Baumeister 411. ἀμβολάδην M, punctis versui subiectis 412. ἀγραύλοισι p: ἀγραύλοισι cet. || οἷά τε Martin || v. post 415 transponit Martin || ρεῖ' ἄγνοι πάσῃσιν ci. Hermann 413. ἐρμείω M 414. ὁ θεῖ pro τότε Schneidewin 415. πύκν' pro πῦρ Martin || lacunam statuit Baumeister

the theft, or in order to prevent further mischief. (The view that Apollo intended to bind the cows is most improbable.) The missing substantive may have been *λύγοι*, which denote the pliant twigs of the *ἄγνος*, *agnus castus* (Dioscor. i. 136); cf. A 105, ι 417, κ 166, h. *Dion.* vii. 13. The apparent sense may be expressed by a line such as ἐνδῆσαι μεμαῶς Ἑρμῆν κρατεραῖσι λύγοισι. It seems necessary, however, to suppose a further loss; for the lacuna should contain a fuller description of Apollo's attempt to bind Hermes, and of the way in which Hermes extricated himself from the withies. A miracle then took place, Ἑρμέω βουλῇσι: the withies, as soon as they touched ground (*αἶψα*), rooted on the spot, and multiplied into a thick interlacing grove (*ἐμβολάδην*), which covered the cows (or, perhaps, as D'Orville thought *J. P.* xxv. 255, entangled their feet).

411. ἐμβολάδην: with ἀλλήλησι, "turned to fit into one another," as if grafted on one another. For the idea of grafting cf. L. and S., ἐμβάλλω, ἐμβολάς, ἐμβολος. The adverb does not elsewhere occur, but is doubtless original, as ἀμβολάδην (426) gives no good sense here, and would leave ἀλλήλησι without construction.

412. ρεῖά τε καὶ πάσῃσιν: for τε καὶ coupling an adverb with an adjective Gemoll quotes Hes. *Theog.* 86 ὁ δ' ἀσφαλέως ἀγορεύων | αἶψά τε καὶ μέγα νείκος ἐπισταμένως κατέπαυσε.

413. Gemoll places a lacuna after this line; but this is unnecessary, as the sense seems complete from 410 to 415.

414. θαύμασεν: in Homer the imperfect takes the place of this aorist.

415. Here again Baumeister's lacuna is justified, for (1) Hermes' action in 415 has no assignable motive; (2) ἐγκρύψαι requires an object; (3) some mention of Hermes' lyre is wanted, to explain ἐπρήνεν in 417, and to provide an object to λαβὼν in 418. What Hermes wished to hide can hardly be discovered; it cannot have been the cows or the skins, which Apollo had seen, nor the cooked meat, which was unimportant when the slaughter of two cows had been admitted. He may have tried to conceal himself, or (as Gemoll thinks) his lyre. It might be suggested that Hermes enchanted the *δεσμά* with his lyre, like Orpheus, and then looked for a place to hide it in; a lacuna to contain a mention of the lyre will still be required after 415.

ὑποβλήδην: apparently "askance"; in A 292 it seems to mean "interrupting."

πῦρ ἀμαρύσων: cf. Hes. *Theog.* 827 ὑπ' ὀφρύσι πῦρ ἀμάρυσσε, Quintus viii. 28. πύκν' (on the analogy of 278) is therefore needless.

416. The schol. on Dion. Thrax (Bekker *Anecd.* i. p. 752), quoted by Gemoll, fancifully connects *λύρα* with *λύτρα*, adding ἡνίκα δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου βοῦς κλέψαι ἡβουλήθη, καὶ διὰ τὸ μαντικὸν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐ δεδυνήτο, ἀνελήφθη· εἰδὼς δὲ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ μουσικὸν δέδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ τὴν λύραν λύτρων. So Boisson. *Anecd.* iv. p. 459 (there derived from *λύτρων*), from Eur. *Antiope* (Dind. *fr.* 190) λύρα βοῶν ῥύσα ἐξεργύσατο (*λύρα* and *ρύσι* Boisson.).



ῥεῖα μάλ' ἐπρήνυνεν ἐκηβόλον, ὥς ἔθελ' αὐτός,  
 καὶ κρατερόν περ ἐόντα· λαβὼν δ' ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς  
 πλήκτρῳ ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέρος· ἢ δ' ὑπὸ χειρὸς  
 σμερδαλέον κονάβησε, γέλασσε δὲ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων 420  
 γηθήσας, ἐρατὴ δὲ διὰ φρένας ἦλυθ' ἰὼν  
 θεσπεσίης ἐνοπῆς, καὶ μιν γλυκὺς ἕμερος ἦρει  
 θυμῷ ἀκούάζοντα· λύρῃ δ' ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζων  
 στῇ ῥ' ὃ γε θαρσέσας ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ Μαιάδος υἱὸς  
 Φοῖβον Ἀπόλλωνος, τάχα δὲ λιγέως κιθαρίζων 425  
 γηγρύετ' ἀμβολάδην, ἐρατὴ δέ οἱ ἔσπετο φωνή,  
 κραίνων ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς καὶ γαῖαν ἐρεμνῆν,

417. ἔσπετ' M 418. χειρός] λύρην M: idem pro λαβὼν coni. Steph.: καὶ  
 κρατερόν· κίεαριν δὲ λαβὼν Ilgen || ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ] ἄευρμα Schneidewin || lacunam  
 post h. v. Hermann 419. μέλος libri: μέρος coni. Martin 420. κονάβησε p  
 422. h. v. solus habet M 423. λύρῃ] λίνῳ Ilgen 425. δὲ λιγέως ELII ||  
 κίεαρίζων] ὑπαείδων Ilgen 427. κραίνων] αἰνῶν seu ὕμνων Steph.: αἰνέοντι  
 seu ὕμνέοντι Martin: κλείων Hermann || ἀθανάτους δ' ἐγέραιρε εἰσὺς Matthiae

418. λαβὼν is no doubt sound; and as the lyre must have been mentioned after 415, no further expression of the object is here necessary (Baumeister and Ludwig, after Hermann, supply a line).

ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρός=499; for the sense cf. ἐπωλένιον 433. The shell rests "on the arm," "to the left of the hand" which holds it.

419, 420=53, 54, and, with variations, 501, 502. Line 420 resembles ρ 542 σμερδαλέον κονάβησε· γέλασσε δὲ Πηνελόπεια.

422. Gemoll should not have objected to this line; its omission by the mss. (except M) is accidental. The collocation ἰὼν ἐνοπῆς is not elsewhere found, but presents no difficulty, "sound of divine music." For ἕμερος, passion roused by music, cf. ψ 144, and ἱμερόεις 452; so ἔρος 434.

424. ἐπ' ἀριστερά: the repetition of this phrase in a different connexion from that of 418 is an example of the writer's carelessness; Baumeister points to the repetition of κιθαρίζων 423, 425, 433, ἐγέραιρε 429, 430. Add the recurrence of ἐρατός 421, 423, 426. Cf. on 352 f.

426. ἀμβολάδην: Baumeister translates *intenta voce*, "lifting up his voice"; cf. X 476 ἀμβλῆδην γόωσα, and ἀμβολάδην Φ 364, of a seething cauldron. Others render "in a prelude," comparing ἀναβάλλεσθαι in α 155, etc. (a sense derived from the primary meaning "strike-up").

The Homeric use of the adverb favours Baumeister's translation, but it is possible that the hymn-writer used the word in the other sense; Pindar *Nem.* x. 33 has ἀμβολάδαν apparently "in prelude" (see Bury *ad loc.*).

427. κραίνων: the nominative is sound, as ἐρατὴ δέ οἱ κτλ. is parenthetic, but κραίνειν in this connexion is remarkable. Hesychius explains κραίνειν by τιμᾶν, following which Maurophrydes in *K. Z.* vii. 346 gives the sense of "honour in song" definitely to the word here, as in 531 (ἐπικραίνονσα) and 559. This may be doubted, but the writer appears to use the word in an unusual sense both here and in 559, probably for αείδων. The use of the word in Empedocles 462, 3 (Mullach) might suit this sense: φάρμακα δ' ὅσσα γεγάσι κακῶν καὶ γήραος ἄλκαρ | πεύση, ἐπεὶ μούνη σοι ἐγὼ κρανέω τάδε πάντα; and there is a possible ambiguity in Eur. *Ion* 464 (compared with 559 of this hymn). See the discussion in Ebeling s.v. The explanation in L. and S. "finish the tale of" is not suited to the context.

γαῖαν ἐρεμνῆν: Hermes may have begun his song with a cosmogony (cf. Hes. *Theog.* 1-21, Apoll. *Arg.* A 496 f., Verg. *Ecl.* vi. 31 f.), but the simple mention of γαῖα, without οὐρανός and θάλασσα, hardly implies this. Gemoll prefers to see a reference to the honour



ὥς τὰ πρῶτα γέγοντο καὶ ὥς λάχε μοῖραν ἕκαστος.

Μνημοσύνην μὲν πρῶτα θεῶν ἐγέραιρεν αἰοιδῇ,  
μητέρα Μουσάων, ἥ γὰρ λάχε Μαιάδος υἱόν·

430

τοὺς δὲ κατὰ πρέσβιν τε καὶ ὥς γεγάασιν ἕκαστος

ἀθανάτους ἐγέραιρε θεοὺς Διὸς ἀγλαὸς υἱός,

πάντ' ἐνέπων κατὰ κόσμον, ἐπωλένιον κιθαρίζων.

τὸν δ' ἔρος ἐν στήθεσσι ἀμήχανος αἴνυτο θυμόν,

καὶ μιν φωνήσας ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

435

Βουφόνε, μηχανιώτα, πονεύμενε, δαιτὸς ἐταῖρε,

πεντήκοντα βοῶν ἀντάξια ταῦτα μέμηλας.

429. αἰοιδὸν M 430. λάχε] ἴαε Hermann 431. πρέσβην libri: corr.  
Matthiae || ἕκαστος] ἅπαντες M 433. ἐπωλένιον Barnes cl. 510 436.  
μηχανέων ἀπονήμενε Waardenburg: πολέμενε νυκτὸς ἐταῖρε Schneidewin:  
ἐταῖρην Matthiae: ἐταῖρῃ Ludwich 437. μέμηλε Eberhard: μεμηλώς Lud-  
wich: μέλη cā Lohsee: ἀνέφρηνας Stadtmüller

paid to the gods on earth. For the language cf. *ἐρεμνὴν γαίαν* ω 106, where the epithet is more in place, of the underworld.

429 f. ΜΝΗΜΟΣΥΝΗ: cf. Hes. *Theog.* 52 f.

430. λάχε, "was assigned to Hermes" as patron-deity. For the form of expression cf. Ψ 79 (of the fate assigned to a man at birth), Pind. *Ol.* viii. 15, Ar. *Eccl.* 999, Theocr. iv. 40, Apoll. *Arg.* B 258, Callim. h. *Ap.* 45. So in prose, Plato *Phaed.* 107 D, *Rep.* 617 E, Lysias ii. 78.

431. κατὰ πρέσβιν: so Plato *Leg.* 855 D κατὰ πρέσβιν ἱέσθω (Matthiae). On the word see Johansson *K. Z.* xxx. 404 n. 2.

436. ΒΟΥΦΟΝΕ: first in this place, although the verb *βουφόνεον* occurs H 466. The compound no doubt originally expressed the sanctity of oxen in early times (*φόνος*=murder); cf. the *βουφόνια* at Athens, in which the priest was called *ὁ βουφόνος* (see Frazer on Paus. i. 24. 4). But in the Homeric passage the idea of "murder" seems to have disappeared from the verb (see Leaf *ad loc.*), and here also the substantive ("ox-killer") has probably lost its early significance, which at Athens might be preserved until the latest times by the familiar local ritual. Even at Athens, however, the adjective *βουφόνος* could be used with no invidious meaning; Aesch. *P. V.* 531 *θολναῖς βουφόνους*, quoted by Leaf. See *supra* 132.

μηχανιώτα: (only here) formed like

*ἀγγελιώτην* 296, *σπαργανιώτα* 301, *εἰραφιώτα* h. *Dion.* i. 2, 17, 20, *χαριδῶτα* xviii. 12, and others.

ΠΟΝΕΥΜΕΝΕ: generally thought corrupt, but perhaps with insufficient reason. The part. may be taken in a quasi-substantival sense, "busy one," a use which seems justified in hymnal style, among attributes. Cf. *Orph.* h. 14. 8 *ὀβριμόθυμε*, | *ψευδομένη*, *σώτειρα* κτλ., *ib.* 51. 7 *φαινόμεναι*, *ἀφανείς*=55. 10. If these analogies are insufficient, it would be possible to join the part. closely with *μηχανιώτα*, adjectivally: "busy trickster." The sense is quite suitable. Schneidewin's *πολεύμενε* is graphically possible (ν and λ are interchanged II 726, h. *Aphr.* 20 etc.), and might be accepted, if combined with *μηχανιώτα*, "ranging trickster"; but the same commentator's *νυκτὸς* should not expel *δαιτὸς*; Hermes is "comrade of the banquet," as the inventor of the lyre, which is *δαιτὸς ἐταῖρῃ* 31.

The objection to Waardenburg's conjecture *μηχανέων ἀπονήμενε* (made independently by Tyrrell) is that it does not account for the existence of the rare but correctly-formed *μηχανιώτα*.

437. ΠΕΝΤΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΒΟΩΝ κτλ.: Apollo indirectly proposes an exchange of prerogatives; see on 464.

ΜΕΜΗΛΑΣ: the construction of *μέλω* with an accusative (even cognate) is unique, but none of the corrections suggested can be entertained. The passive participle is found (*μεληθέν* *Anth. Pal.* v. 200. 3, where however *μελισθέν*



ἡσυχίως καὶ ἔπειτα διακρινέεσθαι ὅτω.  
 νῦν δ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπέ, πολύτροπε Μαιάδος υἱέ,  
 ἦ σοί γ' ἐκ γενετῆς τάδ' ἅμ' ἔσπετο θαυματὰ ἔργα 440  
 ἥε τις ἀθανάτων ἥε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 δῶρον ἀγαθὸν ἔδωκε καὶ ἔφρασε θέσπιν ἀοιδήν;  
 θαυμασίην γὰρ τήνδε νεήφατον ὄσσαν ἀκούω,  
 ἦν οὐ πώ ποτέ φημι δαήμεναι οὔτε τιν' ἀνδρῶν,  
 οὔτε τιν' ἀθανάτων οἳ Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσι, 445  
 νόσφι σέθεν, φηλήτα, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱέ.  
 τίς τέχνη, τίς μούσα ἀμχανέων μελεδόνων,  
 τίς τρίβος; ἀτρεκέως γὰρ ἅμα τρία πάντα πάρεστιν,  
 εὐφροσύνην καὶ ἔρωτα καὶ ἥδυμον ὕπνον ἐλέσθαι.  
 καὶ γὰρ ἐγὼ Μούσῃσιν Ὀλυμπιάδεσσιν ὀπηδός, 450  
 τῇσι χοροί τε μέλουσι καὶ ἀγλαὸς οἶμος ἀοιδῆς,

438. διακρίνεσθαι MD || κεν pro καὶ Hermann 440. σοί] cū p || γενετῆς M : γενεῆς cet. 444. πώποτε φημι M 446. φηλήτα p At : φηλήτα cet. : corr. Barnes : puncta praefixit M 447. μούσα δ', ἀμχάνε, σὼν μελεδόνων Schneidewin : ἀμχάνε, ἦν μελίγηρυς Gemoll : ἀμχανέω μεγαλύνων Herwerden : νέον μᾶχαρ seu κάμ' ἔχμα νέον Fick : κακῶν μᾶχος μελεδόνων M Daniel 449. μήμιον p cf. 241 451. χορὸς omisso τε M || ὕμνος My (marg. γρ. καὶ ELII) : οἶμος cet.

or μελίθρουν are suggested), and the active with an object accusative may be an extension of the passive.

440. ἐκ γενετῆς: so M rightly; Hermann compares Ω 535, σ 6. Add (for prose) Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* vi. 13. 1.

443. νεήφατος: only here; cf. παλαιάφατος.

447. μούσα ἀμχανέων μελεδόνων: the hiatus may stand in the trochaic caesura of the third foot; Eberhard *Met. Beob.* ii. p. 10, *H. G.* § 382. For μούσα=song, cf. *h. Pan* 15, and in tragedy. The genitive is objective, as Franke explains, "a song for (against) cares." Cf. Eur. *Tro.* 609 μούσά θ' ἡ λύπας ἔχει. ἀμχανέων may come from ἀμχανής, which is elsewhere unknown, but is more probably feminine from ἀμχάνος, a poetical exception to the general rule of two terminations in adjectives of this class. The exceptions are numerous in Homer, who uses a feminine termination for the following adjectives compounded with a privative: ἄβροτος, ἀκέλιος, ἀθάνατος, ἀνιπτος (so Zenodotus on Z 266), ἀπερίεσιος, ἀσβεστος. Hesiod has ἀκαμάτη; for the hymns cf.

*h. Aphr.* 133. For μελεδόνων cf. *h. Ap.* 532, and for the sentiment Hes. *Theog.* 55, *Cypria* fr. 10. The conjectures are violent.

448. τρίβος: not in Homer, nor elsewhere found in connexion with music; "path of song," like οἶμος ἀοιδῆς 451. τριβή, however, "knack" is common, and perhaps that is the sense here. Cf. of the body Hippocr. *Mochl.* 41 τὸ ἔθος τρίβον ποιεῖ.

449. ἔρωτα: the first indication of a nominative ἔρως=the Homeric ἔπος.

450. According to the present hymn, Apollo and the Muses had known only the flute (452) until Hermes invented the lyre; in *h. Ap.* 131 Apollo claims the lyre as his own in his childhood. According to a third version, Apollo and Hermes fought for the lyre; e.g. in a group at Helicon, Paus. ix. 30. 1 (see *B. C. H.* xv. p. 399). For other representations of this version cf. *Monumenti* 1830, pl. ix. 2.

451. οἶμος ἀοιδῆς: it is doubtful whether ὕμνος ἀοιδῆς (=θ 429), should not be preferred; Ludwich (*Homerica* i. p. 6 n.) thinks that οἶμος is a phonetic



καὶ μολπὴ τεθαλυῖα καὶ ἡμερόεις βρόμος αὐλῶν.  
 ἀλλ' οὐ πῶ τί μοι ὤδε μετὰ φρεσὶν ἄλλο μέλησεν,  
 οἷα νέων θαλῆης ἐνδέξια ἔργα πέλονται.  
 θαυμάζω, Διὸς νιέ, τὰδ' ὥς ἐρατὸν κιθαρίζεις.  
 νῦν δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν ὀλίγος περ ἐὼν κλυτὰ μέδεα οἶδας,  
 ἴξε, πέπον, καὶ θυμὸν ἐπαίνει† πρεσβυτέροισι.  
 νῦν γάρ τοι κλέος ἔσται ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,  
 σοὶ τ' αὐτῷ καὶ μητρὶ· τὸ δ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω.

455

453. ἄλλο M: ὤδε cet. || μέλησιν MH 454. θαλίης M || v. ante 452 ponit  
 Groddeck || νέων] σεῶν Gemoll 456. οἶδας] οἶσα M 457, 458 solus  
 habet M 457. puncta praefigit M || μῦθον ἐπαίνει Ruhnken: εὐμῶ Gemoll:  
 εἶκε πέπον καὶ εὐμῶν ἴαινε Schneidewin: εὐμῶν ἐπιαίνειν Allen 459.  
 ἀγορεύω Ruhnken

corruption of ὅμνος. For the metaphor of ὅμνος cf. 447 τρίβος, Pind. *Ol.* i. 110 ὀδὸν λόγων, *Ol.* ix. 51 ἐπέων ὅμον λιγύν, Callim. *h. Zeus* 78 λύρης εὐ εἰδότας ὅμους. The word is not found in Homer, who uses ὅμη "lay."

454. οἶα: for ἐκείνων ἄ. ἐνδέξια ἔργα: in apposition to οἶα.

νέων: wrongly altered by Gemoll and Herwerden to θεῶν; for the text cf. 55 ἦντε κούροι | ἡβηται θαλίησι παραιβόλα κερτομέουσιν, Apoll. *Arg.* A 458 οἶα τε πολλὰ νέοι παρὰ δαίτι καὶ ὄνῳ | τερπνῶς ἐψύωνται (see on 56), Chaerem. *fr.* 327 θαλῆαι τε νέων. ἐνδέξια, "clever," only here in this sense. Homer uses only a neuter plural ἐνδέξια, always adverbially (in I 236 the word qualifies ἀστράπτει). The hymn-writer probably did not coin the adjective ἐνδέξιος (which occurs Eur. *Hipp.* 1360, *Cycl.* 6 for "on the right"), but he may have assigned to it the meaning "clever" on the analogy of ἐπιδέξιος. See on these words Darbishire *Reliq. Phil.* p. 67 f.

456. οἶδας: here M has substituted the usual form; in 467 there is no variant. The Ionic οἶδας only once occurs in Homer, a 337 (Smyth *Ionic* § 702).

457-458. The two lines are preserved by M alone, but this is no sign of interpolation; the omission by other MSS. is probably due to the homoearchon in 456, 458.

457. The verse is corrupt, and the uncertainty of the sense required makes emendation more difficult. ἴξε seems genuine, but θυμὸν ἐπαίνει cannot stand,

and one or other of the two words must be emended. (1) In *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 265 θυμὸν ἐπιαίνε was suggested: "sit (as a minstrel) and cheer the heart of your elders" (on Olympus). The synzesis -iai- might stand (cf. *Ἰστιάων* B 537, *Αἰγυπτίας* I 382, δ 83, *Ἰστιαίης* in a Delian inser. *B. C. H.* vi. 33 § 41, ὕγιαίνειν Athen. 694 F = Lucian *pro lops. in sall.* 6). But the last vowel would not be lengthened by position in the fourth foot; and ἐπιαίνειν (cf. 480) might therefore be suggested; the transition from imper. to infin. is abrupt, but may be justified by A 20 and Γ 459 ἐκδοτε καὶ τιμὴν ἀποτινέμεν. Otherwise the sense is good: for ἴξεν "sit at the board" cf. Theogn. ap. Plat. *Meno* 95 ν καὶ παρὰ τοῖσιν πίνε καὶ ἐσθιε καὶ μετὰ τοῖσιν | ἴξε καὶ ἀνδανε τοῖς ὦν μεγάλη δύναμις. The compound ἐπιαίνειν is not elsewhere found, but the simple verb is common in this connexion; e.g. δ 548, *h. Dem.* 435, Theocr. vii. 29 θυμὸν ταῖνε (of music), Bacchyl. xiii. 187, xvii. 131.

(2) Ruhnken retained ἐπαίνει, with μῦθον for θυμὸν (a neat metathesis; cf. 256), i.e. "sit (? as a pupil, or in submission; cf. in a game ὄνος κάθου· ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν πράγματι ἡττωμένων schol. Plat. *Theaet.* 146 A) and respect the words of your elders." Apollo, speaking with the gravity of an oracle, bids Hermes listen humbly. For the general πρεσβυτέροισι of a particular person cf. 386. But the conjecture is doubtful, as ἐπαίνειν τί τινα is unknown, although it may be defended by B 335, Σ 312 taken together.



ναὶ μὰ τόδε κρανείνον ἀκόντιον, ἧ μὲν ἐγὼ σε 460  
 κυδρὸν ἐν ἀθανάτοισι καὶ ὄλβιον ἤγεμονεύσω,  
 δώσω τ' ἀγλαὰ δῶρα καὶ ἐς τέλος οὐκ ἀπατήσω.  
 τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆς μύθοισιν ἀμείβετο κερδαλέοισιν·  
 εἰρωτᾷς μ', Ἐκάεργε περιφραδές· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σοι 465  
 τέχνης ἡμετέρης ἐπιβήμεναι οὐ τι μεγαίρω.  
 σήμερον εἰδήσεις· ἐθέλω δέ τοι ἥπιος εἶναι  
 βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισι, σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ πάντ' εὖ οἶδας.  
 πρῶτος γάρ, Διὸς υἱέ, μετ' ἀθανάτοισι θαύσσεις,  
 ἧς τε κρατερός τε· φιλεῖ δέ σε μητίετα Ζεὺς  
 ἐκ πάσης ὀσίης, ἔπορεν δέ τοι ἀγλαὰ δῶρα· 470  
 καὶ τιμᾶς σέ γέ φασι δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς  
 μαντείας θ', Ἐκάεργε, Διὸς πάρα, θέσφατα πάντα·

460. κρανάϊον seu κραναῖον codd. : κρανάϊνον AΓ : κρανίον B : κρανεαῖον seu κρανείον Fick : καρνεῖον Martin, D'Orville : κραιαῖνον Ludwich : κρανείνον Ilgen 461. αἰὲν ὀνήσω Hermann : ἔσοχα εἴσω Schmitt : versum excidisse putat Schneidewin || ἡγεμόν' εἴσω Tyrrell : ἔμμεν εἴσω Stadtmüller : ἡγεμονεύσω et οὐκ ἀπατήσω (462) transponit Ludwich 468. θαάσσεις M 469. μητίετα M 471. δέ φασι M : γε φασι cet. || τιμᾶς] ὀμφᾶς Martin : φήμας Pierson : post τιμᾶς interpungunt Martin et Mitscherlich 472. μαντείας θ' MAQ : θ' V : τ' cet. : τ' om. Matthiae || Ἐκάεργε· Διὸς θ' ἄρα Matthiae : Διὸς γὰρ Kämmer

460. So Achilles swears by a sceptre, A 234. **κρανείνον** : this form appears to be correct ; so Schulze *Q. E.* p. 253. Fick requires a form *κρανεαῖον* or *κρανείων*. Cornel-wood was commonly used for bows and spears ; see L. and S. s.v. *κράνεια*, *κρανείνος*. Apollo bears the spear (besides the bow) as a warrior, rather than as a herdsman, although Gemoll compares ξ 531 for the latter view ; add *Anth. Pal.* vi. 177. 3 (Theocr. *Ep.* x.).

461. **ἡγεμονεύσω** : almost certainly corrupt ; it is just possible that the writer used the verb as equivalent to *ἡγεῖσθαι*, in the post-Homeric sense of "deem," *ducere*. There is indeed no parallel, but there are analogies (e.g. the probable misuse of *ἐνδέξια* 454), and the sense is fairly satisfactory. The conjectures are impossible, except Tyrrell's *ἡγέμων' εἴσω*, but no future *εἴσω* is known, although *εἰσομαι* (intrans.) exists.

464. **περιφραδές**, "cunningly" ; Apollo had only hinted his wish to obtain the lyre. Hermes, with equal cunning (*μύθοισιν κερδαλέοισιν*) insinuates

a veiled request for the cattle while praising the lyre (Baumeister).

468. **θαάσσεις** ; no doubt correct, although *θαάσσεις* (M) is not a mere clerical error ; the grammarians considered *θαάξω* to be equivalent to *θαάσσειν* (Hesych. *θαάξει· κάθηται*, and schol. Aesch. *Suppl.* 595, Soph. *O. T.* 2, Apoll. *Arg.* B 1026). In 172 *θαασσέμεν*, and in Homer, there is no variant. Cf. Schulze *Q. E.* p. 434 f., who gives *θῶφακος* as the original form of *θῶκος* (Hesych. *θάβακος*).

471 f. The older critics complicated this sentence by punctuating after *τιμᾶς* and *Ἐκάεργε*. This involved the change *γε* to *δέ*, and the omission of *θ'*. But the whole sentence runs on after *φασι* ; *τιμᾶς* = the ritual due to the gods, to explain which was one of the functions of the Delphic oracle. *Διὸς πάρα* repeats *ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς* emphatically, and *θέσφατα πάντα* recapitulates the whole, in apposition as *θαύματα ἔργα* 80, 440, vii. 34, *ἐνδέξια ἔργα* 454. This is simpler than to make *Διὸς . . . πάντα* a gnome, whether *πάρα* or *γάρ* be read.



τῶν νῦν αὐτὸς ἔγωγε †παῖδ' ἀφνειὸν δεδάηκα.  
 σοὶ δ' αὐτάγρετόν ἐστι δαήμεναι ὅττι μεινιναῖς.  
 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τοι θυμὸς ἐπιθύει κιθαρίζειν,  
 μέλπεο καὶ κιθάριζε καὶ ἀγλαΐας ἀλέγνυε  
 δέγμενος ἐξ ἐμέθεν· σὺ δέ μοι, φίλε, κῦδος ὄπαζε.  
 εὐμόλπει μετὰ χερσὶν ἔχων λιγύφωνον ἑταίρην,  
 καλὰ καὶ εὖ κατὰ κόσμον ἐπιστάμενος ἀγορεύειν.

475

473. τῶν γ (sc. E in text.: LII in marg. γρ.): καὶ cet. || ἔγωγε παῖδ' ἀφνειὸν codd.: παῖς δ' ἀφνειὸν seu ὀζύνοον Martin: αἰφνείος Ilgen: ἐγὼ σε πανομφαῖον Hermann: c' αὐτὸς ἐγὼ παῖδ' ἀφνειὸν Barnes (seu πρᾶπιδ' ἀφνειὸν): πεδ' ἀφ-  
 νειῶν Tyrrell 474. αὐτ' ἄγρετόν codd.: corr. ed. pr. 477. puncta versui  
 praefigit M 478. γλυκύφωνον E: συμμόλπον Ilgen, qui 477 post 479 ponit:  
 εὐμόλπει δ' Franke: εὐμολπον Schneidewin: εὐκῆλος hic, in v. 480 εὐμόλπει  
 (cum φέρων) legit Ludwich || ἑταῖρον γ 479. ἐπισταμένως codd.: corr. Barnes

473. The line as it stands is unmetrical. παῖδ' must be corrupt. Neglecting this, we may translate "of which I myself have knowledge"; Hermes claims a share in some of Apollo's accomplishments, i.e. in music. Such a claim suits his bargaining character. For the gen. τῶν cf. Φ 487 εἰ δ' ἐθέλεις πολέμοιο δαήμεναι; the other l. καὶ is also possible. For παῖδ' ἀφνειὸν we may read πεδάφνειον, Aeolic for μετά(ι)φνειον, "quickly"; Hermes is proud of his rapid progress since his birth. The word is preserved by Hesych. μεταίφν(ε)ιος· ἐξαπίνης. Cf. Hesiod *Op.* 455 ἀνὴρ φρένας ἀφνειός "hasty," see *C. R.* xi. p. 397. It is true that Aeolic πεδ- = μετ- nowhere occurs in Hesiod, but the working of dialectal influence on literature is essentially sporadic (cf. p. lxiii); words beginning with πεδ- are frequent in Aeschylus, who also elides περί (see on 152). For inscriptions cf. Meister pp. 117, 284. Otherwise ἐγὼ σε for ἔγωγε is easy, and is usually accepted. With this alteration, Tyrrell's πεδ' ἀφνειῶν is ingenious (so παιδόθεν for πεδόθεν in many MSS. v 295, παιδίον for πεδίον in MSS. of Hesych. s.v. 'Ερμῖον), though the construction is complicated. Hermann's πανομφαῖον, which has since been received, stands in no relation to παῖδ' ἀφνειόν. In *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 266, παῖ for παῖδ' was suggested, δ' being presumably added to avoid the hiatus. But although Hermes calls Apollo Διὸς κόρυς in 490, a curt vocative παῖ seems quite inappropriate to Apollo in the mouth of a child. With regard to the rest of the line, τῶν . . . ἀφνειόν,

"wealthy in which," seems (with the reading ἐγὼ σε) quite sound, but it is possible that the writer used the post-Homeric form ἀφνειόν (first in Theognis, Pindar and Bacchyl.; the α is common in quantity). This would suggest that παῖδ' is a gloss on the rare accusative πᾶν (Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 697), the last syllable being lengthened by ictus: "wherein I myself know that thou wert rich, even as a boy." Hermes naturally compares his own childhood with that of Apollo. For another probable gloss in this hymn cf. on 90.

474. αὐτάγρετον: the editors compare π 148, where αὐτάγρετα means "taken of themselves," "to be had for the taking" (Merry); so here "thou canst lay thy hand on any knowledge."

475. ἐπιθύει: with infinitive, as in Σ 175, where see Leaf; Schulze *Q. E.* p. 340.

477. δέγμενος: see on *h. Dem.* 29. κῦδος ὄπαζε: as promised by Apollo 461.

478, 479. As these lines stand in the MSS. (with ἐπισταμένως) there is no copula. Of Barnes' two suggestions, ἐπισταμένην is bad, and should not have been so generally accepted; ἐπιστάμενος, on the other hand, can be explained as due to a scribe who thought of correcting the metre. For the lengthening of the short syllable in Homer see *H. G.* § 375. In late epic there are examples in the fifth foot (as here) in Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 725 ἡέλιον ἀνίοντα, 1361 εὐρείαν εἰσίδέσθαι.

Ludwich's transposition of εὐμόλπει and εὐκῆλος (480, where he reads φέρων) is ingenious, but unmotivated.



εὐκηλος μὲν ἔπειτα φέρειν εἰς δαῖτα θάλειαν 480  
καὶ χορὸν ἱμερόεντα καὶ ἐς φιλοκυδέα κῶμον,  
εὐφροσύνην νυκτός τε καὶ ἡματος. ὅς τις ἂν αὐτὴν  
τέχνη καὶ σοφίῃ δεδαημένος ἐξερεείνη,  
φθεγγόμενη παντοῖα νόφ' χαρίεντα διδάσκει,  
ῥεῖα συνηθείσιν ἀθυρομένη μαλακῆσιν, 485  
ἐργασίην φεύγουσα δυνήπαθον· ὅς δέ κεν αὐτὴν  
νῆϊς ἔων τὸ πρῶτον ἐπιζαφελῶς ἐρεείνη,  
μὰ ψ' αὐτὼς κεν ἔπειτα μετήορά τε θρυλίζοι.  
σοὶ δ' αὐτάγρετόν ἐστι δαήμεναι ὅττι μενοινᾷς.

480. μιν Ilgen 481. φιλομεῖδᾶ p: φιλοηθεῖα Schneidewin || χῶρον pro  
κῶμον p 482. ὅστις ἄν καὶ M: ὅστις ἄρ' ed. pr.: ὅς γὰρ ἄν Schneidewin  
483. ἐξερεείνη ci. Matthiae 484. νόα p 485. συνηθείσιν] συνηχείσιν Fick:  
cυνεψείσιν ἀθυρομένη Ruhnken: cυνεψείς cυνασυρομένη Ilgen 486. φεύ-  
γουσα M (Martin): φεάττουσα cet.: θέλγουσα Schneidewin 487. ἰὼν M ||  
ἐρεείνη M (Barnes): ἐρέεινε cet. 488. θρυαλίζοι codd.: θρυλλίζοι Ruhnken:  
ερυλίζοι Schneidewin 489. αὐτ' ἄγρετόν libri: corr. ed. Aldina

480. φέρειν: infinitive for imperative; Baumeister compares Hes. *Op.* 671 ἐβ-  
κηλος τότε νῆα θοὴν ἀνέμοισι πιθήσας |  
ἐλκόμεν.

481. φιλοκυδέα: as in 375; in both  
places the sense of "glorious" suits the  
context and can be extracted from the  
word without violence. κῶμον: not in  
Homer or Hesiod, but the latter has  
κωμάζω (*Scut.* 281).

482. For the asyndeton see note on  
151. This and the following lines con-  
tinue the personification of the lyre  
(ἐταίρην 478).

485. συνηθείσιν: the word is prob-  
ably original, although the sense is  
disputed; Baumeister understands  
"sweet societies," but it is far preferable  
to render "gentle practice" = τέχνῃ, καὶ  
σοφίῃ. The plural refers to continual  
and repeated practice, the adjective  
μαλακῆσιν to the soft touch on the  
strings.

ἀθυρομένη: almost certainly passive  
of the cognate construction, not middle;  
see on 151.

486. ἐργασίην φεύγουσα δυνήπαθον:  
if φεύγουσα is sound, the meaning (as  
given in *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 266) must be  
"avoiding painful (sc. to the lyre =  
violent) labour"; i.e. the lyre does  
not respond to unscientific handling.  
The metaphor would be similar to Plat.  
*Rep.* 531 β ἐξανήσειας καὶ ἀλαζονείας  
χορδῶν (see Adam). We should, how-  
ever, expect such an antithesis to be

marked by ἀθυρομένη μὲν . . . φεύγουσα  
δέ; the two participles, as they stand,  
can hardly express a contrast. Moreover  
ἐργασίῃ for "handling" a lyre is perhaps  
unusual; the subst. generally means  
"work," although it is true that ἐργασία,  
ἐργάζεσθαι, are frequent in the sense of  
exercising or "practising" the arts  
generally; and the application to an in-  
strument appears precisely parallel to  
our "practice." If the text be thought  
unlikely, we must assume that φεύ-  
γουσα, φθέγγουσα, are corruptions of  
another participle, such as θέλγουσα,  
"giving relief from the pains of labour."  
δυνήπαθον (elsewhere δυνήπαθός) is perhaps  
rather strong as an epithet of manual  
labour, but may be explained by passages  
like Theoc. xxi. 2 f. οὐδὲ γὰρ εὐδεν |  
ἀνδράσιν ἐργατίναισι κακὰ παρέχοντι  
μέριμναι; and, for the consolation of  
music in or after work, id. x. 22 καὶ  
τι κόρας φιλικὸν μέλος ἀμβάλεν· ἄδιον  
οὕτως | ἐργαζῆ.

488. μετήορα: apparently adverbial,  
like μάψ, "uncertainly"; cf. the use of  
μετέρως in prose.

ερυλίζοι: the manuscript θρυαλίζοι  
points to uncial corruption from θρυλλί-  
ζοι (a constant variant), but the single λ  
is correct for the word and its cognates;  
Cobet *Misc. Crit.* 221, Schanz *Plato* vii.  
p. 7, Dindorf on Arist. *Eq.* 348.

489 = 474. The repetition is no doubt  
a kind of parody of Homeric style; the  
line itself, as Gemoll notes, is here quite



καί τοι ἐγὼ δώσω ταύτην, Διὸς ἀγλαὲ κούρε· 490  
 ἡμεῖς δ' αὖτ' ὄρεός τε καὶ ἵπποβότου πεδίοιο  
 βουσι νομούς, Ἐκάεργε, νομεύσομεν ἀγραύλοισιν.  
 ἔνθεν ἄλις τέξουσι βόες ταύροισι μιγείσαι  
 μίγδην θηλείας τε καὶ ἄρσενας· οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ 495  
 κερδαλέον περ ἔοντα περιζαμενῶς κεχολῶσθαι.  
 ὥς εἰπὼν ὤρεξ', ὁ δ' ἐδέξατο Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,  
 Ἑρμῇ δ' ἐγγνάλιξεν ἔχων μάστιγα φαεινὴν,  
 βουκολίας τ' ἐπέτελλεν· ἔδεκτο δὲ Μαιάδος υἱὸς  
 γηθήσας· κίθαριν δὲ λαβὼν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ χειρὸς  
 Λητοῦς ἀγλαὸς υἱός, ἀναξ ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων, 500  
 πλήκτρῳ ἐπειρήτιζε κατὰ μέρος, ἡ δ' ὑπένερθε  
 σμερδαλέον κονάβησε, θεὸς δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄεισεν.  
 ἔνθα βόας μὲν ἔπειτα ποτὶ ζάθεον λειμῶνα  
 ἔτραπέτην· αὐτοὶ δέ, Διὸς περικαλλέα τέκνα,  
 ἄφθορροι πρὸς Ὀλυμπον ἀγάννιφον ἑρρώσαντο, 505

492. βουσὶν ὁμῶς Ludwig 493. τέξουσι] ε' ἔξουσι M || versus 494 ad h.  
 Ven. 152 om. II 495. περὶ p 497. ἔχων] ἐκὼν Martin: ἔχειν D'Orville,  
 Matthiae 498. ἐπέτειλεν Martin 499. verum om. M 501. μέλος codd.:  
 corr. Martin || ὑπὸ νέρσειν M: ὑπὸ καλὸν cet.: ὑπὸ χειρὸς Barnes 502.  
 σμερδαλέον M: ἱμερόσεν cet. || κονάβισε p || καλὸν M: μέλος cet. (μέλλος EI.) ||  
 ἔειδεν Ilgen 503. ἔνεα] καὶ ῥα M || βόας M: βόες cet. || ποτὶ] κατὰ M  
 504. ἐτραπέτην] δραπέτην M

in place, to return to Apollo after the digression. Apollo alone can command the instrument without need of practice.

491 f. That Hermes can have the care of cattle only by favour of Apollo is clear not merely from the general context, but by the express word *βουκολίας τ' ἐπέτελλεν* 498. The genitives *ὄρεος*, *πεζίοιο* depend on *νομούς*, for which cf. κ 159 *ἐκ νομοῦ ὄλης* "pasture in the wood." There is no need to suppose a lacuna, with Baumeister. *βουσί νομούς... νομεύσομεν*: not a poetical equivalent of *βοῦς νομεύσομεν* (*schema etymologicum*), but="will eat down the grass with cattle"; cf. *νομοῦ* 198.

493. *ἔνεα* ἄλις: unaccountably thought corrupt by Gemoll; *ἐνθεν* is of course temporal, *ἄλις*=in abundance, with *θηλείας τε καὶ ἄρσενας*, the common Homeric construction; so 180.

494, 495. The words imply a fear that Apollo's anger may be too strong for his cupidity.

494. *μίγδην*: in late epic, for the Homeric *μίγδα*.

497. *ἔχων*: probably corrupt, though it is not perhaps more otiose than *ἐχουσα* 345. D'Orville's *ἔχειν* (repeated by Matthiae) hardly accounts for *ἔχων*. Martin's *ἐκὼν* is possible, and *ἐλὼν* (suggested in *J. H. S.* xvii. p. 266) is also a simple correction; for the confusion, cf. E 136.

501, 502. The lines are a repetition, with further variations, of 53, 54, and 419, 420. M's reading *ὑπένερθε* (*ὑπὸ νέρσει* the ms.) is here restored; in sense it is equivalent to *ὑπὸ χειρὸς* 419. The other mss. have *ὑπὸ καλόν*, probably due to the next line. *σμερδαλέον*: so in 54, 420; here the mss. except M substitute *ἱμερόσεν*, for which cf. Σ 570 *ἱμερόσεν κitharizē· λίνον δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἔειδεν*. It is, however, possible that the actual passage diverged throughout from 53 f. and 419 f., and ran *ἡ δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἱμερόσεν κτλ.*, and that M preserved one variant, *αἶψα* the other; cf. h. *Ap.* 255 with 295.

*ἔεισεν*: the tense of the completed action is here as clearly appropriate to the context as the imperfect *ἔειδεν* is required in 54 and Σ 570.



τερπόμενοι φόρμιγγι, χάρη δ' ἄρα μητίετα Ζεὺς,  
 ἄμφω δ' ἐς φιλόττητα συνήγαγε. καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἑρμῆς  
 Λητοῖδην ἐφίλησε διαμπερές ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν,  
 σήματ' ἐπεὶ κίθαριν μὲν Ἑκηβόλῳ ἐγγυάλιξεν  
 ἱμερτήν, δεδαῶς ὁ δ' ἐπωλένιον κιθάριζεν.  
 αὐτὸς δ' αὖθ' ἐτέρης σοφίης ἐκμάσσατο τέχνην.  
 συρίγγων ἐνοπὴν ποιήσατο τηλόθ' ἀκουστήν.  
 καὶ τότε Λητοῖδης Ἑρμῆν πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπε·

510

507. τὰ μὲν M: τὸ μὲν cet.: τ' ὁ μὲν Ruhnken: καὶ ὁ μὲν Ernesti: κῆτα μὲν Schneidewin 508. ἐπέτι κείνου Hermann pro ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν: διαμπερές ἥματα πάντα | αὐτίκ' ἐπεὶ ci. Gemoll 509. σήματ' M: σῆμα τ' cet.: κῆτα seu σῆμα Hermann: τῆμος vel τέκιμαρ Ludwich: αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Stephanus || κίθαριν M: κισάρην cet. 510. versum om. M || ἱμερτὴν δεδαῶς, ὁ δ' codd.: corr. Ludwich || ὑπωλένιον codd.: corr. Ilgen 511. ἐκμάσατο Barnes 513. αὐτὰρ ὁ pro καὶ τότε Ilgen || ἐρμα, eraso c, M

507. καὶ τὰ μὲν: it is remarkable that the conjectures καὶ θ' ὁ μὲν, etc., should have been accepted down to Ludwich's text. Either τὰ μὲν or τὸ μὲν gives excellent sense, "firstly," as often in Greek from Homer onwards (cf. β 46). ὁ μὲν would introduce an opposition between *persons*, whereas Hermes is subject to both actions, ἐφίλησε and ἐκμάσατο.

508. ὡς ἔτι καὶ νῦν: the reading is amply justified by 125 ὡς ἔτι νῦν, where, as here, the writer is thinking of contemporary belief or practice; διαμπερές does not necessitate a change to ἐξέτι κείνου: Hermes loved Apollo "right through," as he still loves him. The line refers to the close connexion between the cults of the two gods in various parts of Greece; Baumeister mentions their common altars in Messenia, Olympia and Thebes (Paus. iv. 33. 4, v. 14. 8, ix. 17. 2). Add to this the cult of the two gods at Cyllene (*E. M.* Κυλλήνιος· Κυλλήνην δὲ Ἀρκαδίας, ἱερὸν Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος), which is more significant in connexion with this hymn; there was a temple of the Muses, Apollo, and Hermes, at Megalopolis, Paus. viii. 32. 2. They had a common altar in Mysia *C. I. G.* 3588 b. On the Arcadian connexion of Apollo and Hermes see Immerwahr *die Kulte u. Mythen Ark.* i. p. 95, 135. For the two gods (with the Charites) at Elatea see *B. C. H.* xi. p. 341; they are joined in Delian votive inscriptions, *B. C. H.* viii. p. 126, xv. p. 251. See Pauly-Wissowa "Apollon" 37 f., Forchhammer *Lex. der Mythen-*

*sprache* p. 43-53, Preller-Robert i. p. 393; *Introd.* p. 129.

509. σήματ': possibly corrupt, although no alteration is more than plausible. The plural σήματα can hardly be right, for Hermes gave only a single "token," i.e. the lyre; nothing is said about Apollo's gift of the cows. But σήματ' may be for σήματι, a dative of "reason" or "occasion," common in Homer (*H. G.* § 144). The elision need present no difficulty; cf. Γ 349 ἀσπίδ' ἐνὶ κρατερῇ, Δ 259 ἐν δαίθ', Ε 5 ἀστέρ' ὀπωρινῷ, and many other examples collected in *H. G.* § 376 (3). For the position of ἐπεὶ Baumeister compares Z 474, § 175.

510. ἱμερτὴν δεδαῶς: the position of ἱμερτὴν is very remarkable if we take it closely with δεδαῶς, and the difficulty of the line is increased by uncertainty as to the subject and meaning of δεδαῶς. The verb might be causal, "teach," as δέδαι bears this sense in Homer; but it seems necessary to refer δεδαῶς to Apollo, who "knew" the lyre by intuition (cf. 474 σοὶ δ' αὐτάργετον ἔστι δαΐμεναι, and ρ 518). This makes Ludwich's correction almost certain.

ἐπωλένιον: this form is found in all manuscripts at 433, and gives the requisite sense; the lyre rested *on*, not *under*, the left arm. ὑπωλένιον is due to such expressions as ὑπὸ χειρὸς 419, where the right hand, used in striking the strings, is meant.

512. The asyndeton is like that in the similar lines 25, 111. On the invention of the flute cf. Apollod. iii. 10. 2. 6



δεΐδια, Μαιάδος νιέ, διάκτορε, ποικιλομήτα,  
 μή μοι ἀνακλέψῃς κίθαριν καὶ καμπύλα τόξα· 515  
 τιμὴν γὰρ παρ Ζητὸς ἔχεις, ἐπαμοίβιμα ἔργα  
 θήσειν ἀνθρώποισι κατὰ χθόνα πουλυβότειραν.  
 ἀλλ' εἴ μοι τλαίης γε θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον ὁμόσσαι,  
 ἢ κεφαλῇ νεύσας, ἢ ἐπὶ Στυγὸς ὄβριμον ὕδωρ,  
 πάντ' ἂν ἐμῷ θυμῷ κεχαρισμένα καὶ φίλα ἔρδοις. 520  
 καὶ τότε Μαιάδος υἱὸς ὑποσχόμενος κατένευσε,  
 μή ποτ' ἀποκλέψειν, ὅς' Ἐκηβόλος ἐκτεάτισται,  
 μηδὲ ποτ' ἐμπελάσειν πυκινῷ δόμῳ· αὐτὰρ Ἀπόλλων  
 Λητοΐδης κατένευσεν ἐπ' ἀρθμῷ καὶ φιλότῃ,

515. ἄμα κλέψῃς M 516. ἐπ' ἀμοίβιμα M (ἐπ' corr. ex ἀπ') : ἐπαμοίβια cet. :  
 ἐπαμοίβια Wolf 517. πολυβότειραν MxAD 518. κατὰ pro μέγαν m in ras. ;  
 subfuit ut vid. κ' <sup>αν</sup>μεγ' 519. ὄβριμον DEL || ἢ ἐ Στυγὸς Hermann 520.  
 ἔρδοις pro ἔρδοις Hermann 522. μήτ' omisso ποτ' M || ἐκτεάτισται M (vox a m  
 reficta est) : ἐκτετάτισται E 524. ἀρεμῷ M : κατένευε' ἐπὶ ῥυεμῷ Martin

Ἐρμῆς δὲ ταύτας νέμων σύριγγα πάλιν  
 πηξάμενος ἐσύριζεν. Ἀπόλλων δὲ καὶ  
 ταύτην βουλόμενος λαβεῖν, τὴν χρυσὴν  
 ῥάβδον ἐδίδου ἣν ἐκέκτετο βουκολῶν.  
 Apollodorus must have derived the  
 exchange of the pipe for the staff from  
 some other source, as nothing is said of  
 this exchange in the hymn.

There is nothing suspicious about τηλόθ' ἀκουστήν (as Gemoll thinks) : the epithet is true of the σύριγξ. For the connexion of the flute with Hermes see Euphor. fr. 33 (Athen. iv. 184 A), Preller-Robert i. p. 418, Roscher Lex. i. 2372 f. Roscher, as usual, sees in the flute a characteristic of the whistling wind ; it is rather an attribute of Hermes Νόμος—the common instrument of the shepherd.

515. M's reading ἄμα κλέψῃς is usually accepted. But ἀνακλέψῃς, a more significant word, seems guaranteed by a Dodonean inscription in Collitz ii. 2, no. 1586 p. 12. 4 ἀνεκ[λεψεν], where Hoffmann cites this passage; cf. also Hesych. ἀνακλέπτεσθαι· ἀναχωρεῖν. An actual theft of the τόξα is recorded by Horace (Od. i. 10. 10), who may have followed Alcaeus in this particular, and by Lucian (Dial. Deor. vii. 1).

516. ἐπαμοίβια : the form is well restored by Wolf and Ludwig from M's ἐπ' ἀμοίβημα. The variant is due to the comparative rarity of the termination ; cf. Δ 381 παραίσμα παραίσια, Ζ 62 αἶσμα αἶσια. The humorous identification of

"exchange" with "robbery" is characteristic of the style. Matthiae notes that the evil reputation of merchants was due to the Carians and Phoenicians, who combined trading with piracy ; but in this respect also Hermes reflects the Greek character.

518. Cf. ε 178, κ 343, h. Ap. 79 (θεά for θεῶν). θεῶν μέγαν ὄρκον = B 377, where the context shows the meaning to be "an oath by the gods." Here the ὄρκος θεῶν is the oath by which the gods swear ; cf. κ 299. This oath was regularly by the Styx ; cf. O 36, ε 185, Hes. Theog. 784, h. Dem. 260 etc.

519. κεφαλῇ νεύσας : a reminiscence of A 524 f., where the "nod" is the substitute for an oath, in the case of Zeus. That it is here an alternative to the oath by the Styx is no sign of interpolation, as Matthiae and others suppose. ἐπὶ : in Homer the simple accusative only is found with δυνυμι "swear by" ; but various prepositions are used in prose with the verb in this sense ; see L. and S. s.v.

520. Hermann's ἔρδοις for ἔρδοις rests on the use of εἴ μοι τλαίης κτλ., without apodosis, in h. Ap. 79, but the change is quite needless here ; the subject of the ὄρκος is sufficiently clear from the context.

523. Cf. 178.

524. ἐπ' ἀρεμῷ καὶ φιλότῃ = apparently a stereotyped expression ; cf.



μή τινα φίλτερον ἄλλον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἔσεσθαι,  
μήτε θεὸν μήτ' ἄνδρα Διὸς γόνον· ἐκ δὲ τέλειον

525

σύμβολον ἀθανάτων ποιήσομαι ἡδ' ἅμα πάντων,  
πιστὸν ἐμῷ θυμῷ καὶ τίμιον· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα  
ὄλβου καὶ πλούτου δώσω περικαλλέα ῥάβδον,  
χρυσείην τριπέτηλον, ἀκήριον ἢ σε φυλάξει,

530

526. ΓΟΝΟΥ seu ἄνδρα· Διὸς νόον ἐκ δὲ τέλειον ci. Matthiae: ἐν δὲ τέλειον Hermann: ἢ σε τέλειον Schneidewin 527. σύμβουλόν τε θεῶν Schmitt: ἡδ' ἀνερῶπων Schneidewin 530. ἀκήριον pL (T suprascripta)

Aesch. P. V. 192 *els ἀρθμὸν ἐμοὶ καὶ φιλότῃτα . . . ἥξει*. So Callim. fr. 199 (φιλιαν). There is no probability that Aeschylus borrowed from the hymn, or that Callimachus copied from either source.

526. Διὸς ΓΟΝΟΝ: i.e. a hero such as Heracles; for ἄνδρα Baumeister compares the Homeric *ἡμθέων γένος ἀνδρῶν*. The correction Διὸς γόνον misses the point: θεὸν and ἄνδρα Διὸς γόνον are subdivisions of ἀθάνατοι.

526 f. A lacuna is here clearly indicated: the transition from indirect to direct narration is not warranted by Δ 303, Ψ 855; Longinus *de sublim.* defends such transitions in an interesting chapter (xxvii), but his Homeric example O 348 can be otherwise explained. Moreover, ἐκ has no reference, τέλειον seems unnatural with σύμβολον, and σε is indispensable. Since the sanction of Zeus appears necessary both here and in 568 f., and is stated in 575 *χάριν δ' ἐπέθηκε Κρονίων*, perhaps a line has fallen out such as *αἰετὸν ἦκε πατήρ· ὁ δ' ἐπώμοσεν, ἢ σε μάλ' οἶον* (J. H. S. xvii. p. 266). Possibly the missing passage was longer, containing a reference to the exchange of the pipe, and a direct request by Hermes for *μαντρεῖα*. This view, however, is unnecessary; see further on 533.

527. σύμβολον: this appears to be from σύμβολος, and can only refer to Hermes, who is *πιστὸς ἐμῷ θυμῷ*. The meaning is very doubtful; Ilgen's translation, "mediator," gives an unparalleled sense to the word. We should naturally understand it as "omen," and this is not impossible; Hermes is the god of luck and of *ἔρμαια*, and might be called a personified "omen" for gods and all alike. But this is undoubtedly harsh; the meaning must remain un-

certain owing to the lacuna, which leaves the context unknown.

ἅμα πάντων: i.e. ἀνθρώπων. The expression may be weak, but it is genuine; ἡδ' ἀνθρώπων would not have been corrupted.

529. ῥάβδον: not to be confused with the *μάστιγα φαεινὴν* (497), which had already been given to Hermes, as god of cattle. This is, of course, the magic staff, which entrances or wakes men; Ω 343 f., ω 2 f. Hence Hermes is *χρυσόραπις* ε 87, κ 277, 331. It is the staff afterwards called the *κηρύκειον* (see 530), although a distinction is sometimes made in art, Hermes being represented with both *ῥάβδος* and *κηρύκειον* (Preller-Robert i. p. 404). According to Preller, the staff was originally a divining-rod, for finding treasure or gold. It was, indeed, thought to have had this function (see Preller-Robert i. p. 412 n. 3), but the idea is not Homeric, nor probably original. Hermes has a "golden" staff just as he has a golden sword and shoes (*χρυσάορος*, *χρυσοπένδilos*); the epithet is common to attributes of the gods. The form of the *κηρύκειον* may have been borrowed from the Phoenicians (Hoffmann *Hermes und Kerykeion*) but Hoffmann's deduction that Hermes was a Phoenician moon-god does not follow. See on 15.

530. τριπέτηλον: best explained by Preller (*Philologus* i. p. 518) as—"with three branches," one forming the handle, while the other two spring from it, and are united at the top. See also Roscher *Lex.* 2401, Harrison *Proleg.* p. 46.

ἀκήριον: passive, "unharméd," with *σε*. For the order Schneidewin compares ν 47 *διαμπερές ἢ σε φυλάσσω*. Add ψ 56 *κακῶς δ' οἱ πέρ μιν ἔρεζον*. Ludwig, following the old editions, takes *ἀκήριον* as co-ordinate with the preceding adjectives, "harmless." The rhythm



πάντας ἐπικραίνουσα† θεοὺς ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων  
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα φημὶ δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὁμφῆς.  
 μαντεύην δέ, φέριστε, διοτρεφές, ἦν ἐρεεῖνεις,  
 οὔτε σε θέσφατόν ἐστι δαήμεναι οὔτε τιν' ἄλλον  
 ἀθανάτων· τὸ γὰρ οἶδε Διὸς νόος· αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ γε 535  
 πιστωθεὶς κατένευσα καὶ ὦμοσα καρτερὸν ὄρκον,  
 μή τινα νόσφιν ἐμείο θεῶν αἰεγενετῶν  
 ἄλλον γ' εἴσεσθαι Ζηνὸς πυκινόφρονα βουλήν.  
 καὶ σύ, κασίγνητε χρυσόρραπι, μή με κέλευε  
 θέσφατα πιφαύσκειν, ὅσα μῆδεται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς. 540  
 ἀνθρώπων δ' ἄλλον δηλήσομαι, ἄλλον ὀνήσω,

531. θεοὺς] οἷμους Hermann : (πάντοι) τέλος Bothe : χρὸς Nietzsche : ἄελους  
 Sikes : πάντων κραιαίνουσα τέλος Schneidewin 532. ἐκ διός—534. δαήμεναι  
 om. p 533. διοτρεφές] διαμπερές M || ἦν ἐρεεῖνεις ci. Hermann 534.  
 ἄλλων M 535 om. E 537. ἐμοῖο M 539. χρυσάραπι AtD 540. πιφα-  
 σκεῖν p || βούλεται pro μῆδεται AtD

would favour this view, but there is no certain example of the active use; in Hes. *Op.* 823 ἀκῆριοι ἡμέραι are days which bring no fate or destiny.

531. πάντας ἐπικραίνουσα θεοὺς: the construction ἐπικραίνειν τί τις seems impossible, even if the presumed meaning "confirming all the gods in respect of good words and deeds" made any sense in the context, or could be justified by any known virtue of the *ράβδος*. πάντας appears to be sound; cf. *O.* 599 *πάσαν ἐπικρήναι* (ἀρήν), "fulfil all the prayer." Nothing, however, can be said in favour of the numerous conjectures, except that θεοὺς (from θεόν 526, θεῶν 537) may have displaced another word; for its introduction cf. *h. Ap.* 59. As a correction, ἐπικραίνουσ' ἄελους may be suggested: "fulfilling (winning) all the tasks (whether of word or deed) which I claim to know." This is supported by *θ.* 159 f. οὐ γάρ σ' οὐδέ, ξεῖνε, δαίμονι φωτὶ ἔσσω | ἄθλων, οἷά τε πολλὰ μετ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλονται, where the neut. οἷά τε, as *δ.* here, refers adverbially to the masc. ἄθλοι (see *M.* and *R.* on *θ.* 108). Cf. also *θ.* 133 *ἀεθλον οἷδέ τε καὶ δεδάηκε*. ἐπικραίνουσα would = ἐκτελέουσα, cf. e.g. *θ.* 22 ἐκτελέσειεν ἀέθλους. The κηρύκειον would be a certain talisman for victory in any contest, whether of word (e.g. music), or deed (e.g. athletics), unless the reference is more general, to any difficulties in life.

533. μαντεύην . . . ἦν ἐρεεῖνεις: unless Hermes asked for the gift of

prophecy after 526 (where see note), the request had only been made by a hint at 471 f.; see on 464.

535. τό: sc. τὸ μαντεύεσθαι, from μαντεύην.

541–549. Matthiae and others have curiously assigned this passage to Hermes; Ludwig prints it after 474. At first sight, indeed, the lines appear more suited to the character of Hermes, as described in 576 f. But the view is certainly wrong; the sentiment is quite appropriate in the mouth of Apollo. No objection should have been raised to the futures δηλήσομαι etc.: Apollo means to do as he has always done; the tenses refer to the frequent deception of the oracles, down to the hymn-writer's own day. The tone of his speech sounds like a frank confession of deceitfulness; and, as such, would not be inconsistent with the general spirit of the hymn. The poet need not have been more careful of Apollo's morality than he was in the case of Hermes. But the explanation of the occasional deception in oracles is probably meant to be serious; it might stand as an official vindication of the god in his dealings with men. Stress is laid on the observance of the proper ritual, without which inquirers approach the god at their risk. If they are duly accredited with the right omens, a true answer is obtained; cf. (of Dodona) Hes. *fr.* 134 Rzsch=schol. ap. Soph. *Trach.* 1174 *ἐνθεν ἐπιχθόνιοι μαντήϊα πάντα φέρονται*, | *ὅς δὴ κείθι μολῶν θεὸν ἀμβροτον*



πολλὰ περιτροπέων ἀμεγάρτων φύλ' ἀνθρώπων.  
καὶ μὲν ἐμῆς ὀμφῆς ἀπονήσεται, ὅς τις ἂν ἔλθῃ  
φωνῇ τ' ἡδὲ ποτῇσι τελέεντων οἰωνῶν.  
οὗτος ἐμῆς ὀμφῆς ἀπονήσεται, οὐδ' ἀπατήσω. 545  
ὃς δέ κε μαψιλόγοισι πιθήσας οἰωνοῖσι  
μαντεῖν ἐθέλῃσι παρέκ νόον ἐξερεῖν  
ἡμετέρην, νοέειν δὲ θεῶν πλέον αἰὲν ἐόντων,  
φήμ', ἀλήην ὁδὸν εἰσιν, ἐγὼ δέ κε δῶρα δεχοίμην.  
ἄλλο δέ τοι ἐρέω, Μαίης ἐρικυδέος υἱέ 550  
καὶ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο, θεῶν ἐριούνιε δαῖμον.  
σεμναὶ γάρ τινες εἰσὶ κασίγνηται γεγαυῖαι,

542. περιτραπῶν M: παρατροπέων Schneidewin 543. καὶ μὴ M: καὶ μὴν  
At: καὶ κε Hermann || ὃς τις ἂν ἔλθῃ] οὐδ' ἀπατήσω M, cf. 545 || ἔλεοι p  
544. φωνῇ τ' ἡδὲ πότισι M: corr. Ruhnken: φωνῇ καὶ πτερύγεσσι cet. 547.  
ἐσελῆσει MatDEL || παρεκ ELP 549. φῆμ' ME: φημ' L 550. υἱὸς M  
552. σεμναὶ M: μοῖραι cet.: Θριαὶ Hermann: Ἰραὶ aut Εἶραι Lobeck

ἐξερεῖν | δῶρα φέρων ἔλθῃσι σὺν οἰωνοῖς ἀγαθοῖσιν. See further Schoemann *Griech. Alt.* ii. p. 321. The uncertainty of the oracle is like that of the lyre, 482 f.; both answer under proper conditions. The language of the Muses in Hesiod is in a similar vein; cf. *Theog.* 27 f. ἴδμεν ψεύδεα πολλὰ λέγειν ἐτύμοισιν ὁμοῖα, | ἴδμεν δ', εὖτ' ἐθέλωμεν, ἀληθέα γηρύσασθαι.

542. πολλὰ περιτροπέων: probably a reminiscence of i. 465 πολλὰ περιτροπέοντες ἐλαύνομεν (μήλα), where the verb seems to mean "driving about." So Apoll. *Arg.* B 143 ἀσπετα μήλα περιτροπάδην ἐτάμοντο. So here Apollo "drives" men like silly sheep, i.e. perplexes them. The common translation "deceiving," "misguiding," does not suit the present context, as ἄλλον ὀνήσω precedes; nor could this sense, which is elsewhere unknown, be easily derived from the Homeric use of the verb.

544. φωνῇ τ' ἡδὲ ποτῇσι: there is no difference in meaning or value between this reading and the variant φωνῇ καὶ πτερύγεσσι. The modal datives present no difficulty; σὺν is added in the Hesiodic line quoted on 541 f.

ΤΕΛΕΕΝΤΩΝ, "fateful," "significant." The editors compare β 181 ὄρνιθες δέ τε πολλοὶ ὑπ' αὐγὰς ἡέλοιο | φοιτῶσ', οὐδέ τε πάντες ἐναΐσμοι, and Callim. v. 123 γνωσεῖται δ' ὄρνιθας δὲ αἰετοὺς, οἳ τε πέτονται | ἡλυθα, καὶ πόλιν οὐκ ἀγαθαὶ πτέρυγες.

546. μαψιλόγοι, "telling a vain tale," οὐκ ἐναΐσμοις.

549. ἐγὼ δέ κε δῶρα δεχοίμην: if the hymn-writer has as low an opinion of Apollo as he undoubtedly has of Hermes (according to modern ideas), this line might be explained as a cynical admission of φιλοκέρδεια (see on 335). But here, as in 541 f., there is probably a serious defence of Apollo's oracle. Baumeister understands the words to be spoken *petulant cum irrisione*; but, as he himself allows, the Delphian priests might have used the same language. The δῶρα are obligatory, whether a true response is vouchsafed or no; they are, in fact, like money staked in a lottery—necessary for all competitors, without commanding success as a matter of course.

552. σεμναί, "there are certain reverend ones, sisters, three in number." The reference is undoubtedly to the Thriae, but there is no reason to substitute Θριαὶ here; the mythology would be sufficiently clear from the context, aided by the emphatic τρεῖς, from which the ancients derived Θριαί. To an Athenian, σεμναί (beal) would probably have suggested the Furies, but the hymn-writer was no Athenian. The variant μοῖραι, which is obviously wrong, may have been a gloss due, partly at least, to τρεῖς. Apollodorus alluded to the Thriae in his account (διδάσκειται τὴν διὰ τῶν ψήφων μαντικὴν), but this is no argument that he read Θριαί here, nor does he use the actual word. On the Θριαί see App. III. They are certainly here closely connected with



παρθένοι ὠκείησιν ἀγαλλόμεναι πτερύγεσσι  
 τρεῖς· κατὰ δὲ κρατὸς πεπαλαγμέναι ἄλφιστα λευκὰ  
 οἰκία ναιετάουσιν ὑπὸ πτυχί Παρνησοῖο, 555  
 μαντεῖης ἀπάνευθε διδάσκαλοι, ἦν ἐπὶ βουσί  
 παῖς ἔτ' ἐὼν μελέτησα· πατὴρ δ' ἐμὸς οὐκ ἀλέγιζεν.  
 ἐντεῦθεν δὴ ἔπειτα ποτῶμεναι ἄλλοτε ἄλλη  
 κηρία βόσκονται καὶ τε κραίνουσιν ἕκαστα.  
 αἱ δ' ὅτε μὲν θυίωσιν ἐδηδυῖαι μέλι χλωρὸν 560  
 προφρονέως ἐθέλουσιν ἀληθείην ἀγορεύειν·  
 ἦν δ' ἀπονοσφισθῶσι θεῶν ἡδεῖαν ἐδωδὴν,  
 ψεύδονται δὴ ἔπειτα δι' ἀλλήλων δονέουσai.

554. post h. v. lac. stat. Hermann 556. ἀπάνευθε] τὸ πάροις Schneidewin :  
 ἀπάνωε seu ἐπάνωε Baumeister || διδασκαλίαν ἐπὶ M 557. ἀλέγυεν  
 MzAtD : ἀλέγειν p : corr. Hermann 558. δ' ἦπειτα libri : corr. Wolf ||  
 ἄλλοτ' ἐν' ἄλλῃ libri : corr. Schneidewin 560. θυίωσιν M : θυίωσι xD :  
 θυίωσι p || ἐδωδυῖαι p 561. ἐθέλωσι x || ἀλήθειαν Barnes 563. ψεύδονται  
 δ' ἦπειτα δι' ἀλλήλων δονέουσai y (sc. marg. γρ. EL) : corr. Baumeister : παρῶνται  
 δ' ἦπειτα παρὲς ὁδὸν ἡγεμονεύειν cet. : ambo versus servat Schneidewin cum  
 scribat δ' ἐνέπουσαι pro δονέουσai et ἐπέεσσai pro δ' ἦπειτα : ἡπεροπέυειν Bothe

bees (see on 559) if not actually personifications of the bee.

554. πεπαλαγμέναι ἄλφιστα λευκά : first explained by Matthiae; "with white meal sprinkled over their heads," i.e. white-haired. See App. III. Hermann's lacuna after this line may be neglected.

556. μαντεῖης : obviously with διδάσκαλοι. The Thriae were teachers of private divination, although not of the highest oracular μαντεία, to which Apollo attained after his boyhood.

ἀπάνευθε : not "apart from men," but, as the context shews, "apart from me"; the Thriae had given Apollo his first lesson in divination, and still continued their art, though the god had outgrown it.

557. ἀλέγιζεν : an evident correction ; cf. 361 where the mss. give all three verbs ἀλεγύνων, ἀλεγίζων, ἀλείων.

558. ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ : for the hiatus Schneidewin compares δ 236 ἄλλοτε ἄλλῃ ; so Hes. *Op.* 713 where for ἄλλοτε ἄλλον some mss. from a desire, as here, to avoid the hiatus give ἄλλοτέ τ' ἄλλον, ἄλλοτ' ἐς ἄλλον. Add Phocyl. *fr.* 12 ἄλλοτε ἄλλοι, Solon *fr.* 13. 4 ἄλλοτε ἄλλος.

559. κηρία βόσκονται : honey is the food of gods 562 ; Callim. i. 49 γλυκὺ κηρίον ἔβρωσ (of the infant Zeus). Hence honey gave inspiration, prophetic or

poetic : cf. the title μέλισσα of the Pythia, Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 60 ; see also Pind. *Ol.* vi. 47. Compare the common folk-tale that poets and sages were fed by bees, generally in their infancy. (References in Cook's exhaustive essay, p. 7 f.) For the mantic bee in Semitic belief cf. Joseph. *Archaeol.* v. 6 Δεβώρα προφῆτις, μέλισσαν δὲ σημαίνει τοῦτομα, and see generally Robert-Tornow *de apium mellisque signif.* 1893, Frazer on Paus. x. 5. 7, Usener in *Rhein. Mus.* (1902) 57. 2 p. 179, Harrison *Proleg.* p. 91.

560. The omission of iota in the diphthong υι is a common fault in mss. So A 180 only the Ven. A and two other mss. have θυῖεν, in Hesiod papyri in some places preserve the iota, in others no trace is left of it ; cf. *Theog.* 109, 131, 848, 874, *Op.* 621 ; there are similar variants in the case of γυῖον, ὄπυειν, μητρυῖη. The papyrus of Timotheus (ed. Wilamowitz 1903) has ὑπερέθυειν v. 75. For υι, v in inscriptions see Meisterhans p. 46 f.

563. On the variant see *J. H. S.* xv. p. 302, Hollander *l.c.* p. 28. The lines are evidently alternatives, but the version of y is far preferable. δονέουσai (cleverly corrected by Baumeister from δονέονται) is peculiarly appropriate to bee-women. Cf. Choerilus ap. Herod. π. μ. λ. 13 μυρία φῶν ἔδονεῖτο πολυσμήνοισι μελίσσαις.



τάς τοι ἔπειτα δίδωμι, σὺ δ' ἀτρεκέως ἐρεείνων  
 σὴν αὐτοῦ φρένα τέρπε, καὶ εἰ βροτὸν ἄνδρα δαείης, 565  
 πολλάκι σῆς ὁμφῆς ἐπακούσεται, αἶ κε τύχησι.  
 ταῦτ' ἔχε, Μαιάδος υἱέ, καὶ ἀγραύλους ἔλικας βοῦς,  
 ἵππους τ' ἀμφιπόλεψε καὶ ἡμιόνους ταλαεργούς.

καὶ χαροποῖσι λένουσι καὶ ἀργιόδουσι σύεσσι  
 καὶ κυσὶ καὶ μήλοισιν, ὅσα τρέφει εὐρεῖα χθών, 570  
 πᾶσι δ' ἐπὶ προβάτοισιν ἀνάσσειν κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν,  
 οἷον δ' εἰς Ἀἶδην τετελεσμένον ἄγγελον εἶναι,  
 ὅς τ' ἄδοτός περ ἐὼν δώσει γέρας οὐκ ἐλάχιστον.

οὕτω Μαιάδος υἱὸν ἀναξ ἐφίλησεν Ἀπόλλων  
 παντοίῃ φιλότῃ, χάριν δ' ἐπέθηκε Κρονίων. 575  
 πᾶσι δ' ὃ γε θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισιν ὀμιλεῖ.  
 παῦρα μὲν οὖν ὀνίνησι, τὸ δ' ἄκριτον ἡπεροπεύει  
 νύκτα δι' ὀρφναίην φῦλα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων.

καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος υἱέ.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς. 580

565. εἰ] ἦν AtE || ἄνδρ' ἄδαῖ in extremo versu M || δαίης Hermann 566.  
 αἶκε x 568. lac. statuit Wolf: vers. 571 ante 569 ponit Bothe 572. δ' om.  
 AtD 573. φ τ' pro δς τ' Ilgen 574. υἷα Agar J. P. xxvii. 189 576.  
 ἀθανάτοισι νομίζων M || ὀμίλει Dæ

565. δαίης: the indefinite optative may well be correct, although followed by ἐπακούσεται, which suggests the subjunctive δαείης (δαήης). For this form cf. II 423 ὄφρα δαείω.

566. αἶ κε τύχησι, "if he has good luck": divination, as well as oracular prophecy, is uncertain.

568 f. Here again the syntax shews a lacuna. ἀνάσσειν κύδιμον Ἑρμῆν cannot be an imperative, as some commentators suppose; it requires a main verb, and the subject, as Gemoll notices, can hardly be other than Zeus, who authorises this empire over all animals. In J. H. S. xvii. p. 267 two lines were suggested: ὡς ἔφατ'· οὐρανόθεν δὲ πατὴρ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἔπεσσι | θῆκε τέλος· πᾶσιν δ' ἀρ' ὃ γ' οἰωνοῖσι κέλευσε.

572. τετελεσμένον: the editors compare Hes. Op. 799 τετελεσμένον ἡμᾶρ, a "perfect" or lucky day. The present context shews that "perfect" here connotes the idea "duly appointed," with proper credentials; cf. Dem. 171. 19 στρατηγὸς τελεσθῆναι "to be formally appointed general."

573. ἄδοτος, "without receiving

presents" from Hermes, Latin *ultra*. γέρας: this present from Hades to Hermes can only be explained by the preceding line; i.e. the right to be the ἄγγελος εἰς Ἀἶδην. Entrance to the underworld by the gods is spoken of as a favour granted by Hades. Hermes is *superis deorum gratus et imis* (Hor. Od. i. 10. 19). It is just possible that the "present" is mystic, i.e. death (cf. the story of Cleobis and Bito); δώσει would then be general, like δηλῆσομαι 541, and the recipients would be men; but the context is against this view.

576. ὀμίλει: genuine, for M's νομίζει cannot be justified by such passages as Her. ii. 50 (νομίζειν ἡρώων).

577 f. It is astonishing to find objections raised to this passage by some of the older critics. The lines 577-578 conclude with the theme which runs through the whole poem—the deceitfulness and waywardness of Hermes.

παῦρα ὀνίνησι no doubt ironically corrects the title ἐριονίος, as Baumeister explains.

τὸ δ' ἄκριτον, "endlessly"; cf. 126 (without the article).



# V

## HYMN TO APHRODITE

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*Subject.*—Aphrodite has power over gods and men alike, and over all the birds of the air and the creatures that move on the earth or in the waters. Athene, Artemis, and Hestia alone are free from her influence. But she constrains even Zeus to love mortal maids. He therefore, in his turn, set passion in her heart, so that she might love a man, and might not boast of her conquest over the gods. So she loved Anchises, who tended the flocks on Ida. First she went to Paphos, and adorned herself in her temple; thence she came to Ida, followed by a train of wild animals in whom she inspired passion. The hymn then describes her meeting and union with Anchises, the subsequent revelation to him of her divinity, and her announcement that a son would be born whose name should be Aeneas. She prophesies that this child and his descendants shall sit upon the throne of Ilium. After warning Anchises not to boast of her love, lest Zeus should strike him with a thunderbolt in anger, she departs to heaven.

*The myth of Aphrodite and Anchises.*—The germ of the story handled by the hymn-writer is found in Homer B 820 *Αἰνείας*,



τὸν ὑπ' Ἀγχίση τέκε δι' Ἀφροδίτη, | Ἰδης ἐν κνημοῖσι θεὰ βροτῶ ἐννηθείσα. Hesiod (*Theog.* 1008–1010) follows Homer. Compare also E 313, where the statement is added that Anchises was tending the herds; this is copied by later accounts (*Theocr.* xx. 34, *Prop.* ii. 32, 35, *Nonn. Dion.* xv. 210 f.). The myth was related by Acusilaus ap. schol. T 307 (who makes Anchises elderly, *παρηγμακώς*, at the time) and Apollodorus (iii. 142), who seems to have ignored the hymn; in his version Aphrodite visits Anchises δι' ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, while the hymn-writer lays stress on the agency of Zeus (45 f.). The mythographer names two children of the union—Aeneas and Lyros. In the same passage (iii. 141) Apollodorus follows the later account that Ganymede was carried off δι' αἰετοῦ; in the hymn (202 f.) a whirlwind takes the place of the eagle. See further Rossbach in Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Anchises (2107 f.). It is remarkable that so graceful a hymn should have made little or no impression on later literature;<sup>1</sup> it is not cited by any ancient writer, nor is there any certain mark of imitation by the Alexandrines.

*Character of the poem.*—The hymn has often been compared with the “Lay” of Demodocus on the love of Ares and Aphrodite (θ 266 f.). There can be no doubt that the author was acquainted with the lay (see notes on 58 f., 234). But the resemblance is confined to language; for the moral tone of the hymn is far higher than that of the Olympian society depicted by Demodocus. Baumeister (p. 250) misunderstands the character of the hymn in remarking that Aphrodite is represented as *Vulgivaga*, a lascivious goddess who rejoices in the base love with which she inspires the gods. Against this view Gemoll (p. 258) rightly points out that Aphrodite shews shame and modesty. Her passion for Anchises is no wantonness, but has been forced upon her by Zeus. The poet treats the adventure with considerable frankness, indeed, but not without dignity; and the note of humour and raillery, which is sounded in the Odyssean lay and the hymn to Hermes, is entirely absent. The merits of the poem have been perhaps extravagantly lauded by some critics, but have been unfairly depreciated by others. There may be some inelegance (according to modern taste) in repetitions such as that of *ἔργον*, used five times in 1–16; but these blemishes,

<sup>1</sup> For its possible influence on the hymn to Demeter see below, p. 198.



which are collected by Suhle,<sup>1</sup> do not justify that scholar's verdict that the writer is a *permediocris poeta*. It is true that there is little originality in work which follows the Homeric language so closely (see below, p. 198); but credit at least is due to an imitator who has successfully caught the spirit as well as the letter of the old epic. The scene of Aphrodite's progress to Ida (67 f.) is finely picturesque; and the whole poem, in Mr. Murray's words,<sup>2</sup> "expresses perhaps more exquisitely than anything else in Greek literature that frank joy in physical life and beauty which is often supposed to be characteristic of Greece."

The poet's conception of Aphrodite is simple. She is mistress over the whole world of animal life (2-6); but the hymn gives no hint of a deity who inspires the whole Cosmos—an Aphrodite Urania, by whose agency

ἐρῇ μὲν ἄγνός οὐρανὸς τρώσσαι χθόνα,  
ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γαμοῦ τυχεῖν.

Aesch. fr. 41.

Such an idea of the universal love-goddess doubtless grew up, as Mr. Farnell remarks (p. 699), on eastern soil; but in Greek literature it found no full expression until the time of Attic tragedy (e.g. Eur. fr. 89), and later, of the Orphic hymns (cf. *Orph. h.* lv. 4).

*Date.*—The date of the hymn, as of the others, is very doubtful. Hermann calls it *Homeri nomine dignissimum*, and some have even thought it contemporary with the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Windisch<sup>3</sup> thinks it as old as the later parts of the *Odyssey*; Thiele<sup>4</sup> assigns it to the time of the *Cypria*. Others (e.g. Eberhard<sup>5</sup>), without urging so early a date, consider the hymn to be the oldest in the collection. On the other hand, Suhle<sup>6</sup> believes that the author may have been a contemporary of the Pisistratids, or even of Sophocles. This view is extreme; but it will hardly be disputed at the present day that the hymn is later than the earliest parts of the *Odyssey*. The theory of great antiquity rests mainly on the fact that the hymn is ὁμηρικώτατος in diction. As many as twenty verses are taken from Homer

<sup>1</sup> *De hymn. Homericis* iv, 1878, p. 23. A. and M. Croiset (i. p. 590) think the poem too long for the subject.

<sup>3</sup> *De hymnis Homericis maioribus*, 1867 (p. 68).

<sup>4</sup> *Prolegomena in h. in Ven.*, 1872 (p. 49).

<sup>2</sup> *Anc. Greek Lit.* p. 50.

<sup>5</sup> *Sprache der hom. Hymnen* ii. p. 34.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 27.



with little or no variation; and the poem abounds in epic hemistiches and formulas. But this only proves that the author was a diligent student of the Homeric poems, while there are a number of words and usages which are not Homeric (a full list is given by Suhle p. 16 f.).

Reminiscences of Hesiod are scattered through the poem (5, 14, 29, 108, 258, etc.). Still more remarkable is the close connexion between this hymn and that to Demeter. The two hymns have, in common, several words, or uses of words, which do not occur elsewhere in extant Greek literature: 31 *τιμάοχος* (*h. Dem.* 268), 157 *εὔστρωτος* (*h. Dem.* 285), 257 *βαθύκολπος*, applied to nymphs (*h. Dem.* 5), 284 *καλυκῶπις* (*h. Dem.* 8), which only reappears in the Orphic hymns. Some striking expressions are also confined to the two hymns: 156 *κατ' ὄμματα καλὰ βαλοῦσα* (*h. Dem.* 194), 173 *μελάθρου κῦρε κάρη* (*h. Dem.* 188). Unfortunately, scholars are not agreed as to the question of borrowing. Some (e.g. Abel) hold that the writer of the hymn was the imitator; Gemoll and others think it scarcely doubtful that the hymn to Aphrodite is the older. The latter view seems the more probable. In that case, it may well be at least as old as the seventh century B.C.

*Place of composition.*—If the date of the poem is uncertain, the place of composition is not less obscure. According to Groddeck, who is followed by various scholars, including Abel and Fick (*B. B.* ix. p. 200), the hymn is Cyprian. It is pointed out that Aphrodite is called the goddess of Cyprus in 2, 292, and the rare word *σατίνας* in 13 is supposed to be Cyprian. No argument, however, can be based on the occurrence of the title *Κύπρις*, which is Homeric, and, like *Κυθήρεια*, belongs to the common stock of divine epithets (cf. vi. 2 and 18; x. 1 *Κυπρογενῇ Κυθήρειαν*). The Cyprian origin of *σατίνη* is also very dubious (see on 13); and in any case a word used by Anacreon and Euripides need not be considered distinctly "local," even in early poetry.

Others (Matthiae, O. Müller, etc.) place the home of the author in Asia Minor, and believe the poem to have been recited in honour of a chieftain who claimed descent from Aeneas. But the hymn bears no trace of having been composed for a definite occasion, or in honour of a particular person. The allusion of the revived Trojan kingdom in 196 f. is quite vague, and is



merely a reminiscence of the Homeric tradition. Many, without committing themselves to the "Trojan" theory, believe that the author was an Ionian, or at least lived in Asia Minor. This is as likely as the Cyprian view, and as equally incapable of proof. The myth handled by the poet is not local, but Homeric; the love of Aphrodite and Anchises was famous wherever Homer was known. The language may be "very pure Ionic—almost Homeric-Greek," but it does not follow that the composer was an Asiatic, as Prof. Mahaffy argues (*Hist. Greek Lit.* i. p. 148). At a time when the epics had become the property of the whole Greek-speaking world, the author of such a hymn might have belonged to any branch of the Hellenic stock. The further argument of those who see a contamination of Aphrodite with the Asiatic Cybele is unsound. It is true that Aphrodite was probably, in the Troad, another form of Cybele (Farnell p. 641), and as a nature-goddess had power over all the brute creation; but the hymn-writer is influenced by the Homeric conception of the goddess, and for Homer Aphrodite is far removed from Cybele. As Gemoll observes, the goddess is called a daughter of Zeus, and her train of beasts is a mere imitation of the animals which follow Circe (see on 69).

*State of the text.*—The general unity of the hymn is so obvious that it has suffered little from the "higher criticism." The Germans, for the most part, have been content to expunge isolated lines. One passage—the description of the nymphs—was suspected by Groddeck and Ilgen (260–274). The lines are perhaps the most interesting in the poem, and there is absolutely no valid ground for denying them a place in the original document. Hermann's theory of a double recension cannot be neglected; but such a recension, if it existed, has left but slight traces; cf. notes on 97 f., 274 f.



## Εἰς Ἀφροδίτην

Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης,  
 Κύπριδος, ἥ τε θεοῖσιν ἐπὶ γλυκύν ἴμερον ὤρσει,  
 καί τ' ἐδαμάσσατο φύλα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
 οἰωνούς τε διυπετέας καὶ θηρία πάντα,  
 ἡμὲν ὅσ' ἡπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἡδ' ὅσα πόντος·  
 πᾶσιν δ' ἔργα μέμηλεν ἐϋστεφάνου Κυθερείης.  
 τρισσὰς δ' οὐ δύναται πεπιθεῖν φρένας οὐδ' ἀπατήσαι·  
 κούρην τ' αἰγιόχοιο Διός, γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην·  
 οὐ γάρ οἱ εὐαδεν ἔργα πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης,  
 ἀλλ' ἄρα οἱ πόλεμοί τε ἄδον καὶ ἔργον Ἀρης,  
 ὕσμῖναί τε μάχαι τε, καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' ἀλεγύνειν.

5

10

TITULUS.—τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὁμήρου ὕμνοι εἰς ἀφροδίτην M: ὕμνος εἰς ἀφροδίτην  
 pAtD: εἰς ἀφροδίτην x (sc. EL) 3. κατὰ MDN 4. διυπετέας Schulze Q. E.  
 p. 237 6. δ' ἔρ μέμηλεν L 8. γλαυκῶπιν M: γλαυκῶπιδ' cet. 9. οὐ  
 γάρ οἱ ἔαδεν coni. Matthiae 10. ἀλλὰ βρά M || ἔδον M ante corr.: ἔαδεν AtΓ:  
 ἔαδεν pDL || καὶ ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' ἀλεγύνειν pro ἔδον καὶ ἔργον ἔρμος omisso v. 11 ET

1. Μοῦσά μοι ἔννεπε: a reminiscence of α 1 ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα.

3-5. The goddess of love inspires all living things, not only men; cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 447 f., 1269 f., Lucr. i. 1 f.

4. διυπετέας, "that fly in the air," not elsewhere of birds; cf. P 675 ὑπουρανίων πετεηνῶν. In Homer the word is only applied to rivers "which fall from Zeus"; Baumeister suggests the same meaning here, "sent from Zeus," comparing β 182 ἐναῖσιμοι, a passage, however, which is rather against his view; for only some birds are ἐναῖσιμοι, whereas the power of Aphrodite extends over all alike.

5. Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 582 κνώδαλ', ὅσ' ἡπειρος πολλὰ τρέφει ἡδὲ θάλασσα. Fick compares *Ogyria* 5, 11-12.

6. Matthiae compares Proclus h. iv. 13 πᾶσιν δ' ἔργα μέμηλεν ἐρωτοτόκου Κυθερείης.

8. γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην: so in α 156, Hes. *Theog.* 13, 888, h. *Ap.* 314, without variant; γλαυκῶπιν πολύμητιν in xxviii.

2. On the other hand, γλαυκῶπιδ' Ἀθήνην h. *Ap.* 323, γλαυκῶπιδα εἴπη Θ 373. See Kühner-Blass i. p. 421 n. 7.

9. εὐαδεν: Z 340, P 647 (where see Leaf).

11. ὕσμῖναί τε μάχαι τε = λ 612. For the infin. ἀλεγύνειν correlative with the preceding substantives cf. 18 and often.

ἀγλαὰ ἔργα: here of arts generally, including masculine accomplishments; below 15, of women's work. See also xx. 2.



πρώτη τέκτονας ἄνδρας ἐπιχθονίους ἐδίδαξε  
 ποιῆσαι σατίνας καὶ ἄρματα ποικίλα χαλκῶ·  
 ἡ δέ τε παρθενικὰς ἀπαλόχροας ἐν μεγάροισιν  
 ἀγλαὰ ἔργ' ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θέϊσα ἑκάστη.  
 οὐδέ ποτ' Ἀρτέμιδα χρυσηλάκατον κελαδεῖν ἦν  
 δάμναται ἐν φιλότῃ φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτῃ·  
 καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἅδε τόξα καὶ οὔρεσι θήρας ἐναίρειν,

15

12. ἐπιχθονίους Hermann: ἐπιζυγίους aut ἐπιχρύσους Peppmüller 13. σάτινα  
 omisso τε codd. (σκύτινα AtD: σάκαε marg. Γ): corr. Barnes (σατίνας vel σατίνας  
 τε) || ἰδὲ pro καὶ Fick 14. ἡδέ M 16. χρυσηλάκατον xD 17. φιλομμειδῆς  
 MDx 18. πολυύχρυσα δὲ τόξα pro καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἅδε M || ἅδε DLN

12. The asyndeton is common with  
 πρῶτος and similar words; cf. A 105,  
 N 46, 91, Ω 710, γ 36 etc. For Athena  
 as patron of crafts see xx Introd.

τέκτονας: for dedications to Athena  
 by τέκτονες cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 204 and 205.  
 Athena gave men τὴν τεκτονικὴν τέχνην  
 Diod. v. 73; so, as early as Hesiod (*Op.*  
 430), the plough-builder is 'Αθηναίης  
 δμῶος.

13. σατίνας: this rare word occurs  
 elsewhere only in Anacr. xxi. 12 σατινέων,  
*Eur. Hel.* 1311; see Hesych., and Herod.  
 π. διχρ. 291. 25. It is derived by G.  
 Meyer *Alban. Stud.* iii. = Sitzungsber.  
 d. Wiener Akad. 125 p. 51 Anm. 1:  
 "Das Wort stammt aus Vorderasien,  
 und gehört zu ai. śátrūs 'Feind' air.  
 cath. 'Kampf', gall. Caturiges, ahd. hadu,  
 ags. heaðo." This is accepted by Solmsen  
*K. Z.* xxiv. p. 38 and 69 who adds the  
 Phrygian Κότνς and the Thracian tribe  
 Σάτραι, Σατροκένται. This etymology  
 and the quotations in literature (in  
 Anacreon the word is part of a description  
 of eastern luxury, in Euripides it re-  
 presents Cybele's car) seem to make  
 σατίνη a Grecised Asian, perhaps  
 Phrygian, word. Fick's view (*B. B.*  
 ix. p. 200) that the word is Cyprian  
 rests on no better evidence than  
 Hesychius' gloss σάσαι· καθίσαι. Πάφιοι  
 (Smyth *Melic Poets* p. 291).

καὶ ἄρματα ποικίλα χαλκῶ = Δ 226,  
 K 322, 393. Rubnken (*h. Dem.* 274)  
 would neglect position throughout, i.e.  
 write τε καὶ. The question is discussed  
 in *J. H. S.* xviii. p. 23f. True exx.  
 of καὶ making position (i.e. with no  
 digamma or other consonant lost before  
 the following vowel) are rare, and  
 Ilgen's view cannot be considered as  
 proved, owing to the ease with which  
 τε is dropped in the mss. Flach (*B. B.*

ii. p. 18) omits τε in 85, 169, 232; Fick  
 reads ἰδὲ.

14 = Hes. *Op.* 519 παρθενικῆς ἀπαλό-  
 χροος, and *ibid.* 521 ἔργα ἰδυῖα πολυχρύσου  
 Ἀφροδίτης, with which cf. 9. Gemoll re-  
 marks that the debt to Hesiod is plain.

16. χρυσηλάκατον κελαδεῖν ἦν = Π  
 183, T 70, xxvii. 1. Hesych. is probably  
 right in explaining χρυσηλάκατος (for  
 Homer) as = καλλιτόξος· ἡλακάτη γὰρ ὁ  
 τοξικὸς κλάμος. For ἡλακάτη = "arrow,"  
 cf. ἄτρακτος = οἰστός. This is the view of  
 D'Orville *J. P.* xxv. p. 257, who also com-  
 pares Soph. *Trach.* 636. The sense "of  
 golden distaff" is quite unsuited to the  
 character of Artemis. The addition of  
 κελαδεῖν in several passages is a further  
 argument. The epithet refers to the  
 goddess as a hunter who "calls on the  
 hounds"; cf. schol. A on Π 183 κυνη-  
 γητικῆς· παρὰ τὸν γιγνόμενον ἐν τοῖς κυνη-  
 γίοις κέλαδον. So, probably, in Bacchyl.  
 xi. 37 Ἀρτεμις ἀγροτέρα χρυσαλάκατος...  
 τοξόκλυτος. Later poets (Pindar and  
 Bacchyl. ix. 1) must also have understood  
 the epithet to refer to the distaff.

17. φιλομμειδῆς: Curtius is no doubt  
 right in connecting this with √smi (μυ  
 for σμ), i.e. = φιλόμμελως, in spite of the  
 Hesiodean φιλομμηδέα, ὅτι μηδέων ἐξε-  
 φαάνθη, *Theog.* 200. So Brugmann  
*Grundriss* i. p. 165 and 421, iii. p.  
 1051.

18. οὔρεσι κτλ. = Φ 485 (of Artemis).  
 With the whole passage cf. Callim. *h.*  
*Art.* 2 f. τῇ τόξῃ λαγωβολῆαι τε μέλονται  
 | καὶ χοροὶ ἀμφιλαφῆς καὶ ἐν οὔρεσιν ἐψίδα-  
 σθαι. M's reading can hardly be due to  
 mere mistake; perhaps a line has fallen  
 out between 18 and 19

καὶ γὰρ τῇ ἅδε [ . . .  
 πολυύχρυσα δὲ] τόξα κτλ.

The omission was due to *homoeomeson*,



φόρμιγγές τε χοροί τε διαπρύσιοί τ' ὀλολυγαί  
 ἄλσεά τε σκιοέοντα δικαίων τε πτόλις ἀνδρῶν.  
 οὐδὲ μὲν αἰδοίη κούρη ἄδεν ἔργ' Ἀφροδίτης  
 Ἰστίη, ἣν πρώτην τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης,  
 αὐτίς δ' ὀπλοτάτην, βουλῇ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,  
 πότνια, ἣν ἐμῶντο Ποσειδάων καὶ Ἀπόλλων·

20

20. πτόλις marg. Γ ed. pr.: πόλις xAtD: πόλεις M: πόνος p  
 xDN || post h. v. repetit vv. 10-12 T 22. ἐστίν MAtD

21. ἔδει

sc. ἄδε and -α δέ. πολύχρσος in Homer is applied to persons and places, but Artemis' bow is παγχρῆσα in xxvii. 5. πολύχρσος is not Homeric.

19. διαπρύσιοι: the adjct. is not found in Homer, though διαπρυσιον (adv.) occurs several times; cf. *h. Herm.* 336. ὀλολυγαί, the cries of women at the dances in honour of Artemis. For the musical character of Artemis see Farnell p. 471, xxvii. 18.

20. δικαίων τε πτόλις ἀνδρῶν: for Artemis as a lover of justice compare Callim. *h. Art.* 122 f. ἀλλὰ μιν εἰς ἀδίκων ἔβαλες πόλιν (she slays the unjust with her arrows). πτόλις in contradistinction to ἄλσεα refers to her political and social character. This side was not very prominent. See Pauly-Wissowa s.v. 1350 f., Farnell *Cults* ii. p. 467 f. The epithet πολίτοχος given her in Apoll. *Arg.* A 312 does not seem to occur in actual cult. Although Zeus promises her "thirty cities to cherish no other god but thee, and be called by the name of Artemis" (Callim. *h. Art.* 34, cf. *ib.* 225 πολύπολι), these cities, as Farnell points out, are not Greek cities proper, or are unknown to us. At Athens and Miletus, her titles Βουλαια and Βουληφόρος shew some connexion with civic life; at Olympia she was worshipped as Ἀγοραία. Cf. also Anacr. i. ἥ κον νῦν ἐπὶ Ληθαίου δίνῃσι θρασυκαρδίων ἀνδρῶν ἐσκατοῖς πόλιν. Artemis dwells in Metapontum (Bacchyl. v. 115 f.) as δέσποινα λαῶν. But the ordinary Greek conception of Artemis is well expressed by Callim. *h. Art.* 19 f. σπαρνὸν γάρ, ὅτ' Ἀρτεμὺς ἀστὴν κάτευσεν. οὐρεσιν οἰκῆσω κτλ.

The sing. πτόλις is somewhat abrupt, and no doubt produced M's πόλεις. However "a city" is after all collective: its inhabitants may possess the ἄλσεα and produce the solemnities of 19. πτόλις is Cyprian-Arcadian, according to Fick *B. B.* ix. p. 204, but it is certainly used

here purely for metrical convenience, as πτόλις πτόλεμος in Homer. Bothe's view, that a single city (Delphi) is meant, cannot be accepted.

22. The Ionic form ἰστίη (Smyth *Ionic* § 144) has survived in the greater part of the MSS.; in the two minor hymns xxiv. 1 and xxix. 1 ἐστίν is invariable, though at xxix. 6 ἰστίη is read by all copies but two. In the four places where the word occurs in the *Odyssey*, ἰστ- is the vulgate, but in all except v 231 the common form has crept into some copies. In B 537 ἰστίασαν does not vary. In Hesiod ἐστίν is the vulgate (*Op.* 734), and ἐστίην is found sporadically in *Theog.* 454.

23. Ejected by many editors after Heyne. But there is no good reason for suspicion; the poet alludes to the legend of Cronus, who disgorged his children in an order inverse to that in which he had swallowed them (Hes. *Theog.* 495 f.). Hestia, who was the eldest child, was swallowed first and disgorged last. She could be said to have a second birth, as much as Dionysus, who was born again from the thigh of Zeus. This curious mention of Hestia as the "eldest and youngest" is perhaps connected with the custom of pouring libation to her at the beginning and end of a feast; see xxix. 5.

24. The wooing of Hestia by Poseidon and Apollo is not elsewhere mentioned. The myth, as Gemoll suggests, may be an invention of the poet himself. There is no ground for supposing any physical meaning with Preller and Baumeister. Welcker's explanation is more satisfactory, that Poseidon and Apollo stand for the highest suitors; Hestia would not accept any proposal. There was a group of Poseidon, Amphitrite, and Hestia at Olympia (Paus. v. 26. 2), a conjunction of deities which may have a physical origin, but has certainly nothing to do with the present myth.



ἡ δὲ μάλ' οὐκ ἔθελεν, ἀλλὰ στερεῶς ἀπέειπεν, 25  
 ὥμοσε δὲ μέγαν ὄρκον, ὃ δὴ τετελεσμένος ἐστίν,  
 ἀψαμένη κεφαλῆς πατρὸς Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο,  
 παρθένος ἔσσεσθαι πάντ' ἤματα, διὰ θεάων.  
 τῇ δὲ πατὴρ Ζεὺς δῶκε καλὸν γέρας ἀντὶ γάμοιο,  
 καὶ τε μέσῳ οἴκῳ κατ' ἄρ' ἔξετο πῖαρ ἐλούσα. 30  
 πᾶσιν δ' ἐν νηοῖσι θεῶν τιμάοχος ἐστί,  
 καὶ παρὰ πᾶσι βροτοῖσι θεῶν πρέσβειρα τέτυκται.  
 τάων οὐ δύναται πεπιθεῖν φρένας οὐδ' ἀπατήσai·  
 τῶν δ' ἄλλων οὐ πέρ τι πεφυγμένον ἔστ' Ἀφροδίτην  
 οὔτε θεῶν μακάρων οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων. 35  
 καὶ τε παρὲκ Ζηνὸς νόον ἤγαγε τερπικεραύνου,  
 ὅς τε μέγιστός τ' ἐστί, μεγίστης τ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς·  
 καὶ τε τοῦ, εὔτε θέλοι, πυκινὰς φρένας ἔξαπαφούσα,  
 ῥηϊδίως συνέμιξε καταβνητῇσι γυναιξίν,  
 "Ἥρης ἐκλελαθούσα κασιγνήτης ἀλόχου τε, 40  
 ἡ μέγα εἶδος ἀρίστη ἐν ἀθανάτησι θεῇσι,

25. στερεῶς M || ἐθέλεσκ' Hermann 29. Ζεὺς om. Ilgen: πατὴρ Ζεὺς  
 καλὸν ἔδω γέρας Valekenär: πατὴρ Κρονίδης δῶκεν γέρας D'Orville 30.  
 πῖαρ M 31. τιμάοχος ἐστίν codd.: corr. ed. Aldina 36. παρ' εκ M:  
 παρεκ cet.: corr. ed. pr. 37. τ' post μέγιστος om. M 38. ἐθέλη M: puncta  
 post h. versum addit M 39. κατὰ codd.: corr. ed. pr. itemque 46, 50, 51, 52 ||  
 ἐνητοῖσι p 40. ἐκλελαθόντα Ilgen 41. ἡ εἶδος μέγ' ἀρίστη Baumeister

25. ἔθελεν: the lengthening is justified by the pause; *H. G.* § 375. Hermann needlessly conjectures ἐθέλεσκ'.  
 στερεῶς ἀπέειπεν = I 510.

29. καλόν: the shortening of the first syllable is not Homeric, but occurs in Hes. *Op.* 63, *Theog.* 585. The last passage (δῶκε καλὸν κακὸν ἀντ' ἀγαθοῖο) is probably the original of this verse (Gemoll). Some older editors omitted Ζεὺς, reading δῶκεν καλόν. Baumeister objected to this on the ground that πατὴρ is not used with the omission of Ζεὺς. This, however, is a mistake; cf. *Θ* 69, 245, *Α* 80, *Ξ* 352 etc. See Ebeling s.v. πατὴρ 147. But no alteration of the text is required.

30. πῖαρ ἐλούσα: cf. *Α* 550 βοῶν ἐκ πῖαρ ἐλέσθαι. See note on *h. Ap.* 60.

31-32. Cf. xxix. 1-3, where Hestia is said to have a place in the temples of all the gods, as well as in the houses of men.

31. τιμάοχος: only here and in *h. Dem.* 268.

32. πρέσβειρα does not occur elsewhere before Euripides (*I. T.* 963).

34. τῶν ἄλλων: sc. οὐδένι. πεφυγμένον: for the use of the middle perfect participle cf. *X* 219 (neuter, as here). In *Z* 488, ι 455 it is used in the masc. In *α* 18 the object is in the genitive; see Nitzsch *ad loc.*

35 = ι 521.

36. Cf. *K* 391 παρὲκ νόον ἤγαγεν. For the sense Matthiae compares Eur. *Troad.* 948 f. Διὸς κρείσσων γενοῦ | ὅς τῶν μὲν ἄλλων δαιμόνων ἔχει κράτος, | κείνης δὲ δοῦλος ἐστί. Add Mosch. i. 76 Κύπριδος, ἡ μόνῃ δύναται καὶ Ζῆνα δαμάσσαι.

38. εὔτε θέλοι: Baumeister and Gemoll seem right in retaining the form θέλοι, as the hymn does not belong to the oldest epic. See note on *h. Ap.* 46. Some edd. after M read εὐτ' ἐθέλη, but the opt. θέλοι is to be retained; ἤγαγε and συνέμιξε are not indefinite in time, but refer to Aphrodite's treatment of Zeus in the past, for which he now punishes her.



κυδίστην δ' ἄρα μιν τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης,  
μήτηρ τε ῥεῖη· Ζεὺς δ' ἄφθιτα μῆδεα εἰδῶς  
αἰδοῖήν ἄλοχον ποιήσατο κέδν' εἰδυῖαν.

τῇ δὲ καὶ αὐτῇ Ζεὺς γλυκὺν ἥμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ, 45  
ἀνδρὶ καταθνητῷ μυχθήμεναι, ὅφρα τάχιστα  
μυθ' αὐτῇ βροτῆς εὐνῆς ἀποεργμένη εἴη,  
καὶ ποτ' ἐπευξαμένη εἴπη μετὰ πᾶσι θεοῖσιν,  
ἣδὺν γελοήσασα, φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη,  
ὥς ῥα θεοὺς συνέμιξε καταθνητῇσι γυναιξί, 50  
καὶ τε καταθνητοὺς υἱεῖς τέκον ἀθανάτοισιν,  
ὥς τε θεὰς ἀνέμιξε καταθνητοῖς ἀνθρώποις.

Ἀγχίσεω δ' ἄρα οἱ γλυκὺν ἥμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ,  
ὅς τ' ἐν ἀκροπόλοισι ὄρεσιν πολυπιδάκου Ἴδης 55  
βουκολέεσκεν βοῦς, δέμας ἀθανάτοισιν ἑοικώς.  
τὸν δὲ ἔπειτα ἰδοῦσα φιλομμειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη  
ἡράσατ', ἐκπάγλως δὲ κατὰ φρένας ἥμερος εἶλεν.

42. τέκε M 46. μιγμήμεναι AtD 47. μὴ δ' codd.: corr. Stephanus ||  
βροτέας M || ἀποεργμένη M 48. εἴποι Ilgen 49. γελάσασα M || φιλομμειδῆς  
(et 56, 65, 155): corr. Stephanus 50. σύμμιξε M || ἑνητοῖσι p 51. αἶ γε  
Pierson: ταί τε Ilgen || τέκον M: τέκεν ceteri 52. δὲ pro τε M || συνέμιξε  
Schäfer 54. πολυπιδάκος D'Orville 55. βουκολέεσκε βόας D'Orville (βόας  
Bothe) 56. δ' ἔπειτα codd.: corr. Hermann 57. ἐκπαγλός Köchly

42-44 were suspected by Ilgen, but rightly defended by Matthiae. The poet is imitating epic prolixity, and airing his mythological knowledge.

43. ἄφθιτα μῆδεα εἰδῶς: the phrase is comparatively rare, occurring only in Ω 88, Hes. *Theog.* 545, 550, 561, *fr.* xxxv. 2 (135). Compare also *h. Dem.* 321 Ζεὺς ἄφθιτα εἰδῶς.

45. See *Introd.* p. 196 and cf. 189 f., where Aphrodite's passion is a sorrow to her. Lang (*Transl.* p. 42) compares Homer's lenient view of Helen, who is the unwilling tool of destiny.

48. For the change of mood in εἴπη following εἴη compare O 598 (ἐμβάλη . . . ἐπικρήναι: Hermann ἐμβάλοι), μ 156 (θάνωμεν . . . φύγωμεν: some mss. and edd. φύγωμεν), E 567 πάθη . . . ἀποσφίλει (where πάθοι is read by Leaf after two mss.). The usage, however, appears to be established; cf. Π 648-651, Σ 306, δ 692. So Ω 654 αὐτὶκ' ἂν ἐξείποι . . . καὶ κεν ἀνάβλησις λύσιος νεκροῦ γένηται, where the subj. appears to express the certainty of the further consequence as though the hypothetical

case (αὐτὶκ' ἂν ἐξείποι) had actually occurred (*H. G.* § 275). In all these cases the subj. indicates that greater stress is laid upon an alternative or consequence.

52. ἀνέμιξε: Schäfer's correction συνέμιξε is palaeographically easy, but it is hard to see why, if the mss. preserve συνέμιξε in 39, 50, and συνέμιξα 250, they should not have done so here. Ixion read ἀναμίσγομαι (for ἐπιμίσγομαι) K 548.

54=ἐν ἀκροπόλοισιν ὄρεσιν E 523, τ 205. πολυπιδάκου: the form (for πολυπιδάκος) was condemned by Aristarchus; cf. schol. A on E 157 τὸ δὲ διὰ τοῦ ν γράφειν τελῶς ἀγροικόν. It is given, however, in the *Cypria fr.* 3. 5 (Athen. xv. p. 682 f.); cf. Strabo 602 πολυπιδάκον δὲ τὴν Ἴδην ἰδίως οἰονταὶ λέγεσθαι. See La Roche *Hom. Textkr.* p. 343. For the double form cf. φύλαξ, φυλακός.

57. ἐκπάγλως is supported by Γ 415 ἐκπαγλα φίλησα and E 423. The form ἐκπάγλως occurs in A 268. Hence there is no need for Köchly's obvious correction ἐκπαγλός.



ἐς Κύπρον δ' ἐλθοῦσα θυώδεα νηὸν ἔδυνεν,  
 ἐς Πάφον· ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυώδης·  
 ἔνθ' ἣ γ' εἰσελθοῦσα θύρας ἐπέθηκε φαεινάς.  
 ἔνθα δέ μιν Χάριτες λούσαν καὶ χρῖσαν ἐλαίῳ  
 ἀμβρότῳ, οἷα θεοὺς ἐπενήνοθεν αἰὲν ἔοντας,  
 ἀμβροσίῳ ἔδανῳ, τό ρά οἱ τεθυμένον ἦεν.

60

58. ἐκκύπρον L 59. ξῆσα τε Hermann 61. χρίσαν MDE: χρίσαν LN  
 63. ἔδανῳ Clarke cl. Ξ 172: ἔανῳ codd.

58-62=θ 362-365, with the addition Ξ 169 (=60) and Ξ 172 (=63). 58 is not literally identical with θ 362 (ἣ δ' ἄρα Κύπρον ἵκανε φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτη), and in 59 the hymn has θυώδης against θυήεις of θ 363. A more important difference is ἔανῳ in the hymn 63, against ἔδανῳ Ξ 172. As ἔανῳ cannot be an adj., and as (in Ξ 172) Athen. 688 E, schol. Ξ 346, and the papyr. Brit. Mus. 572 have ἔανῳ, it is probable that ἔδανῳ was original here, and suffered an easy graphical corruption to the common word (see on 63).

It might be doubted whether the writer consciously combined the two contexts from Ξ and θ, or whether the passage in θ, which is the closer parallel, was at one time fuller. But he must also have been familiar with Ξ; see on 66, 68.

59. For the Phoenician temple of Aphrodite at Paphos see E. Gardner in *J. H. S.* ix. 193-215, Dyer p. 305 f. For the repetition of ἐς cf. note on *h. Ap.* 439. It does not appear in θ 362. The inelegancy θυώδεα—θυώδης is also due to the imitator. βωμός τε εὐώδης following θυώδεα νηὸν draws special attention to the incense, which was a prominent feature of the Paphian temple-cult; cf. Verg. *Aen.* i. 415 f. *ipsa Paphum sublimis alit, sedesque revisit | laeta suas: ubi templum illi centumque Sabaeo | ture calant arae sertisque recubantibus halant.*

60. εὐρας ἐπέθηκε φαεινάς = Ξ 169, φ 45; cf. ζ 19, E 751. The doors are "brought to" their σταθμοί. The epithet φαεινάς probably refers to metal ornament. In the house of Alcinoüs the door is golden (η 88).

61. ξῆσα δέ: δέ is given in θ 363. Hermann would read ἔνθα τε here and in *h. Pan.* 31. But δέ and τε appear to be equally correct; ἔνθα δέ = *et ibi*, ἔνθα τε = *ubi*.

In E 338 the robe of Aphrodite is

called the work of the Charites; in the *Cypria* fr. 2 it is woven by the Charites and Horae. Aphrodite is associated with Charites in the dance; cf. σ 194, *h. Ap.* 194 f. The Nymphs and Charites with Aphrodite sing together on Ida—*Cypria* fr. 3. The connexion is certainly old, although we cannot assert that it is primitive; see Farnell p. 625. At Elis Pausanias (vi. 24. 5) saw statues of the Charites, who bore emblems of Aphrodite, and remarks Χάριτας δὲ Ἀφροδίτη μάλιστα εἶναι θεῶν (*oikeias*). Cf. also θ 362, Hes. *Op.* 73, Mosch. i. 71, Colluth. 16, and other reff. in Roscher *Lex.* s.v. 875.

62. οἷα: the plur. following ἐλαίῳ is curious; according to M. and R. (on θ 365) "it is not used merely adverbially, but takes up generally the idea suggested by the emphatic epithet ἀμβρότῳ." This view seems better than to take οἷα as "in such manner as," in which case ἔλαιον will be the subject of ἐπενήνοθεν.

ἐπενήνοθεν: second perf. ἐπ-εν-ἀνέθω, "flowers out upon" (stem ἀνοθ for ἀνθ in ἀνθος etc.). Others translate "is laid upon," from ἐνέθω; see Curt. *Et.* 304, Buttmann *Lexil.* 130 f. Meyer (*Griech. Et.* i.) marks the etymology as doubtful.

63. The verse has been generally ejected, but is rightly retained by Gemoll; see further on 97. There is no reason why the writer of the hymn, who apparently borrowed 60 from Ξ, should not have added another line from the same context. For the meaning of ἀμβροσίῳ see Leaf on B 19. There can be little doubt that it is here used as a synonym of ἀμβρότῳ, though Gemoll thinks that the writer may have distinguished between the two words. For the close conjunction of the words see σ 191-93.

ἔδανῳ: the meaning may be "sweet," as Apollon. and Herod. understood, but the derivation is unknown; see Meyer *Griech. Et.* i. s.v., and cf. Solmsen *Untersuchungen* p. 283, 4.



ἐσσαμένη δ' εὖ πάντα περὶ χροῖ εἴματα καλά,  
 χρυσῷ κοσμηθεῖσα φιλομμείδης Ἀφροδίτη 65  
 σέυατ' ἐπὶ Τροίης προλιποῦσ' εὐώδεα Κύπρον,  
 ὕψι μετὰ νέφεσιν ῥίμφα πρήσσουσα κέλευθον.  
 Ἴδην δ' ἵκανεν πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρῶν,  
 βῆ δ' ἰθὺς σταθμοῖο δι' οὐρεος· οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτὴν  
 σαίνοντες πολιοὶ τε λύκοι χαροποὶ τε λέοντες, 70  
 ἄρκτοι παρδάλιές τε θαλὶ προκάδων ἀκόρητοι  
 ἦσαν· ἡ δ' ὀρώσα μετὰ φρεσὶ τέρπετο θυμόν,  
 καὶ τοῖς ἐν στήθεσσι βάλλ' ἥμερον, οἱ δ' ἅμα πάντες  
 σύνδυο κοιμήσαντο κατὰ σκιόεντας ἐναύλους.  
 αὐτὴ δ' ἐς κλισίας εὐποιήτους ἀφίκανε· 75  
 τὸν δ' εὖρε σταθμοῖσι λελειμμένον οἶον ἀπ' ἄλλων  
 Ἀγχίσην ἦρωα, θεῶν ἄπο κάλλος ἔχοντα.  
 οἱ δ' ἅμα βουσὶν ἔποντο νομοὺς κάτα ποιήεντας  
 πάντες, ὁ δὲ σταθμοῖσι λελειμμένος οἶος ἀπ' ἄλλων  
 πωλεῖτ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διαπρύσιον κιθαρίζων. 80

66. τροίης M: τροίην cet. || κἄπον M 67. νέφεσι ῥίμφα M (quod restituit  
 Matthiae): νεφέεσι εὐώδε cet. 68-112 om. M 68. εἰῶν, in marg. γρ.  
 θηρῶν ET 71. παρδάλιες p || ἄρκτοι παρδάλιες εἰῶι τε πρόκων ἀκόρητοι  
 D'Orville 72. ἤσαν seu ἤσαν libri: corr. Ilgen 76. ἐν σταθμοῖσιν Hermann  
 77. ἀπὸ seu ἀπο libri: corr. Stephanus 79. δ' ἐν Hermann

66, 67. In both lines the reading of M has been accepted. For ἐπὶ with *gen.* = "towards" cf. Γ 5, Ε 700. ῥίμφα, as the rarer word, is *prima facie* more probable than *θεῶς*.

66. εὐώδεα: all Cyprus is filled with the fragrance of the goddess. The epithet, as Gemoll notes, is suggested by Ξ 173 f., where the smell of the oil, with which Hera anoints herself, reaches heaven and earth.

68 = Θ 47 (ἵκανεν) and Ξ 283 (ἰκέσθην); the latter verse was probably in the poet's mind, as 67 = Ξ 282.

μητέρα θηρῶν: cf. *μητέρα μῆλων* B 696, I 479, A 222, h. Pan 30.

69 f. Lenz remarks that this passage is suggested by the episode of Circe, κ 212 f., where, however, wolves and lions fawn on the companions of Odysseus, not on Circe. But the main idea—the power of a goddess over brutes—is the same. In *Apoll. Arg.* A 1144 f. wild beasts fawn on Rhea, and in *Arg.* Δ 672 f. they follow Circe like sheep following a shepherd. So *Lucr.* i. 16 *ita capta lepore | te*

*sequitur cupide quo quaque inducere pergis (pecudes).*

71. παρδάλιες Mx, παρδάλιες p. The Paris family preserves the Aeolic form (*Smyth Ionic* § 147. 2), which, however, remained in common use; e.g. *Strabo* 619. In *Homer* (N 103, P 20, Φ 573, δ 457) the mss. are divided; *Aristarchus* read *πάρδ-*. D'Orville wished to alter the line so as to assimilate *προκάδων* to the declension *πρόξ, προκός* which we find in ρ 295. But *δόρξ, δορκός* is a sufficient parallel for the double form.

74. σύνδυο: not in *Homer*, but cf. *σύντρεις* α 429.

76. σταθμοῖσι: the locative dat. here and in 79 is defended by such passages as θ 66 μέσσω δαιτυμόνων (θήκε), T 22 πτυχι Οὐλύμποιο ἥμενος; see *H. G.* § 145. The use is most common with names of places, as § 8, 162 etc. (*Σχερίη, Δήλω*). For exx. in the hymns cf. *ἱνῖτρα* 173, h. *Dem.* 99, xx. 4.

77. εἰῶν ἄπο κάλλος ἔχοντα = θ 457 (ἔχουσα). Cf. § 18 *Χαρῖτων ἀπο κάλλος ἔχουσαι* (= *Hes. fr.* 81. 1), and 12 *θεῶν ἀπο μῆδεα εἰδώς*.



στη δ' αὐτοῦ προπάροιθε Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη,  
παρθένῳ ἀδμήτῃ μέγεθος καὶ εἶδος ὁμοίη,  
μή μιν ταρβήσειεν ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι νοήσας.

Ἀγχίσης δ' ὁρώων ἐφράζετο θαύμαίνεν τε  
εἰδὸς τε μέγεθός τε καὶ εἴματα σιγαλόεντα.

85

πέπλον μὲν γὰρ ἔεστο φαεινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς,  
εἶχε δ' ἐπιγναμπτὰς ἑλικας κάλυκας τε φαεινάς,  
ὄρμοι δ' ἀμφ' ἀπαλῇ δειρῇ περικαλλέες ἦσαν,  
καλοὶ χρύσειοι παμποίκιλοι· ὥς δὲ σελήνῃ

στήθεσιν ἀμφ' ἀπαλοῖσιν ἐλάμπετο, θαῦμα ἰδέσθαι.

90

Ἀγχίσην δ' ἔρος εἶλεν, ἔπος δέ μιν ἀντίον ἦνδα·

χαῖρε, ἄνασσ', ἣ τις μακάρων τάδε δώμαθ' ἰκάνεις,

Ἄρτεμις ἢ Λητὼ ἢ χρυσέῃ Ἀφροδίτῃ

ἢ Θέμις ἠὔγενής ἢ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνῃ,

ἢ πού τις Χαρίτων δεῦρ' ἤλυθες, αἶ τε θεοῖσι

95

82. τε καὶ *wp* 84. θάμβαινεν *p*, legit Hermann 85. τε om. Flach: τ'  
ιδὲ pro τε καὶ Fick 86. ἔστο ed. pr.: ἔστο Hermann 87. εὐγνάμπτας  
Baumeister 89, 90 ante 86 transposuit Wakefield ad Luer. i. 502 ita ut καλὸν  
χρῦσειον παμποίκιον legatur 91. τάφος pro δ' ἔρος Peppmüller 93.  
χρυσᾷ libri: corr. Barnes

84. θάμβαινεν (the form in *p*) is found also in one ms. of Pind. *Ol.* iii. 33, where the majority have θαύμαινε or θαύμαζε, some θάμαινε.

86. φαεινότερον πυρὸς αὐγῆς = Σ 609 (θάρηκα).

87. ἐπιγναμπτὰς: the verb ἐπιγνάμπτω is not uncommon, and the adjective, though ἀπ. λεγ., need not be suspected. Baumeister reads εὐγνάμπτας, which, however, is of two terminations: σ 294, *Apoll. Arg.* i. 833, *Orph. Arg.* 499. ἐπιγναμπτὰς (Barnes and Döderlein), sc. ἐπὶ τούτῳ, is quite impossible.

ἑλικας κτλ.: the description of the jewels is evidently borrowed from Σ 401, which = 163 *infra*. According to Helbig the ἑλικες were brooches, such as have been found in graves of the "Mycenean" period, formed of two spirals (*H. E.* p. 279-82). The κάλυκες were probably earrings in the shape of flower-buds, but nothing is really known about them. The schol. AB on Σ 401 gives a choice of several meanings—rings, earrings, and spirals for the hair (cf. P 52).

90. ἐλάμπετο is probably impersonal (Franke, Gemoll). The old view that the subject is ὄρμοι (by *schema Pindari-*

*cum*) is most improbable. Baumeister suggests that Aphrodite is the subject, but, as Gemoll observes, the goddess is clothed, and it is the πέπλος, not the skin of the goddess herself, which shines (cf. 86). The construction would be simplified if, with Wakefield (followed by Sihle and others), we transpose 89, 90 between 86 and 87, reading καλὸν χρῦσειον παμποίκιον in 89; the subject of ἐλάμπετο is then clear.

91. Ἀγχίσην δ' ἔρος εἶλεν: Anchises loved Aphrodite at first sight; lines 143, 144 merely imply that the goddess added to his passion. Peppmüller's τάφος for δ' ἔρος is no improvement to the sense, and is objectionable on account of the asyndeton.

92 f. The passage was probably suggested by § 149 f. (Odysseus' address to Nausicaa). With 97-99 cf. § 124-25.

ἄνασσα is only applied to goddesses in Homer: to Demeter *Ε* 326, and Athena γ 380 (in § 149 Odysseus doubts whether Nausicaa is not a goddess, and uses the word reverently). So in the hymns: *h. Dem.* 75, 440, 492; xxxii. 17.

95 f. In Homer the Charites are mainly associated with Aphrodite (see on 61), although Charis is the wife of



πᾶσιν ἑταιρίζουσι καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλέονται,  
 ἢ τις νυμφῶν, αἶ τ' ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται,  
 ἢ νυμφῶν, αἶ καλὸν ὄρος τόδε ναιετάουσι,  
 καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πίσεα ποιήεντα.  
 σοὶ δ' ἐγὼ ἐν σκοπῇ, περιφαινομένῳ ἐνὶ χώρῳ, 100  
 βωμὸν ποιήσω, ῥέξω δέ τοι ἱερὰ καλὰ  
 ὥρησιν πάσῃσι· σὺ δ' εὐφρονα θυμὸν ἔχουσα  
 δός με μετὰ Τρώεσσιν ἀριπρεπέ' ἔμμεναι ἄνδρα,  
 ποίει δ' εἰσοπίσω θαλερὸν γόνον, αὐτὰρ ἔμ' αὐτὸν  
 δηρὸν ἐὺ ζῶειν καὶ ὀρᾶν φάος ἡελίοιο, 105  
 ὄλβιον ἐν λαοῖς, καὶ γήραος οὐδὸν ἰκέσθαι.  
 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη·  
 Ἀγχίση, κύδιστε χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων,  
 οὐ τίς τοι θεὸς εἰμι· τί μ' ἀθανάτησιν ἔσκες;  
 ἀλλὰ καταθνητὴ γε, γυνὴ δέ με γείνατο μήτηρ. 110  
 Ὅτρεὺς δ' ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὄνομα κλυτός, εἴ που ἀκούεις,  
 ὃς πάσης Φρυγίης εὐτειχέτιο ἀνάσσει.

97 om. ET 99. πείσεα L: βίσεα cet.: corr. Clarke, Ruhnken 103.  
 ἄνδρα] αἰεῖ Hermann: ἀνδρῶν Schneidewin 104. ἐσοπίσω Hermann 105. ἐὺ  
 ζῶειν T: ἐὺζῶειν cet. || ἔα pro εὐ Gemoll 110. τε codd.: γε Gemoll || γυνή τε  
 Ilgen

Hephaestus in Σ 382, and Hera promises one of the Charites in marriage, Σ 267, 275. But in later times they were connected with various other deities, e.g. with Apollo, Artemis, the Muses, Hermes, Dionysus, and Hera. For references see Preller-Robert ii. p. 482 f.

97, 98. Here (as in 62, 63 ἀμβροσίῳ ἀμβρότῳ) the repetition of **νυμφῶν** has been a ground for assuming two recensions; but (1) in each case the second line introduces a fresh item of description, (2) the redundancy does not involve more than a poverty of art. Therefore it is probable that 63 and 98 are original. **νυμφῶν** — **νυμφῶν**, if remarkable, has the exact parallel of ὠδῆς — ἀοιδῆς *h. Dem.* 494, 495. Lines 97, 99 = T 8, 9 (οὐτ' ἄρα for ἡ τις). With 98 cf. § 123 **νυμφῶν** αἶ ἔχουσ' ὀρέων αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα (§ 124 = T 9). Gemoll is wrong in suggesting that the Oreads may be a later conception, owing to their absence in T. They are mentioned in Z 420 **νύμφαι** ὄρεστιάδες, as well as in the *Odyssey*. See on 258.

99. **πηγὰς ποταμῶν**: sc. *νηιάδες* ν 104 (*νηῖς* H 22).

102. **ὥρησιν πάσῃσι**, "at all seasons" rather than "for all time," which is *ἡματα πάντα*. Gemoll compares *h. Dem.* 399 and xxvi. 12.

103. The editors compare Z 476 *δότε δὴ καὶ τὸνδε γενέσθαι* | *παῖδ' ἐμὸν*, ὡς καὶ ἐγὼ περ, *ἀριπρεπέα Τρώεσσιν*.

**ἄνδρα**: Schneidewin's *ἀνδρῶν* is quite unnecessary; nor is *αἰεῖ* an improvement, although *ἀνὴρ* and *αἰεῖ* are confused in *h. Ap.* 151.

104. **εἰσοπίσω** = *ἐξοπίσω* (*Od.*), which Hermann and Abel would read here. For *εἰσοπίσω* cf. *Soph. Phil.* 1105.

**αὐτὰρ ἔμ' αὐτόν** κτλ.: sc. *δός*, supplied from 103. Gemoll's *ἔα* for *εὐ* in 105 is not fortunate.

105. **ζῶειν** κτλ. = κ 498.

108. **χαμαιγενέων ἀνθρώπων** is Hesiodian (*Theog.* 879). Cf. *h. Dem.* 352.

109 = π 187 (*ἀθανάτοις*).

111. In Γ 186 Otreus is a chief of the Phrygians, who was assisted by Priam in an invasion of the Amazons.

112. **εὐτειχέτιο**: *ἀπ. λεγ.* For the Homeric forms *εὐτείχεον*, *εὐτείχεα* see Leaf on II 57.



γλώσσαν δ' ὑμετέρην καὶ ἡμετέρην σάφα οἶδα.  
 Τρωὰς γὰρ μεγάρῳ με τροφὸς τρέφεν, ἣ δὲ διαπρὸ  
 σμικρὴν παῖδ' ἀτίταλλε, φίλης παρὰ μητρὸς ἐλούσα. 115  
 ὥς δὴ τοι γλώσσάν γε καὶ ὑμετέρην εὖ οἶδα.  
 νῦν δέ μ' ἀνῆρπαξε χρυσόρραπις Ἀργειφόντης  
 ἐκ χοροῦ Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσηλακάτου κελαδεινῆς.  
 πολλοὶ δὲ νύμφαι καὶ παρθένοι ἀλφεσίβοιαι  
 παίζομεν, ἀμφὶ δ' ὄμιλος ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωτο. 120  
 ἔνθεν μ' ἥρπαξε χρυσόρραπις Ἀργειφόντης,  
 πολλὰ δ' ἔπ' ἤγαγεν ἔργα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
 πολλὴν δ' ἄκληρόν τε καὶ ἄκτιον, ἣν διὰ θῆρες  
 ὠμοφάγοι φοιτῶσι κατὰ σκιόεντας ἐναύλους,  
 οὐδὲ ποσὶ ψαύσειν ἐδόκουν φυσιζόου αἴης. 125  
 Ἀγχισεῶ δέ με φάσκε παρὰ λέχεσιν καλέεσθαι

113. καὶ libri: τε καὶ Wolf || ἡμετέρην ET || puncta versui praefigit M 114.  
 τρωὰς M: τρώας cet. || γὰρ δ' ἦρ Matthiae 116. ἦτοι Wolf || τε codd.: γε corr.  
 Hermann 118. χρυσηλακάτου MD: χρυσηλάτου cet., cf. 16 119. πολλοὶ  
 δὴ Barnes 122. ἐπάγαγεν codd.: corr. Barnes 123. ἄκτιον ET 125.  
 ψαύσειν M: ψαύειν cet. || φυσιζῶον codd.: corr. Stephanus 126. κλινέεσθαι  
 Guttman

113. The recognition of difficulties in understanding another's language is quite Homeric, and is not "a note of late authorship, or at least of a self-conscious art not found in very early poetry" (Tyrrell *Hermath.* ix. p. 48). Cf. B 804, Δ 437; and later Aesch. *Agam.* 1034, Eur. *Phoen.* 301 with schol. A foreign nurse must have been common wherever slave-trading was known.

καὶ ἡμετέρην: i.e. "I know your tongue as well as my own."

118=Π 183 (ἐν χορῷ), where Hermes carries off Polymele, whom he himself loves. Lines 119–21 are an amplification of the Homeric passage, characteristic of an imitator. In Eur. *Hel.* 44 f. Hermes carries off Helen.

119. νύμφαι, "brides" or "young wives"; the word is applied to Helen, Γ 130, and to Penelope, δ 743.

120. ἀπείριτος ἐστεφάνωτο = κ 195 (πόντος), of an island, and Hes. *Scut.* 204 (ὄλβος), of the chorus on Olympus. For the crowd surrounding the dancers cf. Σ 603.

121. χρυσόρραπις: see on *h. Herm.* 529.

123. ἄκληρον, land which has not

been divided into κλῆροι, "allotments" (see O 498). ἄκτιον, "not built over"; it might possibly = "uncultivated," as its opposite *εὐκτῖμος* appears sometimes to mean "well-tilled"; cf. ι 130, ω 336. For the omission of γῆν cf. Ξ 308, υ 98, *h. Dem.* 43 ἐπὶ τραφερὴν τε καὶ ὑγρὴν, *h. Ap.* 529. So K 27, δ 709 πούλῃν ἐφ' ὑγρὴν, Hes. *Theog.* 440 etc.

125. ψαύειν: the present ψαύειν would mean "we went (i.e. ran) so fast that I was flying." This is certainly wrong, for the motion of Gods or persons conveyed by Gods is through the air: e.g. of Hera Ξ 228, Aeneas Τ 335, Hermes ε 40, Persephone *h. Dem.* 383, Iphigenia Eur. *I. T.* 29, Memnon Quint. Smyrn. ii. 569. The meaning required is: "I thought I should go on for ever, without touching ground." Ruhnken and Matthiae alone accept the future.

126. καλέεσθαι: for the form cf. η 313 (αὶ γὰρ) ἐμὸς γαμβρὸς καλέεσθαι, a passage which renders Guttman's κλινέεσθαι quite superfluous. The fut. act. καλέω occurs four times in Homer. The fut. pass. κελήσομαι is commoner in epic, cf. 148; for καλέεσθαι cf. Soph. *El.* 971; Kühner-Blass ii. 103 n. 6, Smyth *Ionic* § 592. 4.



κουριδίην ἄλοχον, σοὶ δ' ἀγλαὰ τέκνα τεκέϊσθαι.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ δεῖξε καὶ ἔφρασεν, ἧ τοι ὃ γ' αὖτις  
 ἀθανάτων μετὰ φύλ' ἀπέβη κρατὺς Ἀργεϊφόντης·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σ' ἰκόμην, κρατερὴ δέ μοι ἔπλετ' ἀνάγκη. 130  
 ἀλλὰ σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι ἠδὲ τοκῆων  
 ἐσθλῶν· οὐ μὲν γάρ κε κακοὶ τοιόνδε τέκοιεν·  
 ἀδμήτην μ' ἀγαγὼν καὶ ἀπειρήτην φιλόττος  
 πατρί τε σῶ δείξον καὶ μητέρι κέδν' εἰδυῖη,  
 σοῖς τε κασιγνήτοις, οἳ τοι ὁμόθεν γεγάασιν· 135  
 οὐ σφιν ἀεικελίη νυὸς ἔσσομαι, ἀλλ' εἰκυῖα.  
 πέμψαι δ' ἄγγελον ὦκα μετὰ Φρύγας αἰολοπώλους,  
 εἰπεῖν πατρί τ' ἐμῶ καὶ μητέρι κηδομένη περ·  
 οἱ δέ κέ τοι χρυσόν τε ἄλλισ ἐσθῆτά θ' ὕφαντῇ  
 πέμψουσιν, σὺ δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἀγλαὰ δέχθαι ἄποινα. 140  
 ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας δαίνυ γάμον ἱμερόεντα,  
 τίμιον ἀνθρώποισι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν.

127. τεκέϊσθαι Buttman 128. ἦ τοι E: ἦ τοι cet. || *versum* 130 post 131 habet D 132. μὲν M: om. cet. || κε M: τε cet. (τοι V ed. pr.): τοί κε vel τοί ce Matthiae 133. ἀπ ρήτην L 135. δοῖωτε κασιγνήτω M 136. post hunc v. addunt alterum (136<sup>a</sup>) Mx: εἴ τοι [τι EAtd] ἀεικελίη γυνὴ ἔσσομαι ἢ καὶ οὐκί: cui in L duo puncta adduntur || pro versibus 136, 136<sup>a</sup>, hunc solum exhibet p: οὐ σφιν ἀεικελίη γυνὴ ἔσσομαι ἢ καὶ οὐκί. || εἴ σφιν ἀεικελίη νυὸς ἔσσομαι ἢ καὶ οὐκί Ruhnken 139. οἱ δέ κε χρυσόν M: οὐδέ τε AQ: οἱ δέ τε cet.: μὲν add. Steph.: coi Matthiae: τοι idem in ed.: οἱ δ' ἦτοι Gemoll || χρυσόν τε M: κεν cet.

127. τεκέϊσθαι for τέξεσθαι is remarkable. Baumeister classes the form as an Attic (second) future.

130. κρατερὴ κτλ. = κ 273.

132. Cf. δ 64 ἐπεὶ οὐ κε κακοὶ τοιοῦσδε τέκοιεν, *h. Dem.* 213. κε is no doubt right, though τε would be possible. For the confusion of the two particles cf. O 224.

133. For negative adjectives with three terminations see n. on *h. Herm.* 447, and for other adjectives n. on *h. Ap.* 32. Cf. ἀεικελίη 136, 136<sup>a</sup>.

135. ὁμόθεν, "of the same stock"; cf. Hes. *Op.* 108, Soph. *El.* 156, Eur. *I. A.* 501, *Or.* 486.

136, 136<sup>a</sup>. These lines are obviously incompatible, unlike 97, 98 above. On the other hand, they do not seem corruptions, either one from the other, or from a common original. Ruhnken's

attempt to construct a single verse out of the two is unsuccessful. Flach (*das nachhes. Digamma* p. 36 n.) prefers 136<sup>a</sup> on the ground that ἀλλ' εἰκυῖα neglects the digamma. D'Orville compares Ovid *Heroid.* v. 83 *non tamen ut Priamus nymphae socer esse recuset*, | *aut Hecubae fuerim dissimulanda nurus*.

139. χρυσόν κτλ. = ν 136, π 231.

140. ἄποινα, "price," is here used apparently for the presents given to the bride as a dowry by her parents. Cf. I 147, where the presents are called μείλια (see Leaf *ad loc.*), X 51. Matthiae understands ἄποινα to bear its common meaning of "reward" (as in 210), translating *retributio pro reperta et servata filia*; but this seems forced and improbable.

142. τίμιον apparently refers to a regular marriage, as opposed to illicit intercourse (Baumeister).



ὥς εἰπούσα θεὰ γλυκὺν ἴμερον ἔμβαλε θυμῷ.  
 Ἀγχίσην δ' ἔρος εἶλεν, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν.  
 εἰ μὲν θνητὴ τ' ἐσσί, γυνή τέ σε γείνατο μήτηρ, 145  
 Ὅτρεὺς δ' ἐστὶ πατὴρ ὄνομα κλυτός, ὡς ἀγορεύεις,  
 ἀθανάτου δὲ ἔκῃτι διακτόρου ἐνθάδ' ἰκάνεις  
 Ἑρμέω, ἐμὴ δ' ἄλοχος κεκλήσεται ἡματα πάντα.  
 οὐ τις ἔπειτα θεῶν οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
 ἐνθάδε με σχήσει, πρὶν σῇ φιλότῃ μιγῆναι 150  
 αὐτίκα νῦν· οὐδ' εἴ κεν ἐκηβόλος αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων  
 τόξου ἀπ' ἀργυρέου προῖῃ βέλεα στονόεντα.  
 βουλοίμην κεν ἔπειτα, γύναι εἰκυῖα θεῇσι,  
 σῆς εὐνῆς ἐπιβὰς δῦναι δόμον Ἀϊδος εἴσω.  
 ὥς εἰπὼν λάβε χεῖρα· φιλομειδῆς δ' Ἀφροδίτη 155  
 ἔρπε μεταστρεφθεῖσα, κατ' ὄμματα καλὰ βαλοῦσα,  
 ἐς λέχος εὐστρωτον, ὅθι περ πάρος ἔσκεν ἄνακτι  
 χλαῖνῃσιν μαλακῆς ἐστρωμένον· αὐτὰρ ὑπερθεν  
 ἄρκτων δέρματ' ἔκειτο βαρυφθόγγων τε λεόντων, 160  
 τοὺς αὐτὸς κατέπεφνεν ἐν οὔρεσιν ὑψηλοῖσιν.  
 οἱ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν λεχέων εὐποιήτων ἐπέβησαν,  
 κόσμον μὲν οἱ πρῶτον ἀπὸ χροὸς εἶλε φαεινόν,  
 πόρπας τε γναμπτάς θ' ἔλικας κάλυκας τε καὶ ὄρμους.  
 λῦσε δέ οἱ ζώνην ἰδὲ εἵματα σιγαλόεντα

144. ἔρος M<sub>p</sub>: ἔρος M corr. cet. 145. τ'] γ' Wolf: τέ ce EL: δέ ce cet.  
 146. ἀγοράζειν p (ἀγορεύεις marg.: ἀγοράζειν N) 147. ἀθανάτου δ' ἔκῃτι M:  
 ἀθανάτοιο δ' ἔκῃτι cet.: corr. Hermann 150. puncta h. v. praeſigat M || coi  
 pro cſ Ilgen 152. προῖοι p 155. φιλομειδῆς ABL<sub>2</sub>N superser.: φιλομειδῆς  
 cet. 156. μεταστρεφθεῖσα ET || βαλοῦσα om. spatio relicto M 157. λέχων  
 M || τόθι Hermann || ἔσκεν αὐτῇ M 158. δίνῃσι μαλακῇσιν M (ex λίνοισι  
 μαλακοῖς ortum putavit Matthiae) 159. ἐκ τῶν pro ἄρκτων M 164. ἡδ' M

143=Γ 139.

147. A striking instance of the retention by M of an earlier stage of language; cf. *h. Ap.* 341. Where ἔκῃτι occurs in Homer the digamma is observed (ο 319, τ 86, υ 42) except in υ 42, where there is a variant τ' ἀέκῃτι. In xxvi. 5 the digamma is neglected.

150. σχήσει πρὶν: cf. P 502 οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ γε Ἑκτορα . . . σχήσεσθαι ὅτω πρὶν . . . βῆμεναι ἵππῳ. Baumeister and Gemoll find a difficulty in the construction here which, however, seems perfectly logical and intelligible. We might indeed expect the simple inf., as in P 182 σχήσω ἀμυνόμεναι, but this con-

struction does not occur again in Homer. The Attic μὴ οὐ is, of course, later.

151. ἐκηβόλος αὐτὸς Ἀπόλλων: cf. n. on *h. Herm.* 234.

152. προῖῃ is rightly adopted by recent editors; προῖοι would necessitate the correction of κεν to μὲν or καί, neither of which is satisfactory.

154. Baumeister compares Mus. *Hero and Leand.* 79 αὐτίκα τεθναίνην λεχέων ἐπιβήμενος Ἡροῦς. We may add E 685 ἔπειτά με καὶ λίποι αἰὼν and η 224 ἰδόντα με καὶ λίποι αἰὼν | κτῆσιν ἐμῇν κτλ.

156. κατ' ὄμματα καλὰ βαλοῦσα= *h. Dem.* 194.

163=Σ 401.



ἔκδυε καὶ κατέθηκεν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροῦλου 165  
 Ἀγχίσης· ὁ δ' ἔπειτα θεῶν ἰότητι καὶ αἴσῃ  
 ἀθανάτῃ παρέλεκτο θεᾷ βροτός, οὐ σάφα εἰδώς.

ἦμος δ' ἄψ εἰς αὖλιν ἀποκλίνουσι νομῆς  
 βοῦς τε καὶ ἵφια μῆλα νομῶν ἐξ ἀνθεμοέντων,  
 τῆμος ἄρ' Ἀγχίση μὲν ἐπὶ γλυκὺν ὕπνον ἔχευε 170  
 νήδυμον, αὐτὴ δὲ χροῖ ἔννυτο εἴματα καλά.

ἔσσημένη δ' εὖ πάντα περὶ χροῖ διὰ θεάων  
 ἔστη ἄρα κλισίῃ, κεῦποιήτοιο μελάθρου  
 κύρε κάρη, κάλλος δὲ παρειάων ἀπέλαμπεν  
 ἄμβροτον, οἶόν τ' ἐστὶν εὖστεφάνου Κυthereίης. 175  
 ἐξ ὕπνου τ' ἀνέγειρεν, ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν·

ὄρσεο, Δαρδανίδη· τί νυ νήγρετον ὕπνον ἱαίεις;  
 καὶ φράσαι, εἴ τοι ὁμοίῃ ἐγὼν ἰνδάλλομαι εἶναι,  
 οἴην δὴ με τὸ πρῶτον ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσι νόησας;

ὥς φάθ'· ὁ δ' ἐξ ὕπνοιο μάλ' ἐμπαπέως ὑπάκουσεν. 180  
 ὥς δὲ ἶδεν δειρὴν τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ' Ἀφροδίτης,  
 τάρβησέν τε καὶ ὅσσε παρακλιδὸν ἔτραπεν ἄλλη.  
 ἄψ δ' αὖτις χλαίνῃ τε καλύψατο καλὰ πρόσωπα,  
 καὶ μιν λισσόμενος ἔπεα πτερόεντα προσηύδα·

170. ἔχευαν II 173. πὰρ pro ἄρα Stephanus || εὐποιήτοιο codd.: corr. Sikes: εὐποιήτου δὲ Ruhnken: ἀτὰρ εὐτύκτοιο Brunck: αὐτίκ' ἄρα κλισίης Gemoll  
 174. κύρε M: κύρε ET: κύρε LPr: ἄρε D: ἄρε At ed. pr. || puncta versui praefigit II 175. ἰοστεφάνου II 176. ὕπνου δ' Ilgen 178. τοί] τι x  
 179. με om. La Roche: τὸ Hermann 180. ἀνόρουσεν Köchly 181. δ' εἶδε M  
 183. χλαίνησι καλύψατο D'Orville

165. ἐπὶ ἐρόνου ἀργυροῦλου = η 162 etc.

171. νήδυμον: see on h. Herm. 241.

173. κλισίῃ: sc. in the hut; cf. 76. Stephanus printed πὰρ for ἄρα, and this was long believed to be a manuscript reading. For the locative see on h. Dem. 99. The passage in the mss. is very abrupt; if correct, there is a rhetorical asyndeton, with a sort of climax. The harshness is removed by Ruhnken's εὐποιήτου δέ, but there is no motive for such a corruption. A crasis κεῦποιήτοιο is a much simpler solution of the difficulty; κ might easily drop out after η, owing to similarity of minuscules. For exx. of crasis in the hymns see n. on h. Dem. 13. μελάθρου κύρε κάρη recurs in h. Dem. 188. The substitutes for κύρε in all the mss. except M are a typical case of the transformation of the minuscule κ.

175. εὖστεφάνου is probably correct.

The epithet occurs in this hymn at 6 and 288 without variant. It is Homeric; cf. θ 267 εὖστεφάνου τ' Ἀφροδίτης. ἰοστεφάνος appears first in vi. 18 (with the variant in p), Solon fr. 19. 4, Theognis 250 etc. In Solon fr. 52 the two words are again variants.

179. Hermann omits τό, La Roche με, to avoid the correction of πρ. Franke however compares σε πρὸς 131, 187. For Homeric exx. see H. G. § 370, La Roche Hom. Unters. i. p. 9. On the other hand cf. τὰ πρῶτα in 185.

180. ἐμπαπέως ὑπάκουσεν = ξ 485.

181 f. The passage was apparently suggested by Γ 396 καὶ ῥ' ὥς οὖν ἐνόησε θεὰς περικαλλέα δειρὴν | στήθεά θ' ἱμερόεντα καὶ δμματα μαρμαίροντα, where Helen recognises Aphrodite through her disguise as an old woman.

182. Cf. π 179 τάρβησας δ' ἐτέρωσε βάλ' ὄμματα, μὴ θεὸς εἴη.



αὐτίκα σ' ὡς τὰ πρῶτα, θεά, ἴδον ὀφθαλμοῖσιν, 185  
 ἔγνω, ὡς θεὸς ἦσθα· σὺ δ' οὐ νημερτὲς ἔειπες.  
 ἀλλὰ σε πρὸς Ζηνὸς γουνάζομαι αἰγιόχοιο,  
 μή με ζῶντ' ἀμενηνὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν ἐάσης  
 ναίειν, ἀλλ' ἐλέαιρ'· ἐπεὶ οὐ βιοθάλμιος ἀνὴρ 190  
 γίγνεται, ὅς τε θεαῖς εὐνάζεταιται ἀθανάτῃσι.  
 τὸν δ' ἡμείβετ' ἔπειτα Διὸς θυγάτηρ Ἀφροδίτη·  
 Ἀγχίση, κῦδιστε καταθυνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
 θάρσει, μηδέ τι σῆσι μετὰ φρεσὶ δείδιθι λήην·  
 οὐ γάρ τοί τι δέος παθέειν κακὸν ἐξ ἐμέθεν γε,  
 οὐδ' ἄλλων μακάρων, ἐπεὶ ἡ φίλος ἐσσί θεοῖσι. 195

186. ἔειπας ET 188. puncta versui subiicit M || ἀνθρώποισιν ἀγάσσει | ναίειν  
 Matthiae: ζῶν conl. Baumeister 189. βιοφθάλμιος MNP 190. ἀθανάτοις  
 ΓΝ 192. κατὰ ΘΗΝΤΩΝ codd.: corr. ed. pr. 194. τι τοι M: τοι om. p:  
 τοι δεῖος om. τι Hermann

188. **ἀμενηνόν**: the idea that union with a goddess would deprive a man of his vigour is perhaps, as Gemoll suggests, borrowed from the story of Circe, κ 301 μή σ' ἀπογυμνωθέντα κακὸν καὶ ἀνήνορα θείῃ and *ib.* 340 f. There, however, Circe is a sorceress, not an ordinary goddess. In Homer, the lovers of goddesses have to fear the jealousy of the gods, not danger from the goddesses themselves. Calypso, who is not married to a god, does no harm to Odysseus. But Artemis and Zeus slay Orion and Iasion the lovers of Eos and Demeter (ε 121 f.). Tithonus, too, is the victim of divine jealousy. In folklore the same notion appears in the jealousy with which the fairies regard one of their own number who has loved a mortal.

In these cases the underlying idea is that union with a mortal is disgraceful for a goddess, as the superior being. But the explanation of a *φθόνος θεῶν* does not apply to many instances of the wide-spread belief that these mixed unions are disastrous. Probably the superstition often springs from a vague fear of the supernatural, like the belief "that no man may see God and live." In northern Europe the love of a nymph or giantess was thought to bring death or misfortune to a mortal (Elton-Powell *Saxo* p. lxiv); the natives of

New Caledonia think that intercourse with a supernatural being is deadly (see Lang in Kirk's *Secret Commonwealth* p. xxxi and other exx. in his trans. of the hymns p. 42). Istar's lovers come to an unhappy end; Gilgamesh therefore rejects her overtures (Jastrow *Religion of Babylonia* p. 482, Sayce *Religion of Anc. Egypt and Bab.* p. 434). According to Frazer *G. B.* iii. p. 162 f. the story of Gilgamesh points to the union of a divine pair, of which the male died every year. But this explanation is inapplicable to many examples of the superstition.

In the present passage the writer adopts the Homeric view of the *φθόνος θεῶν*, as is plain from 288. But he may also have a confused idea of the essential danger in such a union, as he makes Aphrodite promise that *neither she nor any of the gods will hurt Anchises* (194 f.).

189. **βιοφθάλμιος**: only here. The editors compare Pind. *Ol.* vii. 20 *ζωφθάλμιος*, where there is a reading *ζωφφθάλμιος* similar to the curious variant *βιοφφθάλμιος* here. The mistake is a case of the effect of a more familiar word, as in *ἀριθμῶ* for *ἀρθμῶ* *h. Herm.* 524.

193 = δ 825 (πάγχυ for *χα*).

194. **δέος** always makes position in Homer (*δφέος*), Ebeling s.v. *H. G.* § 394.



σοὶ δ' ἔσται φίλος υἱός, ὃς ἐν Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει,  
καὶ παῖδες παίδεσσι διαμπερὲς ἐκγεγάνονται·  
τῷ δὲ καὶ Αἰνείας ὄνομ' ἔσσεται, οὐνεκά μ' αἰνὸν  
ἔσχεν ἄχος, ἔνεκα βροτοῦ ἀνέρος ἔμπειρον εὐνή·  
ἀγχίθιοι δὲ μάλιστα καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων  
αἰεὶ ἀφ' ὑμετέρης γενεῆς εἰδὸς τε φυὴν τε.  
ἦ τοι μὲν ξανθὸν Γανυμήδεα μητιέτα Ζεὺς  
ἥρπασεν ὃν διὰ κάλλος, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι μετείη,

200

197. ἐκγεγῶτες Ilgen : ἐκγεγῶντες ci. Baumeister 199. ἵνα κεν Barnes :  
ἐμπειρὸν εὐνῆς Ilgen : ἔσχ' ἄχος οὐνεκ' ἄρα Hermann : ὅτε τε Gemoll : ὅτε ῥα  
Suhle 200. ἀγχί θεοὶ seu θεοὶ codd. : corr. Barnes : ἀντίθεοι mavult Matthiae ||  
κατὰ MDENP 201. αἰὲν Hermann 202. ἦ τοι E : ἦ τοι cet. 203.  
ἥρπας' ἐδὸν x : αἰνὸν M : ἥρπας' ἐδὸν pD : ἥρπασε δὲν Atl' : corr. Matthiae,  
Hermann

196-7 from T 307-8 νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας  
βῆ Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει, | καὶ παῖδων παῖδες,  
τοὶ κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται. For the  
tradition that the kingdom of the Troad  
passed, after the destruction of Troy, to  
Aeneas and his descendants cf. Leaf on  
N 460, Pauly-Wissowa 2752, Farnell  
p. 638, who points out that the character  
of Aeneas, and the prophecy about him,  
imply that Homer knew of the tradition.  
Strabo (607, 608) states, on the authority  
of Demetrius of Scepsis, that the descen-  
dants of Aeneas survived in that town  
for many generations, and were called  
kings (ἐχοντές τινας τιμάς, probably priestly  
functions). See also Hellanicus fr. 127,  
Menecrates *F. H. G.* ii. p. 343, Acusilaus  
fr. 26, Conon in Phot. *Bibl.* 139 a 16.

197. ἐκγεγῶνται : if this word is  
sound, it must be a fut. perf., as Butt-  
mann (*G. G.* ii. p. 137) supposed. For  
this *Anth. Pal.* xv. 40. 20 ἐκγεγῶντο  
only is quoted. Kühner-Blass ii. p. 391  
reject the form. Baumeister's ingenious  
alteration ἐκγεγῶντες (Aeolic perf. part.)  
is accepted by Suhle (p. 8) and Abel.  
For the dat. παίδεσσι with ἐκγίγνομαι  
see exx. in L. and S. s.v. 2.

198. αἰνόν : the significance of a name  
is Homeric ; cf. the well-known instance  
of Ὀδυσσεύς explained by ὀδύσσομαι, α  
62, τ 407-9. The connexion of Ἀχιλλεύς  
with ἄχος (Ἰλίου or λαοῦ) is not in Homer,  
but is given by the schol. on A 1. For  
heroic etymologies in tragedy see the  
comm. on Eur. *I. T.* 32, and cf. Aristophanes' excellent parody (fr. 357) Θόας  
βραδύτατος ὢν ἐν ἀνθρώποις δραμεῖν.

199. Cf. Σ 85 ἡματι τῷ ὅτε σε βροτοῦ  
ἀνέρος ἐμβαλον εὐνή. The conjunctival

use of ἔνεκα, "because," has been sus-  
pected, but it occurs, in this sense, in  
Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 1521 and in Bion xii. (ii.)  
7, where Ahrens violently alters ἐνεχ' οἱ  
to ὅκα οἱ. Callimachus seems to have  
used ἔνεκα in this way ; cf. fr. 187  
(quoted by Baumeister, who remarks  
that he was no doubt following more  
ancient authority, such as this passage).  
It = ὅτι in Pind. *Isthm.* viii. 33. Apollon.  
Dys. and Dionys. Thrax (quoted in  
Ebeling) call it a σύνδεσμος αἰτιολογικός.  
It may therefore stand, and the repeti-  
tion (οὐνεκά in 198), if offensive, is not  
worse than νυμφῶν—νυμφῶν 97, 98. The  
conjectures are unacceptable ; Gemoll's  
ὅτε τε (cf. Σ 85 quoted above) is the best.

201. αἰεὶ : Hermann followed by most  
editors would correct this to αἰὲν before  
a short vowel. See Ebeling s.v.

203 f. The legend is borrowed from T  
234 f. τὸν καὶ ἀνῆρείψαντο θεοὶ Διὶ οἰνο-  
χοεύειν | κάλλεος εἵνεκα οἶο, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι  
μετείη. Cf. also E 265 f. Here Zeus, in-  
stead of the gods, carries off Ganymede,  
apparently in a whirlwind (cf. 208), like  
the daughters of Pandareus, v 66. The  
eagle is a later invention ; see Preller-  
Robert ii. p. 499 f. The variants ἐπινο-  
χοεύειν—τετιμένον—ἀφύσσειν in M (the  
second confirmed by the conflation

τετιμένονος = τετιμένον in x) are remark-  
able for consistency. The construction  
is not impossible, and Ruhnken accepted  
it, but the change from opt. with ἵνα to  
infin. is very violent, and a copula re-  
quires insertion in 206. The infin. may,  
as Baumeister says, be due to Ψ 234  
οἰνοχοεύειν.



καί τε Διὸς κατὰ δῶμα θεοῖς ἐπιεινοχοεῦσι,  
 θαῦμα ἰδεῖν, πάντεσσι τετιμένος ἀθανάτοισι, 205  
 χρυσεύου ἐκ κρητῆρος ἀφύσσων νέκταρ ἐρυθρόν.  
 Τρῶα δὲ πένθος ἄλαστον ἔχε φρένας, οὐδέ τι ᾗδει  
 ὄππῃ οἱ φίλον υἷον ἀνῆρπασε θέσπις ἄελλα·  
 τὸν δὲ ἔπειτα γόασκε διαμπερές ἡματα πάντα.  
 καί μιν Ζεὺς ἐλέησε, δίδου δέ οἱ υἱὸς ἄποινα 210  
 ἵππους ἀρσίποδας, τοί τ' ἀθανάτους φορέουσι.  
 τούς οἱ δῶρον ἔδωκεν ἔχειν· εἶπεν δὲ ἕκαστα  
 Ζηνὸς ἐφημοσύνησι διάκτορος Ἀργειφόντης,  
 ὥς ἔοι ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήρως ἴσα θεοῖσιν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ Ζηνὸς ὃ γ' ἔκλυεν ἀγγελιάων, 215  
 οὐκέτ' ἔπειτα γόασκε, γεγῆθαι δὲ φρένας ἔνδον,  
 γηθόσυνος δ' ἵπποισιν ἀελλοπόδεσσιν ὀχέϊτο.  
 ὥς δ' αὖ Τιθωνὸν χρυσόθρονος ἥρπασεν Ἥως,  
 ὑμετέρης γενεῆς, ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισι.  
 βῆ δ' ἵμεν αἰτήσουσα κελαινεφέα Κρονίῳνα 220  
 ἀθάνατόν τ' εἶναι καὶ ζῶειν ἡματα πάντα·  
 τῇ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐπένευσε καὶ ἐκρήνηεν ἐέλδωρ.

204. ἐπιεινοχοεῦσι Tr: ἐπι οἴν. L: ἐπ' II: ἐπ' οἴνοχοεῦει E: ἐπιεινοχοεῦσιν M  
 205. τετιμένος M: τετιμένονος α || puncta versui praefigit II 206. κρητῆρος  
 M: κρατῆρος cet. || ἀφύσσειν M 207. τρῶς E: τρῶς T || ἔλεν pro ἔχεν  
 Matthiae 208. ὄποι M 211. ἀρσίποδας Aldina 212. τε (vel τὲ) libri:  
 corr. Wolf 214. ἀγῆρας AtD || ἴσα θεοῖσι My (sc. ET in text.: margo γρ. LIH):  
 ἡματα πάντα xp 218. χρυσόθρονον p 219. ὑμετέρης II

204. ἐπιεινοχοεῦσι: the prep. ἐπί is explained by Baumeister as ἐπὶ τῇ "Ἡβῃ, which is very forced. Gemoll compares ἐπιβουκόλος, where, however, ἐπί implies "mastery over." It is more reasonable to connect the prep. with θεοῖς, in the sense of "going from one to another." Cf. a 143 κῆρυξ δ' αὐτοῖσιν θάμ' ἐπύχετο οἰνοχοεῶν.

211. ἀρσίποδας=the Homeric ἀερσίποδας. For the gifts of the horses to Tros see E 265 f.

214. ὥς ἔοι: this use of ὥς with opt. in *oratio obliqua* is not Homeric, except in ω 237 εἰπὲν ὥς ἔλθοι.

ἀγῆρας: so ἀγήρων h. Dem. 243, but in h. Dem. 260 the mss. give ἀγήραον. Aristarchus and Aristophanes only admitted the uncontracted form. The word is only found with ἀθάνατος in Homer. Cf. Θ 539. ἴσα θεοῖσιν: the

authority of My, which is stronger than that of xp, supports this (=λ 303), and the sense is livelier than with the epic commonplace ἡματα πάντα, which is probably due to 209. Fick, however, prefers ἡματα πάντα in order to preserve ἀγῆρας.

215. Cf. ε 150.

218. Compare the rape of Cleitus, ο 250 ἀλλ' ἥ τοι Κλεῖτον χρυσόθρονος ἥρπασεν Ἥως | κάλλεος εἵνεκα οἶο, ἢ ἀθανάτοισι μετέη. Tithonus was son of Laomedon, and brother of Priam, T 237. This legend of the eternal old age of Tithonus does not occur in Homer. In A 1, ε 1 Tithonus is still the consort of Eos. The story is usually supposed to allegorise the change from the fresh morning to the wearisome heat of noon-day (see Preller-Robert ii. p. 442). But see note on 188.



νηπίη, οὐδ' ἐνόησε μετὰ φρεσὶ πότνια Ἥως  
 ἦβην αἰτῆσαι, ξῦσαι τ' ἀπὸ γῆρας ὀλοῖόν.  
 τὸν δ' ἦ τοι εἰὼς μὲν ἔχεν πολυήρατος ἦβη, 225  
 Ἅοι τερπόμενος χρυσοθρόνῳ ἠριγενεῖη  
 ναῖε παρ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοῆς ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πρῶται πολιαί κατέχυντο ἔθειραι  
 καλῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς εὐγενέος τε γενείου,  
 τοῦ δ' ἦ τοι εὐνῆς μὲν ἀπείχετο πότνια Ἥως, 230  
 αὐτὸν δ' αὖτ' ἀτίταλλεν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἔχουσα,  
 σίτῳ τ' ἀμβροσίῃ τε καὶ εἷματα καλὰ διδοῦσα.  
 ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ πάμπαν στυγερὸν κατὰ γῆρας ἔπειγεν,  
 οὐδέ τι κινῆσαι μελέων δύνατ' οὐδ' ἀναεῖραι,  
 ἦδε δέ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή· 235  
 ἐν θαλάμῳ κατέθηκε, θύρας δ' ἐπέθηκε φαεινὰς.  
 τοῦ δ' ἦ τοι φωνὴ ῥεῖ ἄσπετος, οὐδέ τι κῖκυσ  
 ἔσθ', οἷη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν.

225. δ' ἦτοι MIIN: δά τοι cet. 229. εὐγενέος M: εὐγενέος cet.: καὶ  
 εὐγενέος ed. pr.: εὐγένεος D'Orville: εὐηελέος Eldicke 230. δά τοι libri:  
 corr. Hermann cl. 237 237. δά τι D: δ' οὔτοι AL<sub>2</sub>NPV: δ' οὔτι B: δά τοι  
 cet.: δ' οὔτ' οὖν Matthiae || ἄπνοος pro ἄσπετος, aut ζωὴ ῥεῖ ἄσπετος olim Ilgen:  
 τρεῖ ἄσπετον Hermann: ῥέει Wolf: ἄσπετον etiam Flach B. B. ii. 21 n. || κῖκυς  
 libri: corr. Abel

223. ΝΗΠΙΗ, ΟΥΔ' ΕΝΟΗΣΕ: for the  
 formula cf. T 264, X 445. So B 38  
 νήπιος, οὐδὲ τὰ ἥδη, Hes. Op. 40 νήπιοι,  
 οὐδ' ἴσασιν.

224. ξΥΣΑΙ Τ' ΑΠΟ ΓΗΡΑΣ: cf. I 446  
 γῆρας ἀποξύσας. "The metaphor is no  
 doubt that of smoothing away the  
 wrinkles," Leaf *ad loc.* Compare also  
 Νόστοι fr. 6. 2 γῆρας ἀποξύσας. For  
 the form ὀλοῖόν see Solmsen *Unter-*  
*suchungen* p. 114.

225. The beauty of Tithonus was  
 proverbial: Tyrt. fr. 9. 5 οὐδ' ἐλ Τιθωνοῖο  
 φὺνν χαριέστερος εἴη. Εἴωας: in Homer  
 ἦος is restored, no doubt rightly, but the  
 later form may stand in the hymn,  
 although the earliest instance of εἴωας  
 appears to be in a Thasian inscr. (end of  
 fifth century B.C.); see Herwerden *Lex.*  
*Graec. Supplet.* s.v.

229. ΕΥΓΕΝΕΟΣ: the presence of the  
 η is difficult to explain; it may be due  
 to false analogy with such words as  
 εὐφωρ, where η is quite regular. Cf.  
 A 427 and Ψ 81 (where it has been  
 corrupted in several mss. into the  
 common form εὐγενῆς, as in this passage  
 also). Aristoph. and Rhianus on Ψ 81

read εὐγενέων which is now confirmed  
 by inscriptions (Schulze *Q. E.* p. 34,  
 Herwerden *Lex.* s. v. ἄφενος). But  
 εὐγενῆς, "wealthy," is impossible here.  
 For εὐγενῆς in this connexion Ilgen  
 compares Eur. Ion 242 εὐγενῆ παρηΐδα,  
*Hel.* 135 εὐγενῆ δέρην. The assonance  
 with γενεῖον is no doubt accidental.

233. κατὰ ΓΗΡΑΣ ΕΠΕΙΓΕΝ = Ψ 623  
 (ἐπείγει). Cf. Mimnerm. fr. 4 Τιθωνῳ  
 μὲν ἔδωκεν ἔχειν κακὸν ἄφθιτον ὁ Ζεὺς |  
 γῆρας, δ καὶ θανάτου ῥίγιον ἀργαλέον.

234 = θ 298 (ἦν for δύναι) from the  
 Lay of Demodocus.

235. The common line ἦδε δέ οἱ (μοι)  
 κτλ. is followed by an inf. in B 5, K 17,  
 Ξ 161, Hes. fr. 110 (21). 1. In ι 424, λ  
 230 a main verb follows, as here, with  
 asyndeton (in ι 318 for γάρ Platt reads  
 γ' ἄρ).

237-8. Cf. λ 393-4; A 669, φ 283.  
 κῖκυς: only here and in λ 393, Aesch.  
 fr. 230.

237. ρεῖ: the hiatus is very awkward  
 (cf. Eberhard *Metr. Beob.* ii. p. 9); ῥέει  
 (Wolf and others) would avoid the diffi-  
 culty. The editors have raised objections  
 to the verb, and Hermann (followed by



οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ γε σέ τοῖον ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἐλοίμην  
 ἀθάνατόν τ' εἶναι καὶ ζῶειν ἥματα πάντα. 240  
 ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν τοιοῦτος ἔων εἰδός τε δέμας τε  
 ζώοις, ἡμέτερός τε πόσις κεκλημένος εἴης,  
 οὐκ ἂν ἔπειτά μ' ἄχος πυκινὰς φρένας ἀμφικαλύπτοι.  
 νῦν δέ σε μὲν τάχα γῆρας ὁμοῖον ἀμφικαλύψει  
 νηλεῖς, τό τ' ἔπειτα παρίσταται ἀνθρώποισιν, 245  
 οὐλόμενον καματηρόν, ὃ τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐμοὶ μέγ' ὄνειδος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν  
 ἔσσεται ἥματα πάντα διαμπερές εἵνεκα σείο,  
 οἷ πρὶν ἐμοὺς δάρους καὶ μήτιας, αἷς ποτε πάντας  
 ἀθανάτους συνέμιξα καταβνητῇσι γυναιξί, 250  
 τάρβесκον· πάντας γὰρ ἐμὸν δάμνασκε νόημα.  
 νῦν δέ δὴ οὐκέτι μοι στόμα χεῖσεται ἐξονομήναι  
 τοῦτο μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν, ἐπεὶ μάλα πολλὸν ἀάσθην,

241. τοῖος pro τοιοῦτος M: τοῖόςδε ἔων Hermann: μέντοι τοῖος Schneidewin

244. τάχα om. At: <sup>τάχα</sup>κατὰ LH (? w) || ἀμφιέβηκεν ci. Matthiae 245. τ' p: γ'  
 MzAtD: c' II || τό γε πάσι pro τό τ' ἔπειτα ci. Matthiae 247. ἐν M ed. pr.:  
 μετ' cet. 249. οἷ] ὥς Bothe 250. κατὰ libri: corr. ed. pr. 252. στόμα  
 χεῖσεται Martin: στόματ' ἔσσεται Clarke: στόμα λίσεται seu πείσεται Igen:  
 στόμα τλήσεται Matthiae: στόμ' ἀχέσεται vel χέσεται Buttman

Abel) would read *τρεῖς ἄσπετον*, comparing P 332. But *ρεῖς ἄσπετος* is no doubt correct, being borrowed from Σ 403 *ρέων ἄσπετος* (of Ocean). Gemoll points out the debt of the writer to Σ; cf. on 86, 87. The meaning of *ρεῖς*, however, is disputed. In A 249 *ρέων αὐδῇ* is used of a "flow of speech"; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 39 *ἀκάματος ρέει αὐδῇ | ἐκ στομάτων ἡδεῖα*, and *ibid.* 84 *τοῦ δ' ἐπε' ἐκ στόματος ρέει μελίσχα*. The sense seems therefore to be "his voice flows on ceaselessly" (like that of a garrulous old man). Ernesti's *vox fluit immensa* and Igen's *vox fluit tam demissa ut aegre eam sequi et quid dicatur percipere possis* are not satisfactory explanations.

244. *γῆρας ὁμοῖον* = Δ 315, where see Leaf's note. *ὁμοῖος* is an epithet of *γῆρας*, *νέικος*, *πόλεμος* and *θάνατος*, but the meaning is very doubtful, as the usual translation "common to all" has no parallel in any use of *ὁμοῖος*. It is probable that the two words were distinct in origin. Christ connects *ὁμοῖος* with *ὥμος*: Skt. *amīṇa*, Lat. *aerumna*, for *ὁμῖφος*, i.e. "cruel."

245. *νηλεῖς*: the form first in Hes. *Theog.* 770. Schulze *Q. E.* p. 290. *ἔπειτα* is explained by *τάχα* (244), i.e. soon in the future.

246. *καματηρόν* does not occur in early epic; *Apoll. Arg.* B 87.

248 = II 499 *ἔσσομαι ἥματα πάντα διαμπερές (κατηφελὴ καὶ ὄνειδος)*. Kämmerer's transposition *εἵνεκα σείο διαμπερές ἥματα πάντα* is therefore quite needless, although he rightly notes that *ἥματα πάντα* is regularly found at the end of the verse.

252. *στόμα χεῖσεται* (Martin) for *στοναχέσεται* is still the best correction, and has lately been supported by Tyrrell (*l.c.* p. 33). It is true that *χανδάνειν* is chiefly used materially: σ 17 *οὐδὸς δ' ἀμφοτέρους ὁδε χεῖσεται*, *Anth. Pal.* vii. 4. 3 *τόσον χάδεν ἀνέρα νῆσος*. But the present passage is very similar to Δ 462 *ὅσον κεφαλὴ χάδε φωτός*. Of the other conjectures the only one which deserves a bare mention is Buttman's *ἀχέσεται* (approved by Suhle p. 14), which would be a future of *ἀχέειν* h. *Dem.* 478, h. *Pan.* 18. But the construction with infin. following seems impossible.



σχέτλιον οὐκ ὀνοταστόν, ἀπεπλάγχθην δὲ νόοιο,  
 παῖδα δ' ὑπὸ ζώνῃ ἐθέμην βροτῶ εὐνηθεῖσα.  
 τὸν μὲν, ἐπὴν δὴ πρῶτον ἴδῃ φάος ἡελίοιο,  
 νύμφαι μιν θρέψουσιν ὄρεσκόωι βαθύκολποι,  
 αἱ τόδε ναιετάουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεόν τε·  
 αἷ ῥ' οὔτε θνητοῖς οὔτ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἔπονται·  
 δηρὸν μὲν ζώουσι καὶ ἄμβροτον εἶδαρ ἔδουσι,  
 καὶ τε μετ' ἀθανάτοισι καλὸν χορὸν ἐρρώσαντο.

255

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254. ὀΝΟΤΑΣΤΟΝ libri: corr. Clarke: ὀΝΟΜΑΣΤΟΝ Martin 255. ΖΩΝΗΝ M  
 256. ἐΠΗΝ corr. ex ἐΠΕΙ M || ἩΘΗ ET 257. ΜΟΙ pro ΜΙΝ van Herwerden 259.  
 ΘΗΗΤΗΣ Wolf 261. ΘΗΗΤΟΙΣ vel ἈΘΑΝΑΤΑΙΣ D'Orville: ἈΘΑΝΑΤΟΙΣ commendat  
 Ilgen

254. ὀΝΟΤΑΣΤΟΝ: ὀνομαστόν has been hitherto received by the editors, and is a natural conjecture, but the sense in Homer and Hesiod is always "what cannot be named," i.e. countless. The meaning "unmentionable," i.e. horrible, does not occur till Apoll. Arg. I 801. Clarke's suggestion ὀνοταστόν is undoubtedly what the scribe intended by ὀνότατον. ὀνοτάζω occurs *h. Herm.* 30 and *Hes. Op.* 258; ὀνοταστόν corresponds to ὀνοστά I 164 and many phrases with ὀνομαι in Homer; sc. "dreadful," "not to be made light of"; she has fallen from her proud estate (247-251). *J. H. S.* xviii. p. 27.

257. For the resumptive ΜΙΝ after τὸν μὲν Baumeister compares π 78 f. ὄρεσκόωι: applied to the centaurs, A 268; to goats ι 155; and twice in the hymns to animals, *h. Herm.* 42, *h. Pan* 43. The last part of the compound appears to be related to κοῖτος (κείμεναι), i.e. "sleeping on the mountains"; see Prellwitz *Et. Wört.* But Döderlein, comparing κῶν· τὸ κοῖλον, τὸ βαθύ (*E. M.*), and κῶς· εἰρκτή, δεσμωτήριον (*Hesych.*), connects the word with κοῖλος "dwelling in mountain-caves."

Βασύκολποι, "full-breasted"; the κόλπος in Homer is always the breast, not the fold of the robe. The word is applied only to Trojan women in the *Iliad* (Σ 122, 339, Ω 215), but this is no doubt accidental; we are not to suppose that it refers to a form of dress confined to barbarians (see Leaf on Σ 122). Mannhardt (*A. W. F.* p. 7) sees an allusion to luxuriant vegetation, comparing the full breasts of German and Scandinavian tree-nymphs. But the epithet has no such special significance;

in *h. Dem.* 5 the Ocean nymphs are βαθύκολποι.

258. ΝΑΙΕΤΑΟΥΣΙΝ ὄρος: it is difficult to distinguish between the mountain-nymphs (ὀρειάδες) and the tree-nymphs (δρυάδες). In their origin, no doubt, the Oreads were tree-spirits, like the Dryads; in a mountainous and wooded country like Greece the largest class of tree-spirits would naturally be that of mountain-nymphs. These, however, often lost their original connexion with the tree, and had their homes in mountain-caves (ἀντριάδες); cf. 263. In Z 420 the Oreads (νύμφαι ὀρεσιτάδες) plant trees on a grave.

ὄρος . . . τε = *Hes. Theog.* 2.

259. ἔΠΟΝΤΑΙ: *numerantur in* (Hermann).

260. ΔΗΡΟΝ ΜΕΝ ΖΩΟΥΣΙ: for the long life of the nymphs (who are not, however, immortal) cf. *Hes. fr.* 171 Rzach ap. *Plut. de def. orac.* 11 (of a Naiad) ἐννέα τοι ζώει γενεὰς λακέρυζα κορώνη | ἀνδρῶν ἡβώντων· ἔλαφος δέ τε τετρακόρυνος | τρεῖς δ' ἐλάφους ὁ κόραξ γηράσκει· αὐτὰρ ὁ φοῖνιξ | ἐννέα τοὺς κόρακας· δέκα δ' ἡμεῖς τοὺς φοίνικας | νύμφαι εὐπλόκαμοι, κοῦραι Δῖος αἰγιόχοιο (the φοῖνιξ is, of course, the bird, not the palm, as Preller understands; cf. *φοίνικος* ἔτη βιοῦν *Luc. Herm.* 53), *Paus.* x. 31. 3 τὰς νύμφας δὲ εἶναι πολλὴν μὲν τινα ἀριθμὸν βιώσας ἔτων, οὐ μέντοι παράπαν γε ἀπηλλαγμένas θανάτου ποιητῶν ἐστὶν ἐς αὐτὰς λόγος, *Apoll. Arg.* B 481 δρυὸς ἡλικος, ἥ ἐπὶ πουλὸν | αἰῶνα τρίβεσκε διγνεκές, *Nonn. Dionys.* xiv. 209 μηκεδανὸν ζώεσκον ἐπὶ χρόνον ('Ὀρειάδες).

261. ΚΑΛὸν: see on 29. ἐρρώσαντο: only here with an accus. (cogn.). Cf. Ω 616 νυμφῶων αἱ τ' ἄμφ' Ἀχελείων ἐρῶσιν



τῇσι δὲ Σειληνοί τε καὶ εὐσκοπὸς Ἀργειφόντης  
 μίσγοντ' ἐν φιλότῃτι μυχῶ σπείων ἐροέντων.  
 τῇσι δ' ἅμ' ἡ ἐλάται ἢ δρύες ὑψικάρῃνοι  
 γεινομένησιν ἔφυσαν ἐπὶ χθονὶ βωτιανείρῃ,  
 καλαὶ τηλεθάουσαι, ἐν οὔρεσιν ὑψηλοῖσιν.  
 ἐστᾶσ' ἡλίβατοι, τεμένην δέ ἐ κικλήσκουσιν  
 ἀθανάτων· τὰς δ' οὐ τι βροτοὶ κείρουσι σιδήρῳ.

265

262. **σειληνοί** *p*: **σιληνοί** MLD: **σεληνοί** ETII || **τε** del. Hermann 264.  
 puncta praefigit Π 266. **ἐν δ'** Gemoll 267. **ἐστᾶς** *p*: **ἔστας** Mx: **ἐστῶς**  
 coni. Baumeister vel lacunam ante 267 fingit || **ἡλίβατοις** Schneider 268.  
**οὔτοι** *pD*

σαντο, Hes. *Theog.* 8 ἐπερρώσαντο δὲ ποσσίν (in the dance).

262. **Σειληνοί**: not Homeric, either in sing. or plur. The cognate Σάτυροι occur first in Hes. *fr.* 198 (44), where they are related to the mountain-nymphs. The sileni frequently appear as lovers of nymphs on vases; also on coins of Thasos (Head *Hist. Num.* p. 227). For Hermes and the nymphs cf. xix. 34 (lover of Dryope), and often. Preller-Robert i. p. 399 f., ii. p. 720.

**εὐσκοπός**: for the trisyllabic form cf. *h. Ap.* 36 Ἰμβρος τ' εὐκτιμένη. Hermann omitted τε, to conform to Homeric usage.

264 f. This passage is the first in which there is a definite mention of the idea that the life of the tree-nymphs (δρύαδες, ἀδρύαδες, ἀμαδρύαδες) is bound up with the trees. The belief appears not uncommonly in poetry after Pindar. Cf. Pind. *fr.* 146 ἰσοδένδρον τέκμαρ, αἰῶνος λαχοῖσαι (ap. Plut. *amab.* 14; *de defect. orac.* 11), schol. Apoll. *Arg.* B 478, Callim. *h. Del.* 83 f. ἡ δ' ἔτεδν ἐγένοντο τότε δρύες ἡνίκα νύμφαι; | νύμφαι μὲν χαίρουσιν, ὅτε δρύας ὄμβρος ἀέξει | νύμφαι δ' αὖ κλαίουσιν, ὅτε δρύσιν οὐκέτι φύλλα, Apoll. *Arg.* B 481 μὴ ταμέων πρέμονον δρύος ἡλικος, Nonn. *Dionys.* ii. 92 f. Ἀδρυάδες δὲ | ἡλικες ὠδύροντο λιπρόσκια δένδρεα νύμφαι, *ib.* xiv. 212 συμφύεες Μελλία δρύος ἡλικος, *ib.* xvi. 245 καὶ δρύος ἔντος ἵκανεν ὀμήλικος (Μελλή), *ib.* xlviii. 641, Ov. *Met.* viii. 738-878. Similarly the life of the tree-spirits who, under various names (Moosleute, Elfen, etc.) occur in Czech and German folklore, depends on the life of the tree: Mannhardt *A. W. F.* p. 4 f., *B. K.* p. 75; Botticher *Baumkultus* and Frazer *G. B.* i. p. 166 give instances.

264. The fir and oak are, of course,

only representatives of trees in general. The Dryad stands for any tree-nymph, although the name must go back to the very early time when especial reverence was paid to the oak. Cf. Paus. x. 32. 6 ἐφύοντο (νύμφαι) ἀπὸ τε ἄλλων δένδρων καὶ μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῶν δρυῶν.

267, 268. These verses have been suspected, partly on the ground of the asyndeton. Gemoll avoids it by reading unmetrically καλαὶ τηλεθάουσαι ἐν δ'. It would, of course, be easy to correct this to ἐν οὔρεσι δ' ὑψηλοῖσιν ἐστᾶσ'. But the asyndeton of ἐστᾶσ' is excused by the opening of the parenthesis. **ἐ** has also been a cause of offence; it is unique as a plural; but cf. *ēas* of a plural subject Pind. *Pyth.* iv. 187, which seems to justify the use. It is, of course, possible that the writer has blindly copied such passages as δ 355 Φάρον δέ ἐ κικλήσκουσι; so Dyrott *Geschichte des Pron. reflex.* 1892, p. 69 f. See also Brugmann *ein Problem der hom. Textkritik* p. 22, 23.

**ἡλίβατοι**: in Homer this obscure word is found only in connexion with πέτρῃ, and is taken to mean "abrupt," "precipitous." So in *h. Herm.* 404, *h. Pan* 10. In ι 243 and Hes. *Theog.* 675 it is an epithet of πέτρῃ in the sense of a moveable "stone," not a "cliff." There is a further extension of the meaning in Hes. *Theog.* 483 ἀντρῶν ἐν ἡλίβατῳ a "deep" cave; and in *Scut.* 421 Rzach reads with one ms. ὡς ὅτε τις δρύς ἤριπεν ἢ ὅτε πεύκη | ἡλίβατος (the vulg. has πέτρῃ for πεύκη). Cf. also the epigram in Plutarch *v. T. Q. Flamin.* c. 9 Ἀλκαῖω σταυρὸς πῆγνυται ἡλίβατος, Euseb. *P. E.* ix. 14 (Abydenus) τύρσιν ἡλίβατον, and see L. and S. s.v. We need not therefore suspect the use of the word, here applied to trees.



ἀλλ' ὅτε κεν δὴ μοῖρα παρεστήκη θανάτοιο,  
 ἀζάνεται μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ χθονὶ δένδρεα καλά, 270  
 φλοῖος δ' ἀμφιπεριφθινύθει, πίπτουσι δ' ἅπ' ὄζοι,  
 τῶν δέ θ' ὁμοῦ ψυχὴ λείπει φάος ἡελίοιο.  
 αἱ μὲν ἐμὸν θρέψουσι παρὰ σφίσιν υἱὸν ἔχουσαι.  
 τὸν μὲν ἐπὴν δὴ πρῶτον ἔλῃ πολυήρατος ἦβη,  
 ἄξουσίν σοι δεῦρο θεαί, δείξουσί τε παῖδα· 275  
 σοὶ δ' ἐγώ, ὄφρα κε ταῦτα μετὰ φρεσὶ πάντα διέλθω,  
 ἐς πέμπτον ἔτος αὖτις ἐλεύσομαι υἱὸν ἄγουσα.  
 τὸν μὲν ἐπὴν δὴ πρῶτον ἴδῃς θάλος ὀφθαλμοῖσι,  
 γηθήσεις ὁρόων· μάλα γὰρ θεοεἰκελος ἔσται·  
 ἄξεις δ' αὐτίκα νιν ποτὶ Ἴλιον ἡνεμόεσσαν. 280  
 ἦν δέ τις εἴρηται σε καταθνητῶν ἀνθρώπων,  
 ἥ τις σοὶ φίλον υἱὸν ὑπὸ ζώνῃ θέτο μήτηρ,  
 τῷ δὲ σὺ μυνεῖσθαι μεμνημένος, ὥς σε κελεύω·  
 φασὶν τοι νύμφης καλυκώπιδος ἔκγονον εἶναι,

269. παρестήκει MxD : παρестήκοι p : corr. Stephanus 271. ἀπ' ὄζοι libri  
 (ἄποιοι M) : corr. Hermann 272. δέχ', δεχ, δ' ἔχ' libri : corr. Hermann  
 274. ὄρη pro ἔβη ci. Gemoll 275. σοί] τοι M 276. κε om. libri : add. Barnes  
 279. γηθήσας p 280. ἄσαις p || νιν libri (νῶν M) : μιν Hermann 281. κατὰ  
 MDENP 284. φάσαι pro φασὶν Matthiae || ἔκγονον libri : corr. Barnes

Schäfer conjectures ἡλιβάτοις, with οὔρεσι.  
**ΤΕΛΕΝΗ** : although, according to a well-known superstition, every tree has some kind of mysterious life or "soul," a peculiar sanctity attaches to certain trees, as being intimately connected with a god (at Dodona, Aricia, etc.), or as here, with a nymph. It was only such trees that might not be felled. Mannhardt (*A. W. F.* p. 33) compares the *τέμενος* with the Homeric *ἄλσος* cf. κ 350 γίγνονται δ' ἄρα ταὶ γ' ἐκ τε κρηνῶν ἀπὸ τ' ἄλσεων, where, however, the *ἄλσεα* seem to be woods in general ; so T 8-9 νυμφάων αἶ τ' ἄλσεα καλὰ νέμονται | καὶ πηγὰς ποταμῶν καὶ πῖσα πούηντα.

**ΔΕΑΝΑΤΩΝ** : not, of course, the nymphs themselves, who are not immortal, but the gods to whom the sacred groves belong. Compare the tree-nymphs in the grove of Demeter (Callim. *h. Dem.*), and of Ceres (Ov. *Met.* viii. 738 f.).

272. The mss. reading δέχ' is a curious corruption for δέ θ' ; cf. *h. Dem.* 490.

274 f. There appears to be a double recension, as 274-75 are scarcely consonant with 276-77. We can hardly accept Ilgen's explanation, that the nymphs first shewed the boy to his

father, and afterwards Aphrodite brought the child herself. This view is contradicted by the following lines, in which Anchises is to take Aeneas to Ilium as soon as he sees him for the first time (278, 280). Moreover, as Franke notes, πολυήρατος ἦβη cannot be applied to a young child ; nor can the nymphs be called *θεαί*. Gemoll emends ἦβη to ὄρη, understanding the line to refer to the birth of the child.

277. **ΕΣ ΠΕΜΠΤΟΝ ἔτος** : Roscher (*die Enneadischen Fristen* p. 75) compares Herod. i. 136 παιδεύουσι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας (sc. οἱ Πέρσαι) ἀπὸ πενταέτεος ἀρξάμενοι . . . πρὶν δὲ ἡ πενταέτης γέννηται, οὐκ ἀπικνέεται ἐς ὅσων τῷ πατρί, ἀλλὰ παρὰ τῇσι γυναιξὶ διαίταν ἔχει.

280. **νιν** (M's *νῶν* is an itacism) is the only example of the Doric acc. in Homer or the hymns ; the earliest case of its use is Theognis 364. Hermann's alteration to *μιν* is easy (Σ 64 the papyr. Br.

Mus. 107 has <sup>μ</sup>ν), but the peculiarity, like that of ε 267, is possible ; Smyth *Ionic* p. 445 Kühner-Blass i. p. 592.

284. **φασὶν** : the editors have accepted Matthiae's *φάσαι*, from the similar



αἰ τὸδε ναιετάουσιν ὄρος καταειμένον ὕλη. 285  
 εἰ δέ κεν ἐξείπης καὶ ἐπεύξῃαι ἄφρονι θυμῷ,  
 ἐν φιλότῃ μιγῆναι εὖστεφάνῳ Κυthereίῃ,  
 Ζεὺς σε χολωσάμενος βαλέει ψολόεντι κεραυνῷ.  
 εἴρηται τοι πάντα· σὺ δὲ φρεσὶ σῇσι νοήσας  
 ἴσχεο μῆδ' ὀνόμεινε, θεῶν δ' ἐποπίζεο μῆνιν. 290  
 ὡς εἰποῦς ἤϊξε πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἡνεμόεντα.  
 χαῖρε, θεά, Κύπριοι εὐκτιμένης μεδέουσα·  
 σεῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον.

290. μὴ δ' libri (μὴ δ' E): corr. Stephanus || ὀνόμεινε libri: corr. Hermann  
 291. ἡνεμόεντα] ἀστερόεντα Abel

passage ι 502 Κύκλωψ, αἱ κέν τις σε κατανηγῶν ἀνθρώπων | ὀφθαλμοῦ εἴρηται ἀεικέλην ἀλαστύν, | φάσθαι κτλ. But φάσθαι is neither an easy nor a necessary correction here. The construction requires no imperative, as we have *μυθεῖσθαι* 283. The child is to be brought up by the nymphs and handed over to Anchises, who is instructed to explain "they say he is the son of a nymph." He does not deny paternity, but allows it to be inferred without express statement. For nymphs as mothers of a race see *Agroetas α' Λιβυκῶν F. H. G.* iv. 294.

καλυκώπιδος: see *h. Dem.* 8.

285. ὄρος κτλ. = ν 351.

288. According to *Matthiae*, the line

refers to a tradition that Anchises was actually struck by a thunderbolt for boasting of Aphrodite's love. But the tradition (which first occurs in *Hyginus*) may very well be later than this hymn, and probably arose from this line. In *Hyg. fab.* 94 Anchises is slain by thunderbolts; according to *Servius* he was paralysed or blinded (*Serv. on Aen.* i. 617, ii. 649).

290. Cf. λ 251 ἴσχεο μῆδ' ὀνομήνης and ε 146 Διὸς δ' ἐποπίζεο μῆνιν.

291. ἡνεμόεντα: only here an epithet of the sky. In *Homer* it is applied to lofty places or to trees growing on heights. *Abel's* ἀστερόεντα is, however, quite gratuitous.



## VI

### HYMN TO APHRODITE

THIS slight hymn was composed for a contest (19, 20), but there are no distinctive marks either of date or locality. Baumeister's theory of a Cyprian origin is as likely as any other, but cannot be proved from line 2, ἡ πάσης Κύπρου κρήδεμνα λέλογχεν (see *h. Aphr.* Introd. p. 198). The mention of the Cyprian Aphrodite is purely literary, and the title would be familiar to any Greek audience. The rhapsodist was certainly acquainted with Hesiod (see on 1, 3, 5, 12, 19), and no doubt also with the *Cypria*, where there occurs a similar description of the adornment of the goddess (see on 5). Indeed it would have been remarkable if the author of a hymn to Aphrodite had not been influenced by an epic in which she played so large a part. On the other hand, as Gemoll notes, there is no clear trace of any debt to the longer hymn to Aphrodite. The writer also obviously borrows from Ξ (see on 8, 14) and other parts of Homer, so that Baumeister is hardly too severe in speaking of him as *rhapsodus inops ingenii*. No great originality was looked for in a short and formal prelude.



## VI

### Εἰς Ἀφροδίτην

Αἰδοίην χρυσοστέφανον καλὴν Ἀφροδίτην  
ἄσομαι, ἣ πάσης Κύπρου κρήδεμνα λέλογχεν  
εἰναλῆς, ὅθι μιν Ζεφύρου μένος ὑγρὸν ἀέντος  
ἤνθειεν κατὰ κῦμα πολυφλοίσβοιο θαλάσσης  
ἀφρῶ ἔνι μαλακῶ· τὴν δὲ χρυσάμπυκες Ὠραι

5

TITULUS.—ΤΟΥ Αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀφροδίτην M: εἰς ἀφροδίτην EN: εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ceteri praeter BG, in quibus hymnus continuatur cum praecedenti  
2. ἄτσομαι M: μνήσσομαι Abel cum genetivis αἰδοίης cet. 4. ἤνθειε M 5.  
ἐνὶ libri: corr. Ilgen

1. αἰδοίην κτλ.: Gemoll compares Hes. *Theog.* 193 f. ἐνθεν ἔπειτα περίρρυτον ἔκετο Κύπρον, | ἐκ δ' ἔβη αἰδοίη καλὴ θεός, and *Theog.* 17 for the collocation χρυσοστέφανον καλὴν. The epithet αἰδοίη "reverend" is the keynote of the hymn, and is suitable to a goddess whose cult, as Farnell observes (*Cults* ii. p. 668) is on the whole pure and austere; see also *h. Aphr.* Introd. p. 196.

2. κρήδεμνα: the early epic usage of this word, in the sense of "battlements," requires a genitive of the city (*Troίης, Θήβης, πόλεως*; see on *h. Dem.* 151). The genitive of the country Κύπρου is a later extension; it is uncertain whether the meaning is here "walled cities" or simply "high places," "mountains."

λέλογχεν: a variation for ἔχει, ναίει etc.; cf. *Orphica* p. 289 (Abel) καὶ τ' ἔλαχε δεινὰς μὲν ὁδοὺς etc., *Orph. Arg.* 2; Adami (p. 242) quotes many examples from hymnal literature of such relative clauses giving the place connected with the god; so xxii. 3 etc.

3. The goddess was carried in the foam from Cythera to Cyprus, i.e. by

the west wind; cf. Hes. *Theog.* 190 f. For other references to Aphrodite Ἀφρογενῆς see Farnell p. 748. The Hesiodean etymology was accepted by Plato *Crat.* 406 c, Anacr. 54. 13, Apul. *Met.* iv. 28, Nicand. *Alex.* 406, Bion x. (xvi.) 1, Mosch. i. 71, Choerob. ap. Cramer *An.* ii. 170, *Orph. h.* i. 11. For other ancient and modern derivations of the name see Pauly-Wissowa 2773 f.

5. The connexion of Aphrodite with the Horae is similar to that of the Charites, with whom she is more often mentioned (see on *h. Aphr.* 61); cf. *h. Ap.* 194, Arist. *Pax* 456 Ἑρμῇ, Χάρισιν, Ὠραῖσιν, Ἀφροδίτῃ, Πόθῳ. For other references see Roscher *Lex.* i. 2719, Preller-Robert i. p. 477 f. In functions the Charites and Horae are almost identical (Harrison *M. M. A. A.* p. 383). Compare the adornment of Pandora, by the Charites with golden chains, by the Horae with flowers, Hes. *Op.* 73 f., and *Cypria* fr. 2 εἴματα μὲν χροὶ ἔστο, τὰ οἱ Χάριτες τε καὶ Ὠραι | ποίησαν καὶ ἔβαψαν ἐν ἄνθεσιν εἰαρνοῖσιν, | οἷα φέρονσ' Ὠραι κτλ., and fr. 3. For the number of the Horae see on 12.



δέξαντ' ἀσπασίως, περὶ δ' ἄμβροτα εἶματα ἔσσαν,  
 κρατὶ δ' ἐπ' ἀθανάτῳ στεφάνην εὐτυχτον ἔθηκαν  
 καλὴν χρυσεῖην, ἐν δὲ τρητοῖσι λοβοῖσιν  
 ἄνθεμ' ὀρειχάλκου χρυσοῖό τε τιμήεντος,  
 δειρῇ δ' ἀμφ' ἀπαλῇ καὶ στήθεσιν ἀργυφέοισιν 10  
 ὄρμοισι χρυσεόισιν ἐκόσμεον, οἷσί περ αὐταὶ  
 ὦραι κοσμίεσθην χρυσάμπυκες, ὀππότ' ἴοιεν  
 ἐς χορὸν ἱμερόεντα θεῶν καὶ δώματα πατρός.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντα περὶ χροῖ κόσμον ἔθηκαν,  
 ἦγον ἐς ἀθανάτους· οἱ δ' ἡσπάζοντο ἰδόντες 15  
 χερσὶ τ' ἐδεξιοῶντο καὶ ἡρήσαντο ἕκαστος  
 εἶναι κουριδίην ἄλοχον καὶ οἰκαδ' ἄγεσθαι,  
 εἶδος θαυμάζοντες ἰοστεφάνου Κυθερείης.

6. ἐκόσμησεν Barnes 7. εὐτίκτον xAtD 9. ἔνεμι p 10. ἀργυρέοισιν  
 Stephanus 12. κοσμίεσθην p: κοσμήσθην M: κομίσθην xD: ἐκόσμησεν  
 Barnes: κόσμησεν Gemoll || ὀππότ' ἦεν M 15. ἰδέσθαι M 16. τε  
 δεσιόωντο x 17. ἀγέσθαι M 18. εὐστεφάνου p (lo superscr. m. sec. P)

8. ἐν δὲ τρητοῖσι λοβοῖσιν: cf. Ξ 182.

9. ἔνεμι: not in Homer, who, however, has the adjective *ἀνθεμῆεις* of decoration Ψ 885, γ 440, ω 275. The schol. T on Ψ 885 derives this from *ἄνθεμα*, quoting Pind. *Ol.* ii. 72 (*χρυσού*): the word first occurs in Pindar.

ὀρειχάλκου: first in Hes. *Scut.* 122, where see Sittl's note. The metal (whether pure copper, or a compound) cannot be identified: it was a mere name to Plato (*Critias* 114ε) and Aristotle (schol. on *Apoll. Arg.* Δ 973). Strabo (610) calls it *ψευδάργυρον*, i.e. an alloy of silver and copper. Suidas explains by ὁ *διανῆς χαλκός*, ὁ *δόκιμος*. Pliny (*H. N.* xxxiv. 2) calls it a natural metal no longer to be found, *iam tempore effeta tellure*. The metal intended by Cic. *Off.* iii. 23 and other Latin writers is unknown; see Conington on Verg. *Aen.* xii. 87. The Latin *aurichalcum* is no doubt due to false etymology.

10. ἀργυφέοισιν: not applied to the body by Homer; the editors compare *Apoll. Arg.* Δ 1406 *χεῖρας ἀργυφέας*.

12. κοσμίεσθην: the dual is given in all mss., and alteration is uncalled for. According to one tradition there were only two Horae (so on the throne of the Amyclean Apollo, Paus. iii. 18. 10, and at Athens, Paus. ix. 35. 2, although Pausanias may be mistaken in the latter

case; see Robert *de Gratiis Atticis*, Preller-Robert i. p. 478 n. 4). For two Horae in art see Roscher *Lex.* i. 2723 f., 2726 f. (Rapp). Two seasons were in all probability the original number, corresponding to the old division of the year into Summer and Winter; cf. the Egyptian statues of those seasons mentioned by Herod. ii. 121. The dual may therefore keep its proper force; the following plural *τοῖς* is a natural irregularity. Baumeister, however, defends the dual on the ground that in late epic it was sometimes used as an equivalent of the plural verb (see on *h. Ap.* 456). He thinks that the hymn-writer would follow the Hesiodic version of three Horae (*Theog.* 902). Although this latter supposition is uncertain, Baumeister's explanation of the dual is very probable.

13. ἐς χορὸν ἱμερόεντα: cf. σ 194 *εὐτ' ἂν ἐν Χαρίτων χορὸν ἱμερόεντα* (of Aphrodite). Cf. the dance of the Muses and Charites xxvii. 15.

14. Cf. Ξ 187.

16. ἐδεσιόωντο: so *Apoll. Arg.* B 756, *Cf. H. G.* § 55 c.

ἡρῶσαντο: a reminiscence of α 366 *πάντες δ' ἡρῶσαντο παρὰ λεχέεσσι κλισίῃναι*, and θ 336-342.

18. ἰοστεφάνου: for this and the variant *εὐστεφάνου* see on *h. Aphr.* 175.



χαῖρ' ἐλικοβλέφαρε, γλυκυμείλιχε, δὸς δ' ἐν ἀγῶνι  
νίκην τῷδε φέρεσθαι, ἐμὴν δ' ἔντυνον ἀοιδήν. 20  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείω καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς.

## 19. ἈΓΓΩΩΝ L

19. **ἐλικοβλέφαρε**: first in Hes. *Theog.* 16 (of Aphrodite). The meaning has been disputed; it is natural to compare *ἐλικώπιδα κούρην* (A 98), *ἐλίκωπες Ἀχαιοί* (*ib.* 389), but the sense of *ἐλίκωψ* is equally uncertain. The translation "with arched eyebrows" would suit *ἐλικοβλέφαρος*, but Leaf on A 98 points out that *ἐλιξ* means "twisted," and is not used of a circular curve. *ἐλίκωψ* is probably "rolling the eyes" or "with

flashing eyes," and in *ἐλικοβλέφαρος* Leaf is perhaps right in seeing a loose use of *βλέφαρον* for *ὄμμα*, as in tragedy. See Meyer *Griech. Et.* i. s.v.

**γλυκυμείλιχε**: only here; cf. x. 2 *μείλιχα δῶρα*, of Aphrodite.

20. **ἔντυνον ἀοιδήν**, "lend grace to my song"; in μ 183 the same phrase occurs with different meaning "they prepared (raised) their song."



## VII

# HYMN TO DIONYSUS

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

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 PRELLER-ROBERT, i.<sup>2</sup> p. 684 f.

*The myth in literature and art.*—The story of Dionysus and the pirates, which is the subject of this hymn, was a favourite theme in classical literature. There is an allusion to the myth in Eur. *Cycl.* 11, where the Tyrrhenians are said to be inspired by Hera. Ovid (*Met.* iii. 582–691) and Nonnus (*Dion.* xlv. 105–168) describe the adventure of Dionysus at considerable length; and shorter accounts are given by Apollodorus iii. 5. 3, Hyginus *fab.* 134, *poet. astron.* ii. 17 (after the *Naxica* of Aglaosthenes), Seneca *Oed.* 449–466, and Nonnus *Dion.* xlv. 240–249. Servius on Verg. *Aen.* i. 67 closely follows Hyginus. Oppian (*Hal.* i. 650) mentions the transformation of men into dolphins by Dionysus. It cannot be proved that any of these versions depend on the Homeric hymn; Ovid and Nonnus handle the legend after their characteristic methods, and certain similarities of expression (noted in the commentary) are probably due to the choice of subject, the broad outlines of which did not admit much variation of treatment.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a full discussion of the various versions see Crusius p. 218 f. Pindar knew the myth, if we accept Bergk's

reading of Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβ.* p. 48  
 Π<λυδα>ρος δὲ διέρχεται περὶ τῆς  
 λη<στελ>ας (*P. L. Gr.* i. p. 465).



On the other hand, the myth has rarely found a place in art. With regard to extant monuments, the metamorphosis of the pirates (the culminating point of the myth) does not appear in any vase-paintings; for, as Miss Harrison shews (after Gerhard), the celebrated *cylix* of Execias has no connexion with the Tyrrhenians. On this vase Dionysus is depicted as sitting in a ship, from the mast of which springs a vine loaded with grapes. The vacant space round the ship is filled by seven dolphins. But the vine simply indicates the sacred ship which played a part in the cult of Dionysus, while the dolphins are a conventional indication of the sea, as often on coins.<sup>1</sup> The god of wine, whose cult spread over all the Aegean and its coasts, was early associated with the sea,<sup>2</sup> and it was his journey from isle to isle that doubtless suggested the possibility of his capture, and the consequent manifestation of his might by sea as well as on land. The dolphins, which Greek sailors often saw sporting round their vessels (see *h. Ap.* 496), would readily suggest a metamorphosis of actual sailors who had offended the god.<sup>3</sup>

In painting, there is a record by Philostratus (*Imag.* i. 19) of a picture in which a Tyrrhenian ship is attacking the sacred vessel of Dionysus and his Maenads. The metamorphosis has begun, and the god's ship is covered with ivy and vines. The introduction of a naval battle is evidently a later invention, when the myth was accommodated to other stories of Dionysus' prowess in war; cf. Lucian *dial. mar.* 8 (Crusius p. 223).

It appears, therefore, that the well-known choregic monument of Lysicrates (B.C. 334) is the sole extant work of art illustrating the myth. A detailed description of the frieze is unnecessary; it may be sufficient to point out that artistic requirements have considerably modified the myth. The scene is laid, not in a ship, but on the sea-shore; there is thus no place for the pilot or for the vines and ivy. Dionysus sits at ease on a rock playing with a panther, while the Tyrrhenians are punished by a band of Satyrs. Some of the pirates are being beaten with the

<sup>1</sup> See Harrison *op. cit.* p. 252; the vase is reproduced on p. 251, and by Lang p. 213; first in Gerhard *A. V.* pl. xlix.

<sup>2</sup> On Dionysus *πελάγιος* see Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 678; Maass *Hermes* xxiii. p. 70 f.; Roscher 1084; Crusius p. 215; Frazer on Paus. ix. 20. 4.

<sup>3</sup> For other explanations of the myth see Voigt in Roscher's *Lex.*, and Crusius (p. 217), who thinks that it refers to the victory of Dionysus over fish-like sea-gods, with an accretion of historical elements united at Brauron.



*thyrsus*, others are leaping into the sea, half transformed into dolphins.<sup>1</sup>

*Style of the hymn.*—Groddeck and Baumeister, followed by Abel, trace the influence of dithyrambic poetry in the theme and treatment of the hymn; but the debt, if any, is not easily estimated. The formula ἀμφὶ τινα αἰδεῖν is not confined to the dithyramb (see on 1), and the harsh transitions, in which Baumeister sees a mark of dithyrambic haste (44, 54), are due rather to unpolished workmanship. For, although the hymn is a valuable and interesting document, it is hard to dissent from Gemoll's judgment that its artistic merits have been generally overrated. Gemoll remarks on the carelessness of the writer in using the particle δέ seven times in 4–10.<sup>2</sup> Nothing is said about the scene of the event; the description of the bear created by Dionysus (46) is at least clumsy, even if it is partly justified as one of the signs by which the god shews his power. It may be added that there is an obvious improbability in the indifference shewn by all the crew, except the steersman, after the god has miraculously freed himself from his bonds (see on *h. Dem.* 188). Ovid, more careful of artistic propriety, makes the steersman conjecture the divinity of the captive from his general appearance only; Bacchus performs no miracle until it is too late for repentance.

*Date of the hymn.*—The general uncertainty in dating most of the hymns is strikingly exemplified in the case of the present poem, for the composition of which the critics have suggested various periods down to the third or fourth century A.D. This late date has been advocated by Ludwich, who believes the hymn to be a work of the Orphic school and closely related to the *Argonautica*, which passed under the name of Orpheus. Ludwich draws attention to the following points of similarity between the two poems: (1) both are characterised by extreme rapidity of diction, and by numerous words expressing haste (e.g. τάχα—θοῶς—τάχα—αἰψα, *Hom. h.* 6–9; μάλ' ὄκα—θοή—ἐπειγομένη, *Arg.* 268–270. For a full comparison see Ludwich p. 61–67). It may be replied that adverbs, etc., denoting haste

<sup>1</sup> The frieze has been frequently reproduced, e.g. Müller-Wieseler *Denkmäler* i. pl. 37; Harrison p. 248; Mitchell *Anc. Sculpt.* p. 487; cast in British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Crusius, however, notes that this repetition of δέ has many parallels; e.g. it occurs seven times in as many lines, *h. Dem.* 38–44; add xxxiii. 8–17 (seven times).



or swift transition, are common in epic poetry (e.g. Σ 525–532, compared by Crusius), and *τάχα*, *αὐτίκα*, *αἶψα*, and the like are especially frequent in hymnic literature; the hymn to Hermes affords many examples (see on *h. Herm.* 70). (2) Ludwich remarks on a general resemblance in diction between the hymn and the *Argonautica* (p. 68, 69). None of these parallels, however, are very striking, and all are “Homeric,” and may therefore have been modelled independently on epic originals (see further on 2).

(3) The position of the hymn in the collection—next to the hymn to Ares—is thought to be a sign of Orphic origin. The eighth hymn is undoubtedly late, but not necessarily Orphic (see *Intro.*); in any case the argument is of little value, as it would apply equally to the ninth hymn, which is certainly not Orphic. The style of the hymn to Dionysus, which is a pure narrative poem, is quite foreign to the religious tone of the hymn to Ares. The latter cannot be adduced as evidence for the date or origin of any other hymn.

If there is no strong argument in support of Ludwich's theory, there is equally little reason to follow Gemoll, who places the hymn (doubtfully) in the Alexandrine period. As evidence of lateness he instances *αὐτόν* (22), the use of *ὅδε* (19, 27), *ἐπεῖ* (30), *ἐκάθητο* (14), the dat. plur. in *οῖς* (5, 12, 16, 21), the art. in *τῷ ἐμῷ* (55). Some of these usages are perfectly regular, at least in the later parts of the genuine epic (see on 22, 55); and there is nothing in the language which need not belong to a date far higher than that of the Alexandrines. The double title *Διόνυσος ἡ λησταί* (in DELIT) reminds us of similar alternatives in Theocritus and Herondas; but this title is not given by M, and is probably a later addition. Nor is there any proof that such titles were first adopted by the Alexandrines. In style, the hymn has little in common with the works of Callimachus or the hymnic idylls of Theocritus; its simplicity and directness of expression, which often pass into abruptness, differentiate it from any characteristic product of the Alexandrine age. This will appear from a comparison between the hymn and the idyll of Theocritus, which deals with the fate of Pentheus (xxi); the subject—the might of Dionysus and the punishment of Pentheus—is similar to the theme of the hymn; but the latter is quite free from the affectation of rare or “precious” words (*μαλοπάρης*, *ἐθυμάρει*, etc.) that mark the



Alexandrine work. The hymn-writer's disregard of all superfluous details is in strong contrast to the fuller and more "literary" compositions from which Ovid drew his inspiration.

The hymn has also been referred to the fifth or fourth century, with no great probability.<sup>1</sup> The chief argument for this date, based on the youthful form of Dionysus, is of no value (see on 3). There is, in a word, no reason to separate the hymn from the rest of the collection (the hymn to Ares and possibly one or two others being excepted), or to deny it a place in the literature of the sixth or even the seventh century B.C.

*Place of composition.*—There is no internal evidence pointing to any special country, and the efforts to localise the hymn have not been fruitful. Several scholars, however (Welcker *Ep. Cycl.* i. p. 367; Baumeister p. 339; Chudiński p. 9; Christ *Handbuch der klass. Alt.* vii.<sup>2</sup> p. 63), have argued for an Attic origin, and this view has been upheld with some confidence by Crusius (p. 204 f.). It is suggested that the hymn served as a prelude at the Brauronian festival of Dionysus, in which rhapsodists recited the *Iliad* (Hesych. s.v. and Clearch. ap. Athen. vii. 275 B = *F. H. G.* ii. p. 321). Crusius lays stress on the legend that Tyrsenian pirates carried off Attic women from Brauron (Herod. vi. 138), and he sees in the sole extant representation—the monument of Lysicrates—a proof that the myth was peculiarly Attic. He suggests that the bear created by Dionysus is Brauronian, as Attic maidens at the festival were called ἄρκτοι (but see on 46). The arguments may be plausible, but there is really no more reason to attribute the hymn to the Athenians than to almost any other branch of the Hellenic race. The myth itself may have arisen in Naxos; later accounts, at least (Aglaosthenes, Apollodorus, Ovid), connect it with the island; and it is not impossible that the hymn is also Naxian.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Murray (*Anc. Gr. Lit.* p. 50), who curiously miscalls the hymn a "fragment."

<sup>2</sup> Chudiński (p. 9) holds that the hymn, though Athenian, was due to Naxian influence.



## VII

### Εἰς Διόνυσον

Ἄμφι Διώνυσον, Σεμέλης ἐρικυδέος υἱόν,  
 μνήσομαι, ὥς ἐφάνη παρὰ θῖν' ἄλός ἀπρυγέτοιο  
 ἄκτῃ ἐπὶ προβλήτι νεηνίῃ ἀνδρὶ ἐοικώς,  
 πρωθήβη· καλαὶ δὲ περισσεύοντο ἔθειραι  
 κυνάεαι, φᾶρος δὲ περὶ στιβαροῖς ἔχεν ὤμοις

5

TITULUS.—τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς Διόνυσον M: εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον p: Διόνυκος ἢ λησταὶ  
 xD 3. ἔκρη Ernesti || ἐπι Abel || νεανίη ET 5. φάρος libri: corr. Stephanus

1. ἄμφι: the use with ἀεῖδεν or similar verbs occurs at the beginning of xix, xxii, xxxiii, and in *h. Herm.* 57. The formula is found in θ 267 (with genitive), and was stereotyped in dithyrambic verse (cf. Terpand. *fr.* 2) according to the schol. on Arist. *Nub.* 595, Suid. s.v. ἀμφιανακτί-ζειν; so in tragedy Eur. *Troad.* 511.

2. ἐφάνη: such ἐπιφάνεαι are a marked feature of Dionysiac mythology; cf. Rohde *Psyche* p. 305. Ludwig traces the hand of an Orphic writer in this "epiphany," comparing *Orph. Arg.* 16 πρῶτος γὰρ ἐφάνθη (of Phanes). But there is nothing mystic in the line; on the contrary the absence of any specific indication of locality is against Ludwig's theory; Crusius notes that such picturesque details are common in the Orphic *Argonautica*. According to Apollodorus, Dionysus wishes to cross from Icaria to Naxos, and therefore, embarks on a Tyrsenian ship; but the sailors refuse to land him. In Ovid (*l.c.* 597) Dionysus is found in Ceos (*Ciae telluris* Lachmann for MSS. *Chiae*); Nonnus localises the legend in the Sicilian sea. The hymn gives no reason for the god's appearance or for his easy capture; he is *mero somnoque gravis* in Ovid's account.

3. ἄκτῃ ἐπὶ προβλήτι: cf. ε 405, κ 89, ν 97, Apoll. *Arg.* B 365. ΝΕΝΗΙῃ ἈΝΔΡὶ ΕἰΚΩΣ=κ 277, followed by πρῶτον ὑπηνήτη (of Hermes). It was supposed that the youthful type of Dionysus in art was created in the age of Praxiteles; but it is now known that the type goes back to Calamis (E. Curtius *A. Z.* 1883, p. 255; cf. Roscher 1089 f., 1126 f.), i.e. to the first half of the fifth century. In any case the present passage is no indication of lateness, for, as Bergk notes, the god only assumes the form of a youth for the occasion; the transformation is on Homeric analogy. Moreover it is probable that the young Dionysus was familiar to poetry for many years before the art-type was created (see Sandys, *Eur. Bacch.* p. xcix f.). The hymn-writer does not conceive of the god as effeminate and voluptuous, but as the ideal of a young Greek athlete with broad shoulders (5) like Tele-machus, ο 61; cf. the metamorphosis of Apollo, *h. Ap.* 450 ἀνέρι εἰδόμενος ἀλγῆν τε κρατερῶ τε | πρωθήβη, χαίτρης εἰλυμένος εὐρέας ὤμους; so Verg. *Aen.* x. 485 *pectus ingens* of the young Pallas.

5. στιβαροῖς ὤμοις=ξ 528, ο 61, *Orph. Arg.* 200.



πορφύρεον· τάχα δ' ἄνδρες εὖσσελμον ἀπὸ νηὸς  
 λῆϊσταὶ προγένοντο θοῶς ἐπὶ οἴνοπα πόντον,  
 Τυρσηνοί· τοὺς δ' ἤγε κακὸς μόρος· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες  
 νεύσαν ἐς ἀλλήλους, τάχα δ' ἔκθορον, αἶψα δ' ἐλόντες  
 εἶσαν ἐπὶ σφετέρης νηὸς κεχαρημένοι ἦτορ. 10  
 υἱὸν γάρ μιν ἔφαντο διοτρεφέων βασιλῆων  
 εἶναι, καὶ δεσμοῖς ἔθελον δεῖν ἀργαλείοισι.  
 τὸν δ' οὐκ ἴσχανε δεσμά, λύγοι δ' ἀπὸ τηλόσε πίπτον  
 χειρῶν ἠδὲ ποδῶν· ὁ δὲ μειδιάων ἐκάθητο  
 ὄμμασι κυανέοισι, κυβερνήτης δὲ νοήσας 15  
 αὐτίκα οἷς ἐτάροισιν ἐκέκλετο φώνησέν τε·

δαιμόνιοι, τίνα τόνδε θεὸν δεσμεύεθ' ἐλόντες,  
 καρτερόν; οὐδὲ φέρειν δύναταί μιν νηὺς εὐεργής.

6. εὖσσελμου MæDN || ἐπὶ νηὸς Matthiae 7. ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντω Gemoll  
 8. ἤγε p: ἤγαγε MæD || καὶ μιν ἰδόντες Köchly 13. λύγοι ed. pr.: λυδοί  
 codd. (Ληδοί M) || τηλόσ' ἐπιπτον codd.: corr. Hermann 17. θεῶν δεσμά  
 ἐθέλοντες M

6. ἀπὸ is supported by xxxiii. 8 where  
 οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν = οἱ ναῦται, with no idea  
 of motion in the context. Köchly's  
 ἐπὶ is not only needless, but involves a  
 repetition of the preposition in 7.

7. προγένοντο . . . ἐπὶ: Gemoll sug-  
 gests ἐνί, understanding the verb to  
 mean "have in sight." But προγιγνεσθαι  
 often implies movement, "come forward,"  
 and is followed by ἐς or ἐπὶ; cf. Σ 525  
 οἱ δὲ τάχα προγένοντο, "came on," Hes.  
*Scut.* 345 τοὶ δ' ἀμυδὶς προγένοντο, of  
 warriors rushing to meet one another,  
 Callim. *h. Art.* 178 κόπρον ἐπὶ προγέ-  
 νοιντο, Theoc. xxv. 134 προγενοῖατο θήρες  
 ἐς πεδῖον.

8. Τυρσηνοί: first in a suspected  
 passage of Hesiod (*Theog.* 1016). Ac-  
 cording to Herod. i. 57 and 94, the  
 Tyrsenians were ancient Pelasgic inhabi-  
 tants of Thrace; Thucydides (iv. 109)  
 places them in Lemnos and Athens.  
 They had a reputation as corsairs, if we  
 may judge from their rape of women at  
 Brauron; Crusius notes that a similar  
 story was told at Samos (Athen. xv. 672).  
 Most scholars assume that the hymn  
 refers to these obscure Tyrsenians, who  
 are rarely mentioned in ancient literature.  
 It is barely possible that the Etruscans  
 are meant (as Chudiński holds, p. 9);  
 pirates from Etruria were a terror to the  
 early colonists in Italy and Sicily, from  
 the seventh century (probably) down to

their defeat by Hiero in 474 B.C.  
 (Mommson i. ch. x.). But, although  
 their name became proverbial for piracy,  
 it is difficult to account for their presence  
 in an early Greek hymn, which appears  
 to have no connexion with the colonies  
 of Sicily or Magna Graecia. It seems  
 therefore better to follow the common  
 explanation. Nonnus (*Dion.* xv. 104)  
 naturally understands the Tyrsenians  
 to be Etruscans, and Philostratus (*Imag.*  
 i. 19) speaks of Τυρσηνοί, obviously  
 Etruscans; but this proves nothing for  
 the original myth.<sup>12</sup>

11. υἱὸν . . . βασιλῆων: he appeared  
 to be a prince from his beauty (cf. *h.*  
*Dem.* 215), and from his purple cloak,  
 which was a mark of high rank. A  
 purple χλαῖνα was worn by Telemachus,  
 δ 115, and Odysseus, τ 225. In Nonnus  
 the god wears jewellery as well as a cloak  
 of Tyrian purple.

13. For the miraculous loosing of the  
 bonds cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 447 with Sandys'  
 note, *ib.* 498, 616 f. In Ovid *l.c.* 700  
 the miracle happens to the steersman  
 Acoetes, when imprisoned by Pentheus.

14. ἐκάθητο = the epic form καθήστο.

18. καρτερόν: emphatic, explained by  
 the following words οὐδὲ φέρειν κτλ.  
 Gemoll punctuates with the mark of  
 interrogation at the end of the line; but  
 the sense is clear with the usual punctua-  
 tion, adopted in the text.



ἡ γὰρ Ζεὺς ὅδε γ' ἐστὶν ἡ ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων  
 ἡὲ Ποσειδάων· ἐπεὶ οὐ θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσιν 20  
 εἵκελος, ἀλλὰ θεοῖς, οἳ Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσιν.  
 ἀλλ' ἄγετ', αὐτὸν ἀφώμεν ἐπ' ἡπείροιο μελαίνης  
 αὐτίκα, μηδ' ἐπὶ χεῖρας ἰάλλετε, μή τι χολωθείς  
 ὄρση ἀργαλέους τ' ἀνέμους καὶ λαίλαπα πολλήν.  
 ὥς φάτο· τὸν δ' ἀρχὸς στυγερῷ ἠνίπαπε μύθῳ· 25  
 δαιμόνι, οὖρον ὄρα, ἅμα δ' ἰστίον ἔλκεο νηὸς  
 σύμπανθ' ὅπλα λαβών· ὅδε δ' αὖτ' ἀνδρεσσι μελήσει.  
 ἔλπομαι, ἡ Αἴγυπτον ἀφίξεται ἡ ὅ γε Κύπρον  
 ἡ ἐς Ὑπερβορέους ἡ ἑκαστέρῳ· ἐς δὲ τελευτὴν 30  
 ἔκ ποτ' ἐρεῖ αὐτοῦ τε φίλους καὶ κτήματα πάντα  
 οὓς τε κασιγνήτους, ἐπεὶ ἡμῖν ἔμβαλε δαίμων.  
 ὥς εἰπὼν ἰστόν τε καὶ ἰστίον ἔλκετο νηός.  
 ἔμπνευσεν δ' ἄνεμος μέσον ἰστίον, ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' ὅπλα

21. Ἰκελος libri: corr. Stephanus  
 μίτ' M 24. ὄρη ἐπ' Barnes  
 Baumeister 29. δὲ καστέρω M: ἐκατέρω ET

22. αὐτίς pro αὐτὸν Baumeister '23.  
 27. βαλὼν Hemsterhuis || cūm πάντο'  
 33. ἔπρησεν Gemoll

22. αὐτόν: the position is unusual, as there is no emphasis on the pronoun; but it is justified by such passages as π 370 ἵνα φθίσαιμεν ἐλόντες | αὐτόν, where no stress is laid on the pronoun, in spite of its emphatic place, ζ 277, 308, 329; so αὐτός is unemphatic at the end of a line, I 562, II 519. Baumeister's αὐτίς would eliminate the necessary object of ἀφώμεν.

24. ὄρη ἀργαλέους: an *hiatus vice ferendus*, according to Baumeister; Abel adopts Barnes' ὄρη ἐπ'. But the text is a reminiscence of ω 110 ὄρας ἀργαλέους ἀνέμους, or λ 400 ὄρας ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων ἀμέγαρτον αὐτήν. For the hiatus in thesis see *H. G.* § 380.

26. ἅμα: not "besides," but "with me," as Franke saw: the steersman is to "lend a hand" with the captain, who is the subject of ἔλκετο in 32.

27. ἀνδρεσσι μελήσει: a formula usually put into the mouth of a man speaking to a woman and contrasting the two sexes: Z 492, α 358, φ 352; in T 187 the antithesis is between gods and men. Gemoll quotes λ 353 as the nearest parallel to this passage, *ἀνδρες* being in both places, as he thinks, equivalent to πάντες. But in λ ἀνδρεσσι is followed and explained by πᾶσι, μάλιστα

δ' ἐμοί. Here the implied contrast must be, as usual, ἀνδρεσσι, οὐ γυναῖξι. The taunt of womanish fear explains στυγερῷ μύθῳ 25. The translation of ἀνδρεσσι, "crew," does not suit the context or the regular meaning of the formula.

29. M's δὲ καστέρω is perhaps a survival of δ γ' ἐκαστέρω, δ γ' having strayed in from the previous line; *J. H. S.* xv. p. 298.

30, 31. The collocation φίλους, κτήματα, κασιγνήτους is no less curious than the omission of any reference to the captive's country or parents. Köchly supposes the original passage to have been longer; but the lame expression need not surprise us in a hymn which shews other marks of careless workmanship.

κτήματα πάντα of course implies a large ransom; in Apollodorus the pirates are prepared to sell the god (ἀπεμπολή-σοντας).

33. ἔμπνευσεν has been altered on the ground that ἐμπνεῖν elsewhere takes a dative. But there is a clear case of ἐμπρήθειν with acc., A 481 ἐν δ' ἄνεμος πρήσεν μέγαν ἰστίον, and on this analogy ἐμπνεῖν can stand with acc. In Pind. *Isthm.* ii. 40 οὖρος ἐμπνεύσας ὑπέσταιλ' ἰστίον the construction is ambiguous; ἰστίον may however be governed by



κατάνυσαν· τάχα δέ σφιν ἐφαίνετο θαυματὰ ἔργα.  
οἶνος μὲν πρώτιστα θοὴν ἀνὰ νῆα μέλαιναν  
ἡδύποτος κελάρυζ' εὐώδης, ὥρνυτο δ' ὁδμῇ  
ἀμβροσίῃ· ναύτας δὲ τάφος λάβε πάντας ἰδόντας.  
αὐτίκα δ' ἀκρότατον παρὰ ἰστίον ἔξετανύσθη  
ἄμπελος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, κατεκρημνῶντο δὲ πολλοὶ  
βότρυες· ἀμφ' ἰστὸν δὲ μέλας εἰλίσσεται κισσός,  
ἄνθεσι τηλεθῶν, χαρίεις δ' ἐπὶ καρπὸς ὁρᾷ·  
πάντες δὲ σκαλμοὶ στεφάνους ἔχον· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες  
νῆ' ἤδη τότε ἔπειτα κυβερνήτην ἐκέλευον

35

40

34. in voce σφιν finitur L || θαυμαστὰ ΜΓ 35. ἄλιν pro θοὴν Köchly  
36. κελάρυζ' ΜΕ: κελάρυζε εὐώδης Köchly 37. φόβος Μγ (sc. ET in text.:  
Π in marg.): ἡγουν φόβος marg. P: τάφος cet. || λάβεν ἅντα ἰδόντας van Gent  
39. κατεκρημνῶντο ΕΠΔ 41. τηλεθῶν Barnes 43. μὴ δ' ἦδη Μ: μὴ δὲ  
δεῖν Π (punctis praefixis) ρ (μὴ δεῖδειν Γ) At: μὴδὲ δεῖν T: Μηδείδην Barnes:  
Μῆδην δὲ Ruhnken: Νῆ' ἦδη Hermann: Νῆα θοὴν Jacobs: Νῆα πάλιν Köchly:  
νηπιέη Gemoll

ἐμπνεύσαι, though most editors supply ἰστίῳ, taking the acc. with ὑπέστειλε alone.

In Ovid (*l.c.* 660) and Seneca (*l.c.* 450) a sudden calm falls before the god manifests his power.

34. **κατάνυσαν**: the Homeric equivalent appears in β 430 *δησάμενοι δ' ἄρα ἔπλα* "having made all fast." Cf. Apoll. *Arg.* B 933 *κὰδ' δ' ἄρα λαΐφος ἐρυσσάμενοι τανύοντο* | ἐς πόδας ἀμφοτέρους, and *vela deducunt* in Ovid's version (663).

37. **πάντας ἰδόντας**: elsewhere in the hymn hiatus occurs before *ἰδεῖν* (8, 42, 48, 52). For the variation, within a few lines, cf. φ 122 *τάφος δ' ἔλε πάντας ἰδόντας* with 112 *ὄφρα ἰδωμεν*. On the observance and neglect of *F* in *ἰδεῖν* see *H. G.* § 390. The less familiar *τάφος* is supported by φ, and is to be preferred to *φόβος* read by Gemoll.

38 f. Cf. Ovid (664 f.) *impediunt hederæ remos necuque recurvo | serpunt, et gravidis distinguunt vela corymbis*. The details of the transformation vary in the several accounts: in Apollodorus the mast and oars became snakes, and the ship is filled with ivy; in Nonnus the mast is changed into a cypress wreathed with ivy. So in Opp. *Ven.* iv. 261 f. a boat, which carried the infant Bacchus across the Euripus, was covered with ivy, vines, and smilax.

41. **τηλεθῶν**: not Homeric as a part. with dative.

43. **Νῆ' ἦδη**: Hermann's correction, if not quite certain, is strongly supported by *h. Ap.* 392 *ἡμαθῶν*, corrected by Γ, the second hand of M, and Demetrius to *νῆα θοὴν*. *νῆ' ἤδη* would have been written in full ΝΗΑΔΗ, i.e. *νηδηδη*, from which *μηδηδη* is a slight step. It is to be observed that the mss. except M have been further corrupted. The fact that there is no instance of the collocation *ἤδη τότε ἔπειτα* is not serious; the nearest approach is the formula *δὴ τότε ἔπειτα*, λ 44, Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 716, 1629, which always begins a sentence or clause; cf. however Solon *fr.* 16. 3 *εἴην δὴ τότε ἐγώ*. The other emendations may be disregarded: the older editors, taking *πελάαν* as intrans. (a rarer Homeric use), looked for the steersman's name, i.e. *Μηδείδην* or *Μήδην δὴ*. A name *Μηδείδης* would be suitable for an "experienced" steersman; cf. γ 282 *Φρόντιν*, in the ship of Menelaus. The form could be supported by *Μεγαμηδείδαι*, *h. Herm.* 100. But the name should have been mentioned before (i.e. at 15), if at all; in Ovid and Hyginus the helmsman is called *Acoetes*, but no other name is given in the accounts. An adj. agreeing with *κυβερνήτην* (cf. 49) might be thought in place, i.e. from *μηδός*; but none exists.



γῆ πελάαν· ὁ δ' ἄρα σφι λέων γένετ' ἔνδοθι νηὸς  
 δεινὸς ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης, μέγα δ' ἔβραχεν, ἐν δ' ἄρα μέσση 46  
 ἄρκτον ἐποίησεν λασιαύχενά, σήματα φαίνων·  
 ἂν δ' ἔστη μεμαυῖα, λέων δ' ἐπὶ σέλματος ἄκρου  
 δεινὸν ὑπόδρα ἰδών· οἱ δ' εἰς πρύμνην ἐφόβηθεν,  
 ἀμφὶ κυβερνήτην δὲ σαόφρονα θυμὸν ἔχοντα  
 ἔσταν ἄρ' ἐκπληγέεντες· ὁ δ' ἑξαπλῆς ἐπορούσας 50  
 ἀρχὸν ἔλ', οἱ δὲ θύραζε κακὸν μόρον ἐξαλύοντες  
 πάντες ὁμῶς πῆδησαν, ἐπεὶ ἴδον, εἰς ἄλλα δῖαν,  
 δελφῖνες δ' ἐγένοντο· κυβερνήτην δ' ἐλεήσας  
 ἔσχεθε καὶ μιν ἔθηκε πανόλβιον εἰπέ τε μῦθον·  
 θάρσει, †διὲ κάτωρ, τῷ ἐμῷ κεχαρισμένε θυμῷ· 55

47. ἦ δ' ἔστι Jacobs 48. οὔνε pro δεινὸν Köchly 49. ἔχοντα· II, qui  
 puncta praemittit 50. ἔστασαν Barnes || ἐπόρευεν | ἀρχὸν ἐπ' Köchly 51.  
 ἐξαλέοντες Barnes 55. δι' ἐκάτωρ M: διὲ κάτωρ cet.: πάτωρ in quibusdam  
 editionibus leg. Stephanus: κράτωρ citat Barnes: ἄκτωρ Ilgen: ἐλατήρ Wolf:  
 φίλε πάτερ Köchly: δι' ἵκτωρ seu ἀκάτωρ Baumeister: μηδέτι τάρβει Gemoll:  
 διὲ κέλωρ Schulze || τῷ ὡ MxD: τῷω p: corr. Ilgen

44. ΛΕΩΝ ΓΕΝΕΤ': a common trans-  
 formation of Dionysus; Eur. *Bacch.* 1018,  
 Hor. *Od.* ii. 19. 23, Nonn. *Dion.* xl.  
 44. In the accounts of Ovid and Seneca,  
 the god retains his human form, but  
 various wild beasts appear at his side  
 (Ov. 668), or occupy the prow and  
 stern (Sen. 457). According to Nonnus,  
 Dionysus suddenly becomes a giant,  
 while animals swarm on all the ship's  
 benches. The scene in the hymn is  
 closely parallel to a myth in Ant. Lib.  
 10, where Dionysus, to frighten the  
 Minyades (who stayed at their looms  
 instead of joining the Bacchanals) ἐγένετο  
 ταῦρος καὶ λέων καὶ πάρδαλις, καὶ ἐκ τῶν  
 κελούντων ἐρρύη νέκταρ αὐτῷ καὶ γάλα.  
 For the transformations see also Sandys  
 on Eur. *Bacch.* 1017.

ΝΗΟΣ ΕΠ' ΑΚΡΟΤΑΤΗΣ = the Homeric  
 νηὸς ἐπ' ἱερύφιν.

46. ἈΡΚΤΟΝ ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ: Ovid's *simulacra  
 inania* (668) is a more "modern" touch.  
 In his contest with Deriades, Dionysus  
 takes the form of a bear, among other  
 changes, Nonn. *Dion.* xl. 46. Crusius  
 is therefore wrong in stating that the  
 mention of the bear is mythologically  
 unique in connexion with Dionysus.

ΣΗΜΑΤΑ ΦΑΙΝΩΝ = φ 413 (of Zeus  
 thundering); cf. B 353.

47, 48. ἂν δ' ἔστι: to be taken with  
 λέων as well as ἀρκτος, unless some verb

is to be mentally supplied from ἀνέστη  
 for λέων. In either case there is some  
 harshness, though not more, perhaps,  
 than elsewhere in the hymn. But it  
 is possible that a line has dropped out  
 after 47, containing a verb for λέων.  
 ΔΕΙΝΟΝ ΥΠΟΔΡΑ ΙΔΩΝ is not to be  
 disturbed; cf. O 13, Hes. *Scut.* 445.

51. ΑΡΧΟΝ ΕΛ': Köchly objects to ελε  
 on the ground that nothing is said  
 about the captain's fate when "seized."  
 But his death may be inferred, or we  
 may actually translate "killed"; Gemoll  
 remarks that this use of ελεῖν is quite  
 Homeric.

ΘΥΡΑΖΕ, "out"; for this general  
 sense cf. E 694, II 408, ε 410, φ 422 etc.

53. The omission of the subject is  
 again abrupt.

54. ΕΘΗΚΕ ΠΑΝΟΛΒΙΟΝ: obscurely ex-  
 pressed; the meaning intended is ap-  
 parently "made him happy" by allaying  
 his fears; cf. Ov. 668 *pavidum* . . .  
*firmit deus*.

55. †ΔΙΕ ΚΑΤΩΡ: ἐκάτωρ, κάτωρ appear  
 to be impossible and meaningless forms,  
 although the latter is defended by  
 Chudziński (p. 9), and Ridgeway (*J. P.*  
 1888, p. 113) who translates "oarsman,"  
 comparing κατήρης; this, word, however,  
 properly means "furnished with," and  
 only bears the special sense "fitted with  
 oars" when joined to πλοῖον (Herod. viii.



εἰμὶ δ' ἐγὼ Διόνυσος ἐρίβρομος, ὃν τέκε μήτηρ  
Καδμηΐς Σεμέλη· Διὸς ἐν φιλότῃ μιγεῖσα.

χαῖρε, τέκος Σεμέλης εὐώπιδος· οὐδέ πη ἔστι  
σεῖό γε ληθόμενον γλυκερὴν κοσμήσαι ἀοιδὴν.

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58. ἐτῖ(ν) MxD

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21) or in a similar context. Again, on this theory, the first part of the word is *κατά*, and it is hardly possible that this prep. with the termination -ωρ could imply "mariner." Of the conjectures, only *ἀκάτωρ*, *ἄκτωρ*, *κράτωρ* are formally possible, and there is little probability in any of these. M's *ἐκάτωρ* (M has often the closest form of a corruption; cf. 43) might be thought to suggest a shortened form of a proper name, e.g. *Ἐκατήνωρ* (Fick *Personennamen* p. 117); but the introduction of the name seems even more out of place here than it would be at 43.

There is no objection to *διε*, which

might be applied to the helmsman as appropriately as to the swineherd in the *Odyssey*. Gemoll suggests that there is a corruption of *Dia*, the old name of Naxos (cf. *Ov.* 689 "*excute*" *dicens* | "*corde metum Diamque tene*"); but the place-name is unmanageable in the verse.

τῷ ἐμῷ κεχαριμένε θυμῷ: Gemoll points to the use of τῷ as a mark of late epic usage; as a matter of fact the whole formula occurs in *Λ* 608, δ 71.

56. εἰμὶ δ': for δέ introducing an explanation (instead of γάρ or an asyndeton) cf. *h. Dem.* 77 (οὐδέ).

58, 59. With the concluding formula cf. *h. i.* 18 f.



## VIII

### HYMN TO ARES

It is evident that this hymn is quite removed from the style and tone of the other hymns in the collection. Ruhnken, Hermann, and a large majority of the older scholars assigned it a place among the Orphic poems. Matthiae, indeed, thought it to be nearer akin to the philosophic works of Cleanthes and Proclus; and parts of the hymn seem to shew the influence of the latter poet (see on 6, 10). Recent students of the *Orphica* refuse to class it in the Orphic category (Maass *Orpheus* p. 198, Abel *Hom. Hymns* p. 91, who dates it as "in or after the age of Nonnus," Adami p. 223 f.). The accumulation of epithets is of course a marked characteristic of the Orphic school; but it is pointed out that this feature is not confined to the *Orphica* (Maass and Adami, *l.c.*; see on *h. Dem.* 18). There is, however, little or nothing in the hymn to distinguish it from the acknowledged works of the Orphics; as Gemoll remarks, the first half is exactly in their style, and the prayer that Ares may remove *κακότης* is really a prayer for peace, similar to that in *Orph. h.* lxv (see on 12, 16). The inference is that the writer, if not a genuine "Orphic," was at least steeped in the literature of that sect.

The cause which led to the inclusion of this hymn among "Homeric" poems is by no means evident. According to one view, the compiler of the collection was ignorant of the very plain distinction between an Orphic and an Homeric hymn. In this case Gemoll argues that the present form of the collection must belong to a very late age; for the Alexandrines, who knew some of the short hymns, would have had more critical acumen than to confuse the two kinds of hymns, even if the hymn to Ares



were not later than the Alexandrine period. According to another theory, the presence of the hymn is caused by the juxtaposition of Homeric and Orphic poems in a manuscript, which led to the misplacement of one hymn.

If the presence of the hymn is not due to this purely accidental cause, the compiler of the collection must have had some reason for the choice of this particular hymn. It may be suggested that he was influenced by mythological considerations. The cult of Ares was of so little importance, that it would not be surprising if no genuine Homeric prelude in honour of the god were ready to hand. The compiler, however, may have been anxious that his collection should not lack mythological completeness; he was therefore compelled to search further afield for recognition of Ares' claims. On this supposition, it is not necessary to argue that he was destitute of critical ability; he may have allowed a sense of religious obligation to outweigh literary fitness.



## VIII

### Εἰς Ἄρεα

Ἄρες ὑπερμενέτα, βρισάρματε, χρυσεοπήληξ,  
ὀβριμόθυμε, φέρασπι, πολισσόε, χαλκοκορυστά,  
καρτερόχειρ, ἀμόγητε, δορυσθενές, ἔρκος Ὀλύμπου,  
Νίκης εὐπολέμοιο πάτερ, συναρωγὲ Θέμιστος,  
ἀντιβίοισι τύραννε, δικαιοτάτων ἀγὲ φωτῶν,  
ἡγορέης σκηπτοῦχε, πυραυγέα κύκλον ἐλίσσων  
αἰθέρος ἑπταπόροις ἐνὶ τείρεσιν, ἔνθα σε πῶλοι  
ζαφλεγέες τριτάτης ὑπὲρ ἄντυγος αἰὲν ἔχουσι·  
κλῦθι, βροτῶν ἐπίκουρε, δοτὴρ εὐθηλέος ἧβης,

5

TITULUS.—τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἰς ἄρεα M: εἰς ἀρέα xDJK: εἰς τὸν ἀρέα L<sub>3</sub>R<sub>1</sub>: εἰς τὸν ἄρη reliqui familiae p: ὀμύρου ὕμνοι εἰς θεοὺς εἰς ἄρην H 1. ἄρες MEΠ 2. ὀμβριμόθυμε EΠDH 3. δορισεενές M 4. θέμιστα H 5. δικαιοτέρων Bothe 7. ἑπταπύροις M 9. εὐθαρσέος Mx (sc. II): εὐθαλέος xy (sc. ET in text.): εὐθαρλέεος II (sc. εὐθαρσέος quacum εὐθαλέος ex margine coaluit)

1. βρισάρματε: of Ares, Hes. *Scut.* 441.

4. Νίκης: in Hes. *Theog.* 384, Apollod. i. 2. 4 (cf. Bacchyl. fr. 71. 1), she is daughter of Styx and Pallas. Gemoll well remarks that Ares' connexion with Nike and Themis is here not mythological, but purely symbolical.

5. δικαιοτάτων ἀγὲ φωτῶν: there may be a verbal reminiscence of N 6 δικαιοτάτων ἀνθρώπων, but there cannot be any mythological allusion to the Scythians, as Baumeister thinks; Ares is simply the "Lord of the Just."

6. ἡγορέης σκηπτοῦχε: there is perhaps no parallel for this use in early Greek; cf. *Orph. h.* 55. 11 θεῶν σκηπτοῦχε.

πυραυγέα κύκλον κτλ., "wheeling thy red orb among the bodies that move in the sevenfold paths of heaven." The passage closely resembles Proclus *h.* iv.

17 εἶτε καὶ ἐπτά κύκλων ὑπὲρ ἄντυγας αἰθέρα ναίεις (quoted by Matthiae). In πυραυγέα there is an allusion to the distinctive redness of the planet Mars, which was called ὁ πυρρεῖς; Arist. *Mund.* vi. 18, often in Manetho, Maximus περὶ καταρχῶν 298, 398, Io. Lydus *Mens.* ii. 8, Cic. *N. D.* ii. 20.

8. τριτάτης: this passage is to be explained by the periodic times of the planets (Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, etc.), see the reviewer of Maass' *die Tagesgötter in Rom* etc., *Class. Rev.* 1903, p. 87.

9. εὐθηλέος, "thriving," more appropriate to ἧβης than εὐθαρσέος, although the latter is not impossible. Gemoll's correction of εὐθαλέος is necessary, as the Doric form of εὐθηλής cannot stand; the error doubtless arose from confusion with εὐθάλῃς. Cf. xxx. 13 εὐφροσύνη νεοθηλεῖ.



πρὴν καταστίλβων σέλας ὑψόθεν ἐς βιότητα 10  
 ἡμετέρεν καὶ κάρτος ἀρήϊον, ὥς κε δυναίμην  
 σεύασθαι κακότητα πικρὴν ἀπ' ἐμοῖο καρήνου,  
 καὶ ψυχῆς ἀπατηλὸν ὑπογνάμψαι φρεσὶν ὄρμην,  
 θυμοῦ τ' αὖ μένος ὃξὺ κατισχέμεν, ὅς μ' ἐρέθισι 15  
 φυλόπιδος κρυερῆς ἐπιβαινέμεν· ἀλλὰ σὺ θάρσος  
 δός, μάκαρ, εἰρήνης τε μένειν ἐν ἀπήμοσι θεσμοῖς  
 δυσμενέων προφυγόντα μόθον κῆρὰς τε βιαίους.

10. πρὶν pro πρὸ M || κατάστιλβων Hemsterhuis || νεότης ci. Gemoll 12.  
 σεύασθαι M: σεύεσθαι cet. || ἐμοῖο B: ἐμεῖο cet. 13. ὑπογνάμψαι M:  
 ὑπογνάψαι cet. 17. βιάις Barnes

10. κλῦθι καταστίλβων: i.e. κλῦθι καὶ  
 κατάστιλβε; Matthiae compares *Orph. h.*  
*iv.* 9, xxviii. 11, xxxiv. 27.

βιότητα: the form is rare and late,  
 but may be retained in this hymn;  
 cf. *C.I.G.* 6206, 6290, both inscriptions  
 from imperial times. For the general  
 sense of 10 f. Matthiae compares Proclus  
*h. iv.* 21 πολύμοχθον ἐμὴν βιότοιο πορείην  
 | ἰθύνους σέο, πότνα, δικαιοτάτοις βελέμ-  
 νοις, | οὐχ ὅσιων παύουσα πόθων κρύβεσσαν  
 ἐρωήν.

12. κακότητα: the "baseness" is  
 further explained by ψυχῆς ἀπατηλὸν

ὄρμην; the poet prays for freedom from  
 the passions which deceive the mind and  
 incite to bloodshed.

16. Ares is similarly prayed to stay  
 the strife and give peace in *Orph. h.*  
*lxv.* 6 στήσον ἔριν λυσσῶσαν; cf. *ib.* 9  
*εἰρήνην ποθέων*. So Hephaestus, as the  
 god of fire, is asked to stay the rage of  
 fire, *Orph. h. lxi.* 12. The principle is  
 that expressed by the proverbial ὁ  
 τρώσας καὶ λίσσεται.

17. βιαίους: for the termination Bau-  
 meister compares Plat. *Rep.* iii. 399 A,  
*Leg.* x. 885 A.



## IX

### HYMN TO ARTEMIS

THE hymn is no doubt Ionic, and it is obvious to suggest that the composer was a rhapsodist at Claros. The marks of locality (the Meles, Smyrna, and Claros) are not of sufficiently Pan-Hellenic importance to be merely "literary," as would be, for example, the mention of Cyprus and Cythera in connexion with Aphrodite (see *h. Aphr.* Introd.). Nor is it impossible that the prelude was recited at a common festival of Apollo and Artemis (Baumeister); but we have no proof that such a festival existed, although there are Colophonian coins of Apollo Κλάριος and Artemis Κλαρία, dating from imperial times (Head *Hist. Num.* p. 494). The two deities, however, are not represented together on this coinage (see also Farnell *Cults* ii. p. 532); and the reference to the Clarian Apollo may have a mythological rather than a ritualistic significance (see on 5 and xxvii. 13 f.).



## IX

### Εἰς Ἄρτεμιν

Ἄρτεμιν ὕμνει, Μοῦσα, κασιγνήτην Ἑκάτοιο,  
 παρθένον ἰοχέαιραν, ὁμότροφον Ἀπόλλωνος,  
 ἥ θ' ἵππους ἄρσασα βαθυσχοίνοιο Μέλητος  
 ῥίμφα διὰ Σμύρνης παγχρύσειον ἄρμα διώκει  
 ἐς Κλάρων ἀμπελόεσσαν, ὅθ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων  
 ἦσται μιμνάζων ἐκατηβόλον ἰοχέαιραν.

5

καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε θεαί θ' ἅμα πᾶσαι ἀοιδῇ·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ σε πρῶτα καὶ ἐκ σέθεν ἄρχομ' αἰεΐδειν,  
 σεῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον.

TITULUS. — εἰς ἄρτεμιν *MaxD*: εἰς τὴν ἄρτεμιν *p* 1. ὕμνεῖ *EAtDH*  
 3. βαουσχοινοῖο *M* || μέλητος *M* (quod coniecit Martin): μελήτης *xxAtDL<sub>3</sub>*:  
 μιλήτης *p* praeter *L<sub>3</sub>* 4. παγχρύσιον *D* 7. ε' *M*: δ' cet. || ε' ἅμα πᾶσαι  
 ἀοιδῇ] Ἰλαμαι δέ σ' ἀοιδῇ Bücheler 8. céte pro ce *M*: céε' *E*

2 = *h. Ap.* 199.

3. ἵππους: Artemis was called *εὐρίππα* at Pheneos in Arcadia, Paus. viii. 14. 5. Cf. Pind. *Ol.* iii. 26 *Λατοῦς ἵπποσβα θυγάτηρ*, id. *fr.* 89 *ἵππων ἐλάτειραν*. More often, in art, she drives stags or deer (e.g. on the frieze of the temple of Apollo at Bassae).

ἄρσασα: for the verb (*ἄρδω*) and construction the editors quote Euphor. *fr.* 75 (Mein.) *οἱ δ' οὐπω Σιμβέντος Ἀχαιίδας ἤρσαμεν ἵππους*.

Μέλητος: preserved by Malone. The river Meles flowed by Smyrna, and is to be identified with a stream at Bournoubat,

near Old Smyrna (Frazer on Paus. vii. 5. 12). Homer was said to have composed his poems in a grotto on its banks (Paus. *ib.*).

5. Κλάρων: see on *h. Ap.* 40. Artemis visits her brother in his famous sanctuary at Claros, just as she visits Delphi, xxvii. 13 f. (where see note).

6. ἐκατηβόλον: apparently only here of Artemis, who however is *ἐκηβόλος*, Soph. *fr.* 357, and on a Naxian inscription at Delos, *B. C. H.* iii. (1879) p. 3 f.; and *ἐκαέργη* (Farnell *Cults* ii. p. 465).

7 = xiv. 6, where, as here, only *M* preserves the correct reading *θ'* for *δ'*.



## X

### HYMN TO APHRODITE

THE hymn, like its parallel, vi, was a prelude recited at a contest (cf. 5). There is no reason to suppose that it was Cyprian in origin. The MSS. offer several singular variants in the few lines of the hymn.



# X

## Εἰς Ἀφροδίτην

Κυπρογενῇ Κυθήρειαν αἰέσομαι, ἥ τε βροτοῖσι  
μείλιχα δῶρα δίδωσιν, ἐφ' ἡμερτῶ δὲ προσώπῳ  
αἰεὶ μειδιάει καὶ ἐφ' ἡμερτὸν θέει ἄνθος.

χαῖρε θεά, Σαλαμῖνος ἐυκτιμένης μεδέουσα  
εἰναλῆς τε Κύπρου· δὸς δ' ἡμερόεσσαν ἀοιδὴν.  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς.

5

In M hic hymnus undecimum qui est ad Minervam sequitur.

TITULUS.—εἰς ἀφροδίτην MæDL<sub>3</sub>: εἰς τὴν ἀφροδίτην *p* praeter L<sub>3</sub> 1. κυ-  
προγενᾶ E: εὐπρογενᾶ K: οὐπρογενᾶ B: υποπρογενᾶ DV: Κυπρογενεά Barnes  
2. ἐφιμερτῶ Lennep 3. ἐφιμερτὸν EΠJ Lennep || ἡμερτὸν θέει ἄνεος M, ductus  
refecit *m*: ἔσθος Gemoll: φέρει ἄνεος cet. 4. χαῖρε μάκαιρα κυσῆρης (ex κυσίης  
corr.) M || εὐκτιμένης E 5. εἰναλῆς τε κύπρου M: καὶ πάσης κύπρου cet.

1. **Κυπρογενᾶ**: first in Hes. *Theog.* 199, in the older form *Κυπρογενεά*, which need not be read in the hymn; Fick (*B. B.* ix. 203) reads *Κυπρογένην*. The variations *εὐπρογενῇ* etc. are due to the initial being left to the scribe to paint in red; mistaken attempts were made to fill up the gap.

**Κυθήρειαν**: Hes. *Theog.* 196, 198 etc., but also in the *Odyssey* (θ 288, σ 193) as a proper name. See Roscher *Lex.* ii. 1769 f.

2. **μείλιχα δῶρα**, "her gracious gifts," i.e. beauty; cf. *μειλιχόδωρος* (see L. and S.), of Wine and Health; so τὰ *μείλιχα*, "joys," of Charis, Pind. *Ol.* i. 30. Gemoll also suggests a less probable explanation from Mimmern. i. 3 *κρυπταδίη φιλότης καὶ μείλιχα δῶρα καὶ εὐνή*.

**ἐφ'**: here and in 3 in a local sense: "she has ever a smile on her lovely face, and lovely bloom runs thereon." It seems unnecessary to add a new word *ἐφιμερτός*, although *ἐφιμείρω* is found in late epic.

3. The editors read *φέρει*; if this is original the dative to be supplied is *βροτοῖσι*, although Matthiae and Gemoll understand *φέρει* as = "bears" (on herself). Gemoll thinks that *άνθος* is literally a flower, and, objecting to the collective singular, proposes *ἔσθος*. But *άνθος* is here "bloom," "beauty," as in *h. Dem.* 107, *h. Herm.* 375 and often. The reading of M *θέει* is more appropriate than *φέρει* to *άνθος*; for the metaphorical use cf. Z 45 *λευκὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη*.

4. The alternatives are equal in point of sense, but M's *χαῖρε μάκαιρα Κυθήρης* can hardly be paralleled in metre; *Batrach.* 287 is similar, where, however, Abel reads *αἰεὶ μαλερόν* (Schmidt) for *δευμαλέον*.

5. **εἰναλῆς τε Κύπρου**: here M's reading is in all respects equal to *καὶ πάσης Κύπρου*. For the short *υ* cf. Empedocles 282, 419, Ibycus *fr.* v. 2, Pind. *Nem.* iv. 46 etc. For the worship of Aphrodite in Cyprus and Cythera see Farnell *Cults* ii. p. 740 f.



## XI

### HYMN TO ATHENA

THIS and the following hymn have no formula of transition to a rhapsody. Hence it is very doubtful whether the hymn was a prelude at a recitation at Athens or elsewhere. The cult of Athena *πολιάς* or *πολιοῦχος* was common to many Greek states (Farnell *Cults* i. p. 299).



# XI

## Εἰς Ἀθηνᾶν

Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην ἐρυσίπολιν ἄρχομ' αἶδειν,  
 δεινὴν, ἧ σὺν Ἀρηϊ μέλει πολεμῆια ἔργα  
 περθόμεναί τε πόλῃς αὐτῇ τε πτόλεμοί τε,  
 καὶ τ' ἐρρύσατο λαὸν ἰόντα τε νισσόμενόν τε.  
 χαῖρε, θεά, δὸς δ' ἄμμι τύχην εὐδαιμονίην τε.

5

TITULUS.—Εἰς ἀθηνᾶν MæzD : εἰς τὴν ἀθηνᾶν p 3. πόλῃς MNP : πόλιες  
 cet. || αὐτοί M || πόλεμοί p 4. ἐρρύσατο M || νισσόμενόν M : νισσόμενόν cet.

1. ἐρυσίπολιν : the epithet occurs in Z 305 and xviii. 3 of Athena. The suggestion (Ebeling, Gemoll) that the word is *non boni ominis*, "making cities to fall," cannot be entertained. The first part of the word must be connected with ἐρύομαι, "protect," although Leaf suggests that the original form was ῥυσίπολις (so schol. A l.c.), ἐρυσίπολις being coined on the mistaken analogy of ἐρυσάρματος (from ἐρύω "draw").

The epithet recalls Athena πολιούχος (Pauly-Wissowa "Athena" 1946). The reference to περθόμεναι πόλῃς (3) does not negative this view; Athena goes forth with her own people (4) to sack the enemy's city.

2. Athena and Ares are very rarely united in myth or ritual; they had a common altar at Olympia as patrons of horse-racing (Paus. v. 15. 6). Pindar brackets them as warlike deities (Nem.

x. 84). There was a statue of Athena in the temple of Ares at Athens (Paus. i. 8. 4), and occasionally Athena Ἀρεῖα or Στρατιά is mentioned with Ares (Farnell *Cults* i. p. 309 and 407); but generally there was little in common between the rough Thracian god and the civilised goddess. See Voigt *Beitr. zur Myth. des Ares und der Athena*, 1881.

4. ἰόντα τε νισσόμενόν τε, "in their goings (out) and returnings." The verb νίσσομαι appears primarily to have the sense of "return" (so Ebeling, although L. and S. ignore the usage), being, no doubt, connected with νέομαι, νόστος; so, perhaps, M 119, Ψ 76. On the spelling see La Roche *Hom. Textbk.* p. 316.

5. With the concluding form of prayer cf. the last lines of hymns xv, xx, Callim. *h. Zeus* δίδου δ' ἀρετὴν ἀφελόν τε.



## XII

### HYMN TO HERA

THIS hymn alone in the collection (except viii, which is unique in other respects) has no verse of farewell, or concluding address to the deity. There seems to be no probable explanation of the peculiarity. Possibly the hymn is the opening of a longer poem.



## XII

### Εἰς Ἥραν

Ἥρην αἶδω χρυσόθρονον, ἣν τέκε Πείη,  
 ἀθανάτην βασιλείαν, ὑπείροχον εἶδος ἔχουσαν,  
 Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούποιο κασιγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε,  
 κυδρὴν, ἣν πάντες μάκαρες κατὰ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον  
 ἀζόμενοι τίουσιν ὁμῶς Διὶ τερπικεραύνῃ.

5

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TITULUS.—εἰς Ἥραν *Mazz* (Ἥρην *K*) *D*: εἰς τὴν Ἥραν *p* 1. Ἥραν *M* 2.  
 ἀθανάτων *Matthiae* 4. κυδρὴν *corr.* ex κυδνὴν *J*

---

1. αἶδω: the lengthening of the *a* is not Homeric (except *p* 519), but occurs in Ἰλ. *Μικρ. fr.* 1, *Theognis* 4, xviii. 1, *Callim. h. Del.* 304, *Aratus* 1000, *Theocr.* vii. 41, *Mosch.* iii. 82, *Anth. Pal.* ix. 485 and 545, and often in *Oppian*. In xxxii. 1 αἶδεν is uncertain.

2. ἀθανάτην: *Matthiae's* ἀθανάτων would be more normal, but the harder reading is to be retained; in sense, "immortal queen" does not differ materially from "queen of the immortals."



### XIII

## HYMN TO DEMETER

THIS cento, as Gemoll calls the short hymn, is formed from the longer hymn to Demeter (1 = *h. Dem.* 1, 2 = *h. Dem.* 493) except for the third line, which occurs in Callim., *h. Dem.* 134, as far as *πόλιν*. But, although obviously a patchwork, the hymn is not necessarily later than Callimachus. The Alexandrine poet might perhaps have disdained to borrow from such a source; but both he and the hymn-writer may have taken the sufficiently commonplace *χαῖρε, θεά, καὶ τήνδε σάου πόλιν* from an older hymn. Guttmann's view, that *ἄρχε δ' αἰοιδῆς* is a mark of late work, is rightly criticised by Gemoll; it is addressed to Demeter herself, who inspires, and so may be said to begin, the recitation; cf. *θ* 499 *ὁ δ' ὀρμηθεὶς θεοῦ ἤρχετο*.



### XIII

#### Εἰς Δῆμντραν

Δήμητρ' ἡὔκομον, σεμνήν θεόν, ἄρχομ' αἰεῖδεν,  
αὐτὴν καὶ κούρην, περικαλλέα Περσεφόνειαν.  
χαῖρε, θεά, καὶ τήνδε σάου πόλιν, ἄρχε δ' αἰοιδῆς.

---

δὴ ραν  
TITULUS.—εἰς μντ . . . ρα θεῶν M : εἰς δῆμντραν xDHK : εἰς δῆμντρα J :  
εἰς τὴν δῆμντραν καὶ περσεφόνην p (περσεφόνειαν P) 1. <sup>Δ</sup>Μνημήτρ' M  
punctis praeifixis : δnmήτρ' ETK : δnmήτρ II : δnmήτρ' HJ : δnmήτερ' Dp ||  
θεῶν M 2. κόρην M || περσεφόνειαν xpD 3. σάου Barnes

---

2. Περσεφόνειαν : the Homeric form ; the aspirated *Περσεφόνεια* (xp) may be due to the forms *Περσεφόνα* (η), *Περσέφασσα*, *Περ(ρ)έφαττα* ; so in *Orph. h.* xli. 5. On the various forms see Förster *der Raub der Persephone* p. 276 f.

3. σάου : the ms. form here is a

variant for σάω in ρ 595, the sole form Callim. *Epigr.* 35 ; on the other hand σάω alone is given in ν 230, Callim. *h. Dem.* 135, *Anth. Pal.* xxii. 2, *Inscr. Graec. metr.* ed. Preger 63. 4. σάου is supported by Nauck *Mélanges* iv. 134, Kühner-Blass ii. 545.



#### XIV

### HYMN TO THE MOTHER OF THE GODS

THE goddess commonly identified by the Greeks with Rhea and the Asiatic Cybele was almost certainly in her origin Hellenic, and was widely worshipped, from early times, as simply μήτηρ θεῶν. At Athens, for example, her cult was important, in the Μητρῶον (see Frazer on *Paus.* i. 3. 5, Harrison *M. M. A. A.* p. 43 f.). The absence of a personal name (Rhea or Cybele) is therefore no indication of a late date. Nor is there any question of Orphic influence in the hymn. Two Orphic hymns are dedicated to the goddess; one (xiv) mentions 'Péa by name, the other (xxvii) calls her the Mother of the Gods. Whatever the date of the present hymn, it is far removed from the spirit of the Orphic compositions, and, as Baumeister remarks, is quite "Homeric."



# XIV

## Εἰς Μητέρα Θεῶν

Μητέρα μοι πάντων τε θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων  
 ὕμνει, Μοῦσα λίγεια, Διὸς θυγάτηρ μέγαλοιο,  
 ἧ κροτάλων τυπάνων τ' ἰαχὴ σύν τε βρόμος αὐλῶν  
 εὐαδεν, ἥδ' ἔ λύκων κλαγγὴ χαροπῶν τε λεόντων,  
 οὐρέα τ' ἠχήμεντα καὶ ὑλήμεντες ἑναυλοί.  
 καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε θεαί θ' ἅμα πᾶσαι ἀοιδῇ.

5

TITULUS.—Εἰς μητέρα θεῶν MHD: εἰς μητέρα τῶν θεῶν ET: εἰς ρέαν z (tit. om. K): εἰς τὴν ρέαν p 2. ὕμνει EPAtDH 3. κροτάλη p (κροτάλη<sup>ων</sup> Γ) || τυπάνων p praeter ΓR<sub>2</sub> (τύπανα marg. E): τυμπάνων cet. (τυμπάνων M) || βρόμος Mp: τρόμος xzD 6. θ' M: δ' cet.

1. For Rhea cf. *h. Dem.* 60, 442, 459, *h. Aphr.* 43. She appears as mother of the gods in O 187, Hes. *Theog.* 453 f., 625, 634; as mother of gods and men *Orph. h.* xiv. 9, xxvii. 7.

3. βρόμος αὐλῶν=*h. Herm.* 452; cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 165. 5 τυπάνου βρόμον, *ib.* 217. 5 Κυβέλης ἱερὸν βρόμον, *Apoll. Arg.* A 1139 ῥόμβῳ καὶ τυπάνῳ ῥέην Φρύγες ἰλάσκονται. The unmetrical τυμπ- is also found in Apollonius and the Anthology. Examples of the connexion of τύπανα

with the goddess, in literature and art, are too numerous to quote.

4, 5. Cf. *h. Aphr.* 70 λύκοι χαροποί τελέοντες, and *ib.* 74 κατὰ σκίοντας ἐναύλους. The resemblance, as Gemoll notes, is hardly accidental. The lion is the constant symbol of the Mother in art, from the time of Pheidias (see Harrison *l.c.*, Rapp in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 1644 f.).

5. ὑλήμεντες ἑναυλοί=xxvi. 8.

6=ix. 7.



## XV

### HYMN TO HERACLES THE LION-HEARTED

As the epithet *λεοντόθυμον* is not elsewhere known in classical literature, Baumeister thinks that the present title is due to the Byzantines. But a similar compound *λεοντόχλαινος* occurs in *Anth. Plan.* iv. 94, and for the title Baumeister himself compares E 639 *θυμολέοντα*, of Heracles. There is no proof that the Byzantines contributed anything to the hymns. The variations in the titles of other hymns (xiii, xiv, xxiii, xxv, xxx, xxxiii) may have originated at a much earlier period. In any case the possible lateness of the title would prove nothing for the hymn itself, the date of which is quite uncertain.

Baumeister's view that the hymn is Attic (as Heracles was first worshipped in Attica, *Diod.* iv. 39) is a mere hypothesis.



## Εἰς Ἡρακλέα Λεοντόουμον

Ἡρακλέα, Διὸς υἱόν, αἰέσομαι, ὃν μέγ' ἄριστον  
 γείνατ' ἐπιχθονίων Θήβης ἐνὶ καλλιχόροισιν  
 Ἀλκμήνῃ μιχθεῖσα κελαινεφείῃ Κρονίωνι.

ὃς πρὶν μὲν κατὰ γαῖαν ἀθέσφατον ἦδὲ θάλασσαν  
 πλαζόμενος πημαίνεται, ἀεθλεύων δὲ κραταιῶς,  
 πολλὰ μὲν αὐτὸς ἔρεξεν ἀτάσθαλα, ἔξοχα ἔργα.  
 νῦν δ' ἤδη κατὰ καλὸν ἔδος νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου  
 ναίει τερπόμενος καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον Ἡβην.

χαῖρε, ἄναξ, Διὸς υἱέ· δίδου δ' ἀρετὴν τε καὶ ὄλβον.

TITULUS.—εἰς Ἡρακλέα Λεοντόουμον MæD: εἰς Ἡρακλέα H: εἰς Ἡρακλᾶ J  
 (tit. om. K): εἰς τὸν Ἡρακλέα p 2. ἐνὶ libri: corr. Ilgen 4. ὃς ῥὰ ἡμὲν M

5. πημαίνεται<sup>η</sup> ἀεθλεύων κραταιῶς M: δὲ κραταιῶς Ilgen: πομπῆσιν ὑπ' εὐρυσεῦτος  
 ἄνακτος xp (ὑπ' Wolf) 6. ἀτάσθαλα ἔξοχα ἔργα M: πολλὰ δ' ἀνέτλη cet.

5 f. There are the same apparent alternatives as in h. x. The versions are equally good, except that line 5 as it stands is imperfect; Ilgen's δὲ will correct it. The other version contains no main verb and πολλὰ δ' ἀνέτλη is necessary; cf. note on h. Herm. 471.

7, 8. Cf. λ 602 f. αὐτὸς δὲ μετ' ἀθανάτοις θεοῖσι | πέμπεται ἐν θαλίῃ καὶ ἔχει

καλλίσφυρον Ἡβην. Lucian (*dialog. deor.* xvi. 1 αὐτὸς μὲν γὰρ ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ τοῖς θεοῖς σύνεστι καὶ ἔχει καλλίσφυρον Ἡβην) certainly borrows from λ, not (as Matthiae thought) from the hymn.

9. δίδου δ' κτλ. = xx. 8, Callim. h. Zeus 96.



## XVI

### HYMN TO ASCLEPIUS

THERE are no *data* for determining the place of composition, but the antiquity of the hymn is proved by the citation of 1–3 in the *scholia* on Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 14.

The most recent discussion of Asclepius is to be found in Miss Harrison's *Prolegomena* p. 341 f. For earlier literature see Roscher *Lex.* and Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encycl.* s.v.



# XVI

## Εἰς Ἀσκληπιόν

Ἰητήρα νόσων Ἀσκληπιὸν ἄρχομ' αἰδεῖν,  
 υἱὸν Ἀπόλλωνος, τὸν ἐγένεατο διὰ Κορωνίς  
 Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ κούρῃ Φλεγύου βασιλῆος,  
 χάρμα μέγ' ἀνθρώποισι, κακῶν θελκτῆρ' ὀδυνάων.  
 καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαίρε, ἄναξ· λίτομαι δέ σ' αἰοδῇ.

5

TESTIMONIUM. 1-3 schol. Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 14 (ἐν τοῖς Ὀμηρικοῖς ὕμνοις).

TITULUS.—εἰς τὸν ἀσκληπιὸν *Mr*: εἰς ἀσκληπιὸν *æ* (tit. om. K) D 2.  
 κορωνίς a M omissum addidit *m* 3. Δωτίῳ *p* || φλεγύος AtDKN: φλεγέος  
 HJ: φλεγύα scholiasta Pindari: φλεγέω Barnes 4. κακὸν J

2. Κορωνίς: on the myth of Coronis see Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 515, A. Walton in *Cornell Studies* iii. (1894), and for her connexion with the crow (κορώνη), Frazer on Paus. ii. 11. 7.

3. Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ: from the Ἡοῖαι; cf. Hes. *fr.* 76 (ap. Strab. 442, 647) ἡ οἷη Διδύμους ἱεροῦς ναλοῦσα κολώνους | Δωτίῳ ἐν πεδίῳ πολυβότρυος ἄντ' Ἀμύροιο | νίψατο Βοιβιάδος λίμνης πόδα παρθένος ἀδάμης. So *fr.* ap. Plut. *quaest. conu.* 748 B ἀνὰ Δώτιον ἀνθεμένον πεδίον. The locality is described by Strabo 442 πλησίον τῆς ἄρτι λεχθείσης Περραιβίας καὶ τῆς Ὀσσης καὶ ἔτι τῆς Βοιβηίδος λίμνης, ἐν

μέσῃ μὲν πῶς τῇ Θετταλίᾳ, λόφοις δὲ ἰδίοις περικλειόμενον. For the myth of the crow which informed on Coronis cf. *fr.* 125 (schol. on Pind. *Pyth.* iii. 14 and 48).

Φλεγύου: in Hes. *fr.* 123 the form is Φλεγύα; the schol. on Pindar cites the Homeric line with the Doric Φλεγύα, following Pindar, as Baumeister saw.

4. Cf. *Orac.* ed. Hendess 34. 1 ὦ μέγα χάρμα βροτοῖς βλαστῶν Ἀσκληπιέ πάσιν | δν Φλεγυνῆς ἔτικτεν ἐμοὶ φιλότῃ μιγεῖσα | ἱμερόεσσα Κορωνίς ἐνὶ κραναῇ Ἐπιδαύρῳ (ap. Paus. ii. 26. 7), *ib.* 13. 2 Ἐλένη μέγα χάρμα.



## XVII

### HYMN TO THE DIOSCURI

THE lines are no doubt an abbreviation of the longer hymn to the DioscURI (xxxiii), just as the following hymn is borrowed from iv. For the parentage of the "Tyndarids" (from Zeus) see on xxxiii. 2. Lines 3, 4 are copied with variations from xxxiii. 4, 5. The hymn was apparently not intended for a prelude, as the verse of transition (xxxiii. 19) is here omitted.



## XVII

### Εἰς Διοσκούρους

Κάστορα καὶ Πολυδεύκε' αἰέσσο, Μοῦσα λίγεια,  
 Τυνδαρίδας, οἷ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐξεγένοντο·  
 τοὺς ὑπὸ Ταῦγέτου κορυφῆς τέκε πότνια Λήδη  
 λάθρῃ ὑποδμηθεῖσα κελαινεφεί Κρονίωνι.  
 χαίρετε, Τυνδαρίδαι, ταχέων ἐπιβήτορες ἵππων.

5

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TITULUS.—εἰς τοὺς διοσκούρους M: εἰς διοσκούρους αD: εἰς κάστορα καὶ πολυδεύκην pz (πολυδεύκην· tit. om. K) 1. αἰείσο Steph. 3. κορυφῇ Abel  
 5. ἐπ' ἀμύτων pro ἐπιβήτορες M

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1. αἰείσο: the solitary instance of this aor. imper. middle has the authority of the mss.; in xx. 1 αἰείσο, which Stephanus read here; αἰέσσο was maintained by Buttmann (Kühner-Blass ii. p. 103).

5. M's reading ἐπ' ἀμύτων had its origin probably in a graphical corruption of ἐπιβήτορες; cf. ἐκ μὴ τοῦ δέ, for ἐκβήτη οὐδέ h. *Ap.* 457.



## XVIII

### HYMN TO HERMES

THE shorter hymn to Hermes is merely an abstract from the longer, as is the case with the preceding hymn to the Dioscuri. Gemoll notices that the subject of both these abbreviated versions is confined to the birth of the gods. Further, as the hymn to Asclepius (xvi), which also stops at his birth, must be old (see Introd.), Gemoll concludes that xvii and xviii belong to the same age as xvi. This reasoning seems to be sound, and we may therefore reject Baumeister's theory that the present hymn was compiled *a grammatico nescio quo ingenioli ostentandi causa*.

The three hymns are to be considered as equally genuine products of antiquity, although their precise date cannot be decided. But the reason for the existence of the two abbreviations (xvii and xviii) is not obvious. The original hymn to Hermes (iv) is of course far too long to have served as a prelude to an ordinary recitation of epic poetry; it would therefore be natural to suppose that xviii was an abstraction for the use of rhapsodists. But the original hymn to the Dioscuri (xxxiii) hardly exceeds the limits of the usual preludes, and it is hard to see why it should have been further shortened. Perhaps even a hymn of moderate compass came to be thought excessive by rhapsodists who were anxious to begin the actual recitation. The prelude had become a mere convention, just as a few bars of *God save the King* are now taken to represent the entire national anthem at the conclusion of a play.



## XVIII

### Εἰς Ἑρμῆν

Ἑρμῆν αἰείδω Κυλλήνιον, Ἀργειφόντην,  
 Κυλλήνης μεδέοντα καὶ Ἀρκαδίας πολυμήλου,  
 ἄγγελον ἀθανάτων ἐριούνιον, ὃν τέκε Μαῖα  
 Ἀτλαντος θυγάτηρ Διὸς ἐν φιλότῃ μιγεῖσα,  
 αἰδοίη· μακάρων δὲ θεῶν ἀλέεινεν ὄμιλον 5  
 ἄντρῳ ναιετάουσα παλισκίῳ· ἔνθα Κρονίων  
 νύμφῃ εὐπλοκάμῳ μισγέσκετο νυκτὸς ἀμολγῶ,  
 εἶτε κατὰ γλυκὺς ὕπνος ἔχοι λευκώλενον Ἥρην·  
 λάνθανε δ' ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς θνητοὺς τ' ἀνθρώπους.  
 καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαίρε, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος νιέ· 10  
 σεῦ δ' ἐγὼ ἀρξάμενος μεταβήσομαι ἄλλον ἐς ὕμνον.  
 χαῖρ' Ἑρμῇ χαριδῶτα, διάκτορε, δῶτορ ἐάων.

TITULUS.—εἰς Ἑρμῆν Mæz (tit. om. K) D: εἰς τὸν Ἑρμῆν p 2. πολυμήλου M<sup>ης</sup>

4. cum hoc versu finitur M 6. πολυσκίῳ J 8. ἔχει p: ἔχει<sup>οι</sup> H 12. ἐάων  
 IPN corr.

2-9=*h. Herm.* 2-9, with a few variations: 4' Ἀτλαντος θυγάτηρ=νύμφῃ εὐπλόκαμος, 5 ἀλέεινεν=ἡλεύαθ', 6 ἄντρῳ ναιετάουσα παλισκίῳ=ἄντρον ἔσω ναίονσα παλίσκιον, 8 εἶτε=ἔφρα, 9 λάνθανε δ'=λήθων.

10=*h. Herm.* 579.

12. χαριδῶτα: for these words see on *h. i.* 2, and add ολβιοτα ζεν *J. H. S.* xxiii.

p. 243. The line is a curious addition to 11, which in *h. Aphr.* and *h. ix* is the formula of transition at the end of a prelude. It has been thought an alternative to 11, or an interpolation; but there is no reason for demanding complete uniformity in these endings.

δῶτορ ἐάων=xxix. 8, Callim. *h. Zeus* 91, θ 335.



## XIX

### HYMN TO PAN

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PRELLER-ROBERT i.<sup>2</sup> p. 738 f.

W. ROSCHER, "die Sagen von der Geburt des Pan," *Philologus*, 1894.

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*Subject and style.*—The hymn to Pan, with its keen appreciation of Nature and its sympathy with the free open-air life of the field and mountain, has a freshness and charm peculiarly attractive to a modern reader. The poem, though a hymn in form, is an idyll in spirit—a picture, or rather a series of pictures, with landscapes of snowy peaks and rocky ways, and meadows where the crocus and fragrant hyacinth are intermingled with the grass. In all the scenes Pan is the central figure, alone, or with his attendant nymphs: Pan the hunter, roaming over the snowy hills, or among the thick bushes, or along the gentle streams; Pan the musician, making sweet melody beside the dark fountain in the dusk, or joining in the dance of Oread nymphs. Nowhere, perhaps, in Greek literature has the love of the country found clearer expression than in this hymn, which challenges comparison with the chorus to Pan in the *Helena*,<sup>1</sup> or with the seventh idyll of Theocritus. "It is assuredly"—to quote a fine critic—"the voice of no small poet which breathes through this lovely hymn."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Eur. *Hel.* 167-190.

<sup>2</sup> Palgrave *Landscape in Poetry* p. 16.



*Date of the hymn.*—It is to be regretted that so interesting a poem cannot be dated with any certainty. On one point, however, scholars are substantially agreed—that the hymn is one of the latest in the collection, and that it could hardly have been composed before the age of Pindar at the earliest. The evidence of mythology, if not conclusive, strongly supports this consensus of opinion. It is true that Pan is one of the oldest creations of Greek folklore, being (as Mannhardt has shewn) the representative in Greece of the numerous wood-spirits who appear in a semi-caprine form.<sup>1</sup> But the old Arcadian wood-spirit and shepherd-god had no place in the “higher mythology” of Homer and Hesiod, and scarcely won any recognition in literature before the Persian wars. Until that period he was probably ignored by cultivated Greeks (outside Arcadia), and hence Herodotus was led to infer that Pan was one of the most recent of Hellenic deities (ii. 145). In Pindar he is a mere attendant of the Μεγάλη Μήτηρ (*Pyth.* iii. 77, *fr.* 6. 1 Ματρὸς μεγάλας ὀπαδέ). The first reference to the god is quoted from Epimenides, who called Pan and Arcas the twin-sons of Zeus and Callisto (schol. on Theocr. i. 3, schol. on *Rhes.* 36). It is difficult to believe that a hymn which shews so developed a conception of Pan’s nature and of his place in the Greek mythological system could have been the product of the seventh or early sixth century, in which all other literature passes over the god in silence. Pan is equally neglected in Greek art until the beginning of the fifth century (Roscher *Lex.* 1407).

On the other hand, the hymn does not appear to be Alexandrine, as various critics have suggested.<sup>2</sup> Forms such as *πίση* (2), *τόθι* (25), *Ἑρμείην* (28), *ὦν* (32), *χέρα* (40) are instanced by Gemoll as “late”; they are of course foreign to the oldest epic, but there is little or nothing in the language which cannot be paralleled in the genuinely ancient hymns. Usages such as *νύμφη* for “daughter” (34), *τιθήνη* “mother”

<sup>1</sup> Mannhardt *A. W. F. K.* ch. iii.; Frazer *G. B.* ii. p. 261 f. The old theory, recently revived by Immerwahr (*Kulte u. Myth. Ark.* i.) and Bérard (*de l’Origine des cultes Arc.*), that Pan was a sun-god, cannot be accepted; see a review of the latter work in *Class. Rev.* ix. p. 71,

Roscher *Lex.* 1405. Pan is simply a shepherd-god made by the Arcadians with their own characteristics.

<sup>2</sup> Guttman (*de Hymn. Hom. hist. crit.*), Sittl *L. G.* i. p. 199, Gemoll (p. 334), Murray *Anc. Greek Lit.* p. 50.



(38), are also unknown in Homer; but there is no reason to see in them a mark of Alexandrine affectation. There are a large number of ἄπαξ λεγόμενα (φιλόκροτος 2, χοροήθης 3, ἀγλαέθειρος, ἀνακέκλωμαι 5, αὐχμήεις 6, μηλοσκόπος 11, λιγύμολπος 19, τερατωπός 36); all these, however, are simple and straightforward, and may well belong to an early stage of the language. The hymn reads like the product of a good period (perhaps the fifth century), and Ludwich is probably correct in refusing to see any traces of Alexandrine workmanship.

*Place of composition.*—The hymn treats of an Arcadian god, and mentions his birth on Cyllene; but the cult of Pan became the common property of the Greeks from the beginning of the fifth century, or a little earlier, so that there is no internal evidence of locality. Baumeister and Wilamowitz (*aus Kydathen* p. 224) suggest an Athenian origin; all that can be said in favour of this theory is the fact that Pan became a favourite at Athens after the battle of Marathon, when his cult, if known before to the Athenians, was first officially organised.<sup>1</sup>

The further suggestion of Baumeister, that the hymn served as a proem to Homeric recitations at the Panathenaea, is mere guess-work. It may be sufficient to remark that, if the hymn is Athenian, it could not have been composed at a time when the memory of the Persian defeat was fresh. There is no mention of the familiar part which the god played in the war, or of the "panic" which he caused at Marathon. His character in the hymn is entirely pacific; he is a hunter, but no warrior.<sup>2</sup>

*Integrity of the hymn.*—The unity of the poem is sufficiently obvious, although the *motif* does not lie in a single episode, as in the hymns to Demeter, to the Delian and Pythian Apollo, and to Aphrodite (see App. II. p. 311); and there is no question of interpolated lines. An attempt to disintegrate the hymn was made by Groddeck, who divided it into two parts, the first (1–27) relating to Pan and the Nymphs, the second (28–47) describing the birth of the god. Groddeck thought that the narrative languished in the latter half; to this Ilgen rightly replied that the comparative failure of interest is due to the subject, not to a different composer. Further, Groddeck argued that the birth of Pan should have

<sup>1</sup> Herod. vi. 105, Simonid. *fr.* 133; Harrison *M. M. A. A.* p. 538 f.; Milchöfer *A. Z.* 1880, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Barnes' αἰχμητὴν for αὐχμήενθ' (6) scarcely deserves record as an emendation.



been described at the beginning; he did not realise that the birth was the subject of the nymph's song, and that the Homeric hymns afford two exact parallels to the order of the narrative. In *h. Herm.* 59 Hermes sings of his own birth, and in *h. Art.* (xxvii) an account of Artemis at the chase is followed by a mention of the song describing the birth of Apollo and Artemis, while the goddess herself, like Pan, directs the chorus.

Peppmüller divides the hymn into "nomic" parts: ἀρχά (1-7), κατατροπά (8-26), ὀμφαλός (27-47), ἐπίλογος (48-49).



# XIX

## Εἰς Πᾶνα

Ἀμφί μοι Ἑρμείας φίλον γόνον ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα,  
αἰγυπόδην, δικέρωτα, φιλόκροτον, ὃς τ' ἀνὰ πίση  
δενδρήεντ' ἄμυδις φοιτᾷ χοροήθεσι νύμφαις,  
αἷ τε κατ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης στείβουσι κάρηνα  
Πᾶν' ἀνακεκλόμειναι, νόμιον θεόν, ἀγλαέθειρον,

5

TITULUS.—εἰς πᾶνα *MD*: εἰς τὸν πᾶνα *p* 2. αἰγυπόδην libri: corr. Hermann || πολύκροτον Barnes || πίση libri: corr. Stephanus: πίσα Wolf 3. *δενηρῆσσι* Barnes || χοροηέσι Schmidt 4. στείχουσι κέλευθα Köchly: λείπουσι κάρηνα Baumeister 5. οὐλοέθειρον Köchly

1. ἀμφί: cf. on vii. 1. Ἑρμείας φίλον γόνον: the genealogies vary; Roscher (*die Sagen* etc.) gives a complete list. For Hermes as the father cf. Herod. ii. 145, Lucian *dial. deor.* 22, *Anth. Plan.* iv. 229 and elsewhere. Hermes and Pan were both shepherd-gods (νόμοι) in Arcadia, and were both worshipped on Cyllene, so that their connexion, no doubt, originated in Arcadia.

2. αἰγυπόδην: this form is preserved in 37, and should be restored here, although Ilgen and Baumeister retain αἰγοπόδην in this place, charging the inconsistency on the hymn-writer rather than on the scribe.

Numerous epithets allude to the goat-footed Pan (Αἰγίπιον): e.g. Simon. *fr.* 33 τραγόπων, Herod. ii. 46 τραγοσκελέα, Arist. *Ran.* 230 κεροβάταν, Theocr. *cp.* xiii. 6 αἰγυβάταν, *Orph. h.* xi. 5 αἰγομελές, Nonn. *Dion.* xxiii. 151 αἰγείους πόδεσσι, *Anth. Pal.* vi. 35. 1 αἰγώνυχι; for αἰγυπόδης cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 57. 3, ix. 330. 2.

δικέρωτα: Herod. *l.c.* αἰγοπρόσωπον, Lucian *l.c.* κερασφόρος, *Anth. Pal.* ix. 142 δικέρων, *ib.* vi. 32 δικραίρω, Nonn. *Dion.* xiv. 72 Πανὲς κερααλκές, xvi. 187 ὑψίκερως, etc.

3. ἄμυδις: not in Homer. χοροήεσι: the form may stand; Schmidt's χορογήθεσι would itself be ἀπαξ λεγ., although supported by *δαφνογήθης*, *λυρογήθης* (Ludwich). For the sense Gemoll compares *Orph. h.* xxiv. 2 χοροπαίγμονες, of the Nereids.

4. αἰγίλιπος: the derivation is still obscure. In *A. J. P.* xvi. p. 261 the latter part of the word is connected with λε-λιμ-μένος, i.e. "loved by goats." Prellwitz s.v. maintains the ancient etymology (λείπω). The construction has been doubted; στείβουσι might be intrans., the order being στείβουσι κατὰ κάρηνα αἰγ. πέτρης. Some join κατὰ to the verb, which would thus be trans., cf. Soph. *O. C.* 467 καταστείψας πέδον. But as κατ' αἰγίλιπος πέτρης is a Homeric formula (*I* 15, *II* 4), the prep. is here also to be taken with the genitive, so that στείβουσι is trans., "tread on the peaks." For the direct obj. acc. cf. *Apoll. Arg.* Γ 835 στείβε πέδον (wrongly explained by L. and S. as a cogn. acc.).

5. νόμιον: of Pan, *Anth. Pal.* vi. 96. 6. There was a temple of Pan under this title on the Νόμα ὄρη, near Lycosura, Paus. viii. 38. 11.

ἀγλαέθειρον, "bright-haired," does



αὐχμήενθ', ὃς πάντα λόφον νιφόεντα λέλογχε  
καὶ κορυφὰς ὀρέων καὶ πετρήεντα κέλευθα.  
φοιτᾷ δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα διὰ ῥωπήϊα πυκνά,  
ἄλλοτε μὲν ρεῖθροισιν ἐφελκόμενος μαλακοῖσιν,  
ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ πέτρησιν ἐν ἡλιβάτοισι διοιχνεῖ,  
ἀκροτάτην κορυφὴν μηλοσκόπον εἰσαναβαίνων.  
πολλάκι δ' ἀργινόμεντα διέδραμεν οὖρεα μακρά,  
πολλάκι δ' ἐν κνημοῖσι διήλασε θήρας ἐναίρων,  
ὀξέα δερκόμενος· τότε δ' ἔσπερος ἔκλαγεν οἶον

10

6. αἰχμήενθ' Martin: αἰχμητὴν Barnes: ἐρσήμεν' Matthiae: αὐχμήενθ' Ruhnken: λαχνήενθ' Köchly 7. κέλευθα *py* (sc. ET in text.: Π in marg. γρ.): κάρηνα *α* (sc. Π in text.) D 9. ἐφεζόμενος Baumeister: ἐφαλλόμενος Ludwich 10. ἐπ' pro ἐν Matthiae 11. μηλόσκοπον codd.: corr. Gemoll 12. αἰγινόμεντα libri: corr. Martin: ita seu αἰγίλόμεντα Barnes 14. δερκόμενος] κεκλόμενος Pierson || puncta versui addidit Π || ἐκ σπέος ἤγαγεν seu ἤλασεν οἶας Martin: οἶον libri: corr. Peppmüller: τότε—οἶος Hermann: ποτὶ δ' ἔσπερον ἔκλαγεν οἶμην Baumeister: ἤλασεν αὐλιν Gemoll

not seem a very appropriate epithet; but the first part of the compound probably means "thick" or "long," for which Preller compares ἀγλασκάριος "with rich fruit."

6. αὐχμήενθ', "shaggy," "unkempt"; αὐχμηρός, αὐχμωδής, αὐχμηροκόμης are similarly used.

ὃς πάντα λόφον κτλ.: the goat-god was naturally at home on the rocky mountains of Arcadia, the chief of which (Lycaeus, Cyllene, Maenalus, Parthenion) were sacred to him. So Soph. *O. T.* 1100 ὀρεσσιβάτα Πανί, *Aj.* 595 ὦ Πάν Πάν ἀλ-πλαγκτε Κυλλανίας χιονοκτύπου | πετραίας ἀπὸ δευράδος φάνηθ', *Anth. Pal.* vi. 32. 3 Πανὶ φιλοσκοπέλῳ, *ib.* 106. 5 Πάν βονῖτα. See Roscher (*Lex.* 1383), who thinks that the connexion with the mountains arose from Pan's character as a hunter and also as a shepherd; Arcadians drove their flocks up the mountains as spring approached. In any case, the god of a country like Arcadia must have haunted the mountains.

νιφόεντα: so Soph. *Aj.* l.c., Castorion in Athen. x. 455 Α σὲ τὸν βολαῖς νιφοκτύποις δυσχείμερον | ναῖονθ' ἔδραν, θηρονόμε Πάν, χθόν' Ἀρκάδων | κλήσω.

9. ἐφελκόμενος: this is certainly sound, and is rightly explained by Gemoll "attracted by," comparing Thuc. i. 42. 4 μηδ' . . . τούτῳ ἐφέλκεσθε. Add the Homeric αὐτὸς γὰρ ἐφέλκεται ἄνδρα σίδηρος (π 294, τ 13), which is hardly less metaphorical; so often in the

Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* vii. 707. 8 πρὸς τ' αὐδὴν ἐλκόμενος μεγάλην, xii. 87. 6 ἐφέλκομεθα, xv. 37. 38 ἔλκομαι, *Anth. Pal.* iv. 136 and 139 ἀντιμεθελκόμενον, 140, 286, all exx. of the mind); cf. also Orph. *Lith.* 332 ἐφέλκεται (middle) and Plat. *Soph.* 265 κ. Hence we need not give a physical sense to the verb, with Matthiae, i.e. "drawn by," "floating on," for which cf. Dicæarch. i. 29 καὶ γὰρ ὁ Εὐρώπος δισσὸν ἔχων τὸν εἰσπλὸν ἐφέλκεται τὸν ἔμπορον εἰς τὴν πόλιν. Baumeister's ἐφεζόμενος would not have been corrupted to ἐφελκόμενος, and ρεῖθροισιν cannot be used for δχθρσιν, even in late Greek (see Peppmüller p. 6).

For Pan's association with rivers see Roscher (*Lex.* 1384 f.), who derives the idea from the watering of the flocks in Arcadian streams, comparing Theocr. iv. 24, Verg. *Ecl.* iii. 96.

11. μηλοσκόπον: Gemoll's correction of the accent is rightly adopted by Roscher; μηλόσκοπον could only mean "watched by sheep." The reference is, of course, to a σκοπιά or peak, from which shepherds watch their flocks on the mountain-slopes.

12. ἀργινόμεντα: not for νιφόεντα (6), but "bright" in the clear air of Greece; the word is applied to towns in B 647, 656.

13. διήλασε: intrans., like διοιχνεῖ (10).

14. ὀξέα δερκόμενος: cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 16. 1, *ib.* 109. 9 Πάν ὦ σκοπιῆτα, *ib.* 107. 1 δλησκοπῶ, *Orph. h.* xi. 9 εὐσκοπε, *θηρητήρ*; for Pan ἀποσκοπῶν cf. Sil.



ἄγρης ἐξανιών, δονάκων ὑπο μούσαν ἀθύρων  
νῆδυμον· οὐκ ἂν τὸν γε παραδράμοι ἐν μελέεσσιν  
ὄρνις, ἥ τ' ἔαρος πολυανθέος ἐν πετάλοισι  
θρήνον ἐπιπροχέουσ' ἀχέει μελίγηρυν αἰοιδήν.  
σὺν δέ σφιν τότε νύμφαι ὄρεστιάδες λιγύμολποι

15

15. ἄκρης libri: corr. Pierson || ὑπὸ seu ὑπό libri: corr. Hermann 18.  
ἐπιπροχέουσα χέει libri: ἐπιπροχέουσ' ἰαχεῖ Ruhnken (ἰάχει Hermann): ἀχέει  
Ilgen: ἰχέει Gemoll: ἐπιπροίεῖσα χέει Spitzner: ἐπιπροχέουσα ἦαι Baumeister

Ital. xiii. 340, and see Roscher *die Sagen* p. 161, *Lex.* 1401. So Artemis is θηροσκόπος xxvii. 11.

τότε: here and in 19 preferable to *τοτέ*, but in 22 an oxytone accent seems required, with the meaning "anon."

οἶον: the simplest correction of οἶον; qualifies ἔσπερος, "only at evening," when the sport is over, *tum demum*. For οἶον = μόνον cf. Hes. *Theog.* 29 γαστέρες οἶον, Aesch. *Ag.* 136 (glossed μόνον), and it has been so taken in 1355; often later, e.g. Theocr. xxv. 199, Apoll. *Arg.* ii. 634 etc.

Of the conjectures, none are graphically possible except Hermann's οἶος, "alone"; but Pan is attended by the nymphs; cf. 19.

15. ἄγρης: a certain correction of ἄκρης; cf. Theocr. i. 16 ἀπ' ἄγρης | τανῖκα κεκμακῶς ἀμπαύεται of Pan; id. xxv. 87 ἐκ βοτάνης ἀνιόντα of sheep; Apoll. *Arg.* ii. 938 ἄγρηθεν δ' οὐρανὸν εἰσαναβαίνει (Artemis); id. iii. 69 θήρης ἐξανιών (Jason). For Pan as a hunter cf. Hesych. Ἀγρεύς· ὁ Πάν παρὰ Ἀθηναίους, *E. M.* 34, 38, so ἀγρότας *Anth. Pal.* vi. 13. 1 and 188. 3, ἀγρονόμος *ib.* 154. 1, εἰθηρος *ib.* 185. 4, θηρονόμος Castorion ap. Athen. x. 454 F, θηρητὴρ *Orph. h.* xi. 9. Cf. also Philostr. *imag.* ii. 11, Arrian *cyneg.* 35. 3, Paus. viii. 42. 3, Calpurn. 10. 3 f. Hunting was the natural occupation of the semi-bestial Pan or the Centaurs; moreover Pan's chief worshippers, the Arcadians, were themselves great hunters. The images of Pan were beaten with squills by Arcadian boys when the chase was unsuccessful, Theocr. vii. 107. See further Roscher *die Sagen* p. 154 f., *Lex.* 1387.

δονάκων ὑπο = δόναξι; see on xxi. 1. For Pan's connexion with the σῦριγξ see Roscher *Lex.* 1402. The pipes were used by herdsmen in Homeric times; cf. Σ 525.

μούσαν ἀεύρων: the editors quote Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 948 μολπήν ἀθύρειν.

16. νῆδυμον: for the form see on *h. Herm.* 241.

17. ἔαρος πολυανθέος: apparently a gen. of time, "in flowery spring," but parallels for an epithet used in this construction are hard to find. Baumeister compares Hes. *Scut.* 153 Σεῖριον ἀζαλεῖο, explained as temporal by Götting; but Flach denies this. Examples such as Δ 691 τῶν προτέρων ἐτέων are different, as τῶν προτέρων defines the time more closely (like τοῦ ἐπιγυγμένου χειμῶνος etc.), and is not a mere epithet. Edgar and Lang construe with ἐν πετάλοις "the leaves of spring," but this is very doubtful Greek; the adj. εἰαρινός would be required as in B 89, Hes. *Theog.* 279, *Op.* 75, *Cypria* fr. ii. 2 etc. Köchly marks a lacuna after ἔαρος, supplying πολιοῦ νέον ἱσταμένοιο | ὤλης ἐξομένη. We should perhaps expect ὥρη, as in Mimmern. fr. 1 πολυανθέος ὥρη εἰαρος, Hes. *Op.* 584 θέρεος καματωδέος ὥρη, but Peppmüller's supplement after 17 ὥρη ὅπα προίεῖσα gives an impossible order of words, with ἐν πετάλοις intervening.

18. ἀχέει: the nearest conjecture to the text, in which the repetition ἐπιπροχέουσα χέει can hardly be tolerated. There is, however, some doubt as to the existence of ἀχέειν; see on *h. Dem.* 478. Ruhnken's ἰαχεῖ (better ἰάχει) is also possible; cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 201. 2 ἀδείαν μέλπων ἐκπροχέειν ἰαχάν (of a cicala). Gemoll's ἰχέει is equally good; the rest of the conjectures are violent.

19. σφιν: the use as dat. sing. is not Homeric, and has been denied for any Greek; but the present passage cannot be otherwise explained. The dat. sing. is probable, if not certain, in Aesch. *Pers.* 759, Soph. *O. C.* 1490, where Jebb thinks it "unsafe to deny that poetry sometimes admitted the use." See Brugmann *Grundriss* ii. p. 822. *Pind. Pyth.* ix. 116, *h. xxx.* 9 are uncertain.

For Pan and the nymphs see Roscher *Lex.* 1390 f. (literature), 1420 f. (art).



φοιτῶσαι πυκνὰ ποσσὶν ἐπὶ κρήνῃ μελανύδρῳ 20  
 μέλπονται, κορυφὴν δὲ περιστένει οὔρεος ἡχώ·  
 δαίμων δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα χορῶν, τοτὲ δ' ἐς μέσον ἔρπων  
 πυκνὰ ποσσὶν διέπει, λαΐφος δ' ἐπὶ νῶτα δαφιοῦν  
 λυγρὸς ἔχει, λυγρῇσιν ἀγαλλόμενος φρένα μολπαῖς,  
 ἐν μαλακῷ λειμῶνι, τόθι κρόκος ἦδ' ὑάκινθος 25  
 εὐώδης θαλέθων καταμίσγεται ἄκριτα ποίη.  
 ὕμνευσιν δὲ θεοὺς μάκαρας καὶ μακρὸν Ὀλυμπον·  
 οἶόν θ' Ἑρμείην ἐριούνιον ἔξοχον ἄλλων  
 ἔννεπον, ὥς ὃ γ' ἅπασι θεοῖς θοὸς ἄγγελός ἐστι,  
 καὶ ῥ' ὃ γ' ἐς Ἀρκαδίην πολυτίδακα, μητέρα μῆλων, 30  
 ἐξίκετ', ἔνθα τέ οἱ τέμενος Κυλληνίου ἐστίν.  
 ἔνθ' ὃ γε καὶ θεὸς ὦν ψαφαρότριχα μῆλ' ἐνόμειεν

20. **πύκα** pro **πυκνὰ** Barnes 22. **τότε** ἐς **libri**: **δ'** add. Buttmann: **γ'**  
 Hermann || **χορὸν** Ilgen: **θορῶν** Köchly 23. **στέρφος** Matthiae pro **λαΐφος**  
 24. **λυγρὸς** *p* 26. **θαλέων** *p*: **θαλέων** *αD* || **ποίη** **libri**: corr. Hermann  
 28. **οἶον δ'** Wolf: **οἶον** Köchly: **οἶον θε'** Ludwich 29. **εὐσκοπον** pro **ἐννεπον**  
 Ilgen || **ἄγγελος ἐστίν** EHD 30. **ῥ' δ'** ἐς *ci.* Baumeister 31. **ἔνθα δέ** **libri**:  
 corr. Hermann || **κυλληνίον** ed. *pr.* 32. **ψαφαρότριχα** *p* (praeter *AQ*): **ψαφερό-**  
**τριχα** *αAtD*: **ψαφορότριχα** *AQ*: **ταρφύτριχα** Ruhnken: **ἀπαλότριχα** Ernesti

20. **πυκνά**: usually altered to **πύκα**, but the correction is supported by Hes. *Op.* 567 ἀκρόκνέφατος, *fr.* 138 ὦ τέκνον—Ζεὺς ἐτέκνωσε πατήρ, Theoc. xx. 126 ἄλλη δὲ στόμα τύψε πυκνοὶ δ' ἀράβησαν ὀδόντες, Quintus vii. 15 πυκνὰ μῆδεα ἦδρ; so τέχνας Empedocl. 185, and other *exx.* in *J. H. S.* xviii. 30. Cf. Eberhard *Metr. Beob.* i. *p.* 31.  
**μελανύδρῳ**: only with **κρήνῃ** (I 14, II 3, 160, Φ 257, υ 158), of the dark colour of deep water.

22. **χορῶν** requires no alteration; the plural is justified by xxvii. 18 (of Artemis), the genitive by *h. Herm.* 226 αἰνὰ μὲν ἔνθεν ὁδοῖο, τὰ δ' αἰνότερ' ἔνθεν ὁδοῖο, and 357 ὁδοῦ τὸ μὲν ἔνθα τὸ δ' ἔνθα. Both sets of adverbs follow ἔρπων. **θορῶν**, like most of Köchly's emendations, is needless: the *aor. part.* is inappropriate, and the verb is too violent even for Pan's ungainly motion.

For Pan as a dancer cf. *Pind.* *fr.* 99 χορευτὴν τελεώτατον θεῶν, Aesch. *Pers.* 448 ὁ φιλόχορος Πάν, Soph. *Aj.* 696 ὦ θεῶν χοροποῖ ἄναξ, *scolium ap. Athen.* xv. 694 D ὦ Πάν Ἀρκαδίας μεδέων κλέεννας | ὀρχηστά, *Orph. h.* xi. 9 σύγχορε νυμφῶν, *Anth. Pal.* vi. 32. 2 εὐσκάρμω, Philostr. *imag.* ii. 11 and 12.

28. **οἶόν ε'**, "and for example";

Baumeister compares the formula ἡ οἴη, which gave a title to the Hesiodean Catalogue of Women.

**Ἑρμείην**: so **Ἑρμείη** 36, but **Ἑρμείας** 40. The hymn-writer may well have used the forms indifferently; cf. **Ἑρμείας** 1.

29. **ἐννεπον**, following ὕμνευσιν, must have the force of an aorist; cf. διέδραμεν, διήλασε 12, 13, following διοιχεῖ 10. For the imperf. instead of the indefinite *aor.* see *h. Ap.* 5.

30. **πολυτίδακα, μητέρα μῆλων**: cf. *h. Aphr.* 68. For the flocks of Arcadia cf. Bacchyl. xi. 95 Ἀρκαδίαν μηλοτρόφον, Theoc. xxii. 157 εὐμηλος, *h. Herm.* 2 πολυμήλου.

31. **Κυλληνίου**, "as god of Cyllene." For the genitive, after *οἱ*, see on *h. Dem.* 37. The accusative Κυλλήνιον is possible, but much weaker, and is a natural alteration of the unfamiliar genitive.

For Hermes Κυλλήνιος see on *h. Herm.* 8, and for the same title of Pan cf. Soph. *Aj.* 695; his cult at Cyllene is attested by *Anth. Pal.* vi. 96. 3.

32. **ὦν**: see on *h. Ap.* 330. **ψαφαρότριχα**: the *α* family, as Gemoll observes, has preserved the strict Ionic form **ψαφερο-**, which is used by Hippocrates according to L. and S.



ἀνδρὶ πάρα θνητῷ· θάλε γὰρ πόθος ὑγρὸς ἐπελθὼν  
 νύμφῃ εὐπλοκάμῳ Δρύοπος φιλότῃτι μιγῆναι·  
 ἐκ δ' ἐτέλεσσε γάμον θαλερόν, τέκε δ' ἐν μεγάροισιν 35  
 Ἑρμείῃ φίλον υἱόν, ἄφαρ τερατωπὸν ἰδέσθαι,  
 αἰγιόδοι, δικέρωτα, πολύκροτον, ἡδυγέλωτα·  
 φεύγε δ' ἀναΐξασα, λίπεν δ' ἄρα παῖδα τιθήνη·  
 δείσε γάρ, ὥς ἴδεν ὄψιν ἀμείλιχον, ἡγγένειον.  
 τὸν δ' αἰψ' Ἑρμείας ἐριούνιος εἰς χέρα θῆκε 40  
 δεξάμενος, χαίρειν δὲ νόῳ περιώσια δαίμων.  
 ῥίμφα δ' ἐς ἀθανάτων ἔδρας κίε παῖδα καλύψας  
 δέρμασιν ἐν πυκινούσιν ὀρεσκόοιο λαγωῦ·

33. εἶλε] λάσε Ruhnken: δάκε Matthiae: κέλε Lobeck: λάβε Köchly: ἔλε  
 Ludwich || ὑπελεῶν Matthiae 34. Δρυόπης Barnes: Δρυόπαι ci. Ilgen 35.  
 ἢ δ' Ludwich 36. ἀτάρ Ruhnken 37. φιλόκροτον Abel 38. ἀναΐσας  
 λείπεν libri: corr. Martin || τισήνῃ Ilgen: παῖδ' ἀτίθνηον Köchly 40. εἶλε  
 pro εἶκε Köchly

33. εἶλε, "waxed," i.e. became inflamed. The word is frequently applied to the strength of disease in tragedy (see L. and S.); it is used, as here, of love in verses quoted by Plutarch *quaest. conv.* 761 B σὺν γὰρ ἀνδρεία καὶ ὁ λυσιμελής "Ερὼς ἐνὶ Χαλκιδέων θάλλει πόλεσιν, Plat. *Symp.* 203 B θάλλει καὶ ἡ (of Eros personified). Ruhnken's λάσε has been generally accepted from its false look of palaeographical probability (Ilgen's λαβάν for βαλάν is the only clear case of *anagrammatismus* in the hymns); but neither λάσε nor ἔλε is an improvement on the text; the other conjectures are impossible.

ἐπελεῶν, "attacking," more forcible than ὑπελθών; Gemoll compares Soph. *fr.* 607 ἔρως ἀνδρας ἐπέρχεται.

34. νύμφη: not elsewhere, apparently, for "daughter" (Roscher's explanation, "bride" (*die Sagen* p. 368), is hardly possible; the reference is to Dryope, who was the daughter of Dryops, son of Arcas (Ant. Lib. xxii, cf. Verg. *Aen.* x. 551). The conjectures Δρυόπης, Δρυόπη are unlikely. An oak-spirit is appropriate as the mother of Pan, whom the Arcadians called τὸν τῆς ὕλης κύριον, Macrob. *Sat.* i. 22; so Cheiron is the son of Philyra, the lime-nymph (Hes. *Theog.* 1001), and Pholos, another centaur, is the son of Melia, the ash (see Mannhardt *A. W. F.* p. 48). Roscher, however, thinks that the genealogy is due to the settlement of the Dryopes in

the neighbourhood of Cyllene (see Immerwahr p. 136 f.), so that the legend may be local and Cyllenian.

35. ἐκ δ' ἐτέλεσε: the subject is almost certainly Hermes (not Dryope, as Ludwich understands), "he brought the marriage to pass." Cf. δ 7 τοῖσιν δὲ θεοὶ γάμον ἐξετέλειον, and υ 74 τέλος θαλεροῖο γαμοῖο; cf. *h. Dem.* 79. The change of subject in τέκε presents no difficulty.

ἐν μεγάροισιν: Roscher thinks the expression unsuitable to a nymph. But μέγαρον is applied to the cave in which the nymph Maia dwells, *h. Herm.* 146.

36. ἄφαρ, "from his birth." Baumeister compares δ 85 Λιβύην, ὅθι τ' ἄρνες ἄφαρ κεραοὶ τελέθουσιν. Add, for later Greek, Callim. *h. Ap.* 103 εὐθύ σε μήτηρ | γέλιναι ἀσσοσητήρα.

38. τισήνῃ, "mother"; for this rare meaning only Colluth. 372 is adduced by Baumeister and Gemoll (add id. 84, 87, 99, 174). But the use may also be defended by τροφός=μήτηρ in Soph. *Aj.* 849, τὴν θρέψασαν for mother-land, Lycurg. *in Leocr.* § 47. Köchly's παῖδ' ἀτίθνηον (after Maneth. iv. 368) is out of the question. Peppmüller thinks that τιθήνη is used advisedly to suggest that Dryope in her terror neglected a mother's duty of "nursing" her child.

40. εἰς χέρα εἶκε: a rather curious expression for "took in his arms."

43. The hare is a symbol of Pan, e.g. on coins of Rhegium and Messina (Head



παρ δὲ Ζηνὶ καθίζει καὶ ἄλλοις ἀθανάτοισιν,  
 δείξε δὲ κούρον ἑόν· πάντες δ' ἄρα θυμὸν ἔτερφθεν 45  
 ἀθάνατοι, περιάλλα δ' ὁ Βάκχειος Διόνυσος.  
 Πᾶνα δέ μιν καλέεσκον, ὅτι φρένα πᾶσιν ἔτερψε.  
 καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαίρε, ἄναξ, Ἰλαμαι δέ σ' αἰοιδῇ.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

45. ἔτερπον Γ: ἔτερφον cet. 46. ὀμβάκχειος Ε (sc. ὀμάκχειος) 48. λίσομαι  
 II et in margine Ἰλαμαι: Ἰλάσομαι ET: λίσομαι cet. (λίσσομαι D): λίσομαι  
 Barnes

*Hist. Num.* p. 93 and 134). On a coin of the latter city Pan is seated upon a rock caressing a hare (dated by Head 420–396 B.C.). Pan has also the λαγωβόλον, Roscher *Lex.* 1386.

46. On the close connexion of Pan and Dionysus cf. *Anth. Pal.* vi. 154 (a dedication to Pan, Bacchus, and the Nymphs), *ib.* 315 Πᾶνα φίλον Βρομίοιο, *scôlinum* ap. Athen. (quoted on 22) Βρομῖαις ὀπαδὲ νύμφαις, Lucian *dial. deor.* 22. 3 ὁ Διόνυσος οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ ἄνευ ποιεῖν δύναται, ἀλλὰ ἐταῖρον καὶ θιασώτην πεποιήται με καὶ ἡγοῦμαι αὐτῷ τοῦ χοροῦ, Nonn. *Dion.* xliii. 10 Πᾶν ἐμός (of Dionysus), v. ap. Euseb. *P. E.* v. 6 χρυσόκερως βλοσυροῖο Διωνύσου θεράπων Πᾶν and often. Pan and Dionysus were both "vegetation-spirits," according to Frazer (*G. B.* ii. p. 291, etc.); but as Dionysus was not a primitive Arcadian god like Pan, the connexion must have been a later development, due to the wild and orgiastic nature of the Dionysiac cult, which attracted such woodland deities as Pan and the Satyrs.

περιάλλα: only here in the Homeric poems; once in Pind. *Pyth.* xi. 8.

47. The derivation from πᾶς is given by Plato *Crat.* 408 B. The Orphic identification of Pan with the κόσμος (τὸ πᾶν) must have been caused by this

etymology (*Orph. h.* xi. 1 κόσμοιο τὸ σύμπαν), although the Egyptian god Mendes no doubt aided the conception (Roscher *Pan als Allgott* p. 56). In a similar spirit Hesiod explains Pandora ὅτι πάντες . . . δῶρον ἐδώρησαν (*Op.* 80). Another tradition made Pan the son of Hermes and Penelope, which may be due to the same etymology (Doric Πανελόπα, Mannhardt *W. F. K.* p. 128); the ancients disagreed whether this Penelope was a nymph or the wife of Odysseus (see Roscher *die Sagen* p. 368, *Lex.* 1405). The schol. on Theocr. i. 3 combines the connexion with Penelope and the derivation from πᾶς: υἱὸν Πηνελόπης καὶ πάντων τῶν μνηστήρων, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι καὶ Πᾶνα. The true etymology is generally assumed to be for Πάων, from  $\lambda/\rho\alpha$ , cf. πάομαι, ποιμήν, pasco, *Pales* etc.; the termination is Arcadian, cf. Ἀλκμάν, Ἑρμάν, Ποσειδάν in that dialect (Roscher *Lex.* 1405).

48. Ἰλαμαι: so xxi. 5, Ἰληθι xx. 8, xxiii. 4. For the verb used in taking leave of a deity cf. Theocr. xv. 143, Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 1773, Archer-Hind on Plat. *Phaed.* 95 A. The alternative λίσομαι is taken by Veitch *Greek Verbs* s.v. as a future; however, we have the variant λίσομαι λίσομαι in *Anth. Pal.* v. 164. λίσομαι occurs in xvi. 5.



## XX

## HYMN TO HEPHAESTUS

THE fact that Hephaestus and Athena were joined in a common cult at Athens, and (as far as is known) in no other Greek city, gives colour to Baumeister's suggestion that this hymn is Athenian. The two deities were worshipped together as patrons of all arts and crafts; the shops of braziers and ironmongers were near the temple of Hephaestus, in which stood a statue of Athena (Paus. i. 14. 6), and the festival called Chalceia was sacred to both (see Frazer *l.c.*, Harrison *M. M. A. A.* 119 f.; Preller-Robert i.<sup>1</sup> p. 180 and 209). According to Plato (*Critias* 109 c), Athena and Hephaestus, φιλοσοφία φιλοτεχνία τε ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐλθόντες, became joint patrons of Attica; cf. Solon *fr.* 13 (quoted on 5) and other references in Farnell *Cults* i. p. 409 f. Athena was Ἐργάνη, the Worker; but in a wider sense she was the giver of all civilization; Hephaestus, the Fire-god and the divine smith, gave men the skill (κλυτόμητιν 1, κλυτοτέχνην 5) which differentiated them from wild beasts. Aeschylus, indeed, attributes these gifts of civilization to Prometheus; but the importance of the Titan was mainly mythological; in practical cult Hephaestus appropriated most of the credit (see Sikes and Willson on Aesch. *P. V.* p. xix f.).

But this aspect of Athena and Hephaestus was by no means exclusively Attic. Athena was the patron of arts in Homer (*E* 61, υ 78), and under titles such as Ἐργάνη, Καλλιέργος, and Μαχανῆτις, she was worshipped in many parts of Greece (Farnell *Cults* i. p. 314 f.). In Hesiod she instructs Pandora, the creation of Hephaestus, in weaving (*Op.* 60 f.); see further *h. Aphr.* 12 f. We may therefore fairly look for Epic rather than Athenian influence in the mythology of this hymn.



## XX

## Εἰς Ἡφαίστον

"Ἡφαίστον κλυτόμητιν αἰίδεο, Μοῦσα λίγεια,  
 ὃς μετ' Ἀθηναίης γλαυκώπιδος ἀγλαὰ ἔργα  
 ἀνθρώπους ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ χθονός, οἷ τὸ πάρος περ  
 ἄντροις ναιετάασκον ἐν οὔρεσιν, ἥντε θῆρες.  
 νῦν δὲ δι' Ἡφαίστον κλυτοτέχνην ἔργα δαέντες 5  
 ῥῆϊδίως αἰῶνα τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν  
 εὐκῆλοι διάγουσιν ἐνὶ σφετέροισι δόμοισιν.  
 ἀλλ' ἔλθθ' Ἡφαίστε· δίδου δ' ἀρετὴν τε καὶ ὄλβον.

TITULUS.—εἰς Ἡφαίστον αD: εἰς τὸν Ἡφαίστον p 1. αἰέεο Franke 4.  
 ναιετάασκον BΓ 8. versum om. ET: add. in marg. E

2. ἀγλαὰ ἔργα here = τέχνας generally; cf. *h. Aphr.* 11 and 15.

3 f. For ancient poetic accounts of the savage life of primitive man cf. Aesch. *P. V.* 446 f., Eur. *Suppl.* 201 f., *fr.* 582, *fr. ap.* Nauck 393, Moschion *fr.* 7, Lucr. v. 933 f., Juv. xv. 151 f., etc.

ἐπὶ χθονός: the genitive is unusual in this phrase, where either *χθονί* or *χθόνα* would be regular, for "on (the whole) earth"; see Ebeling, s.v. *ἐπὶ* p. 450, and note on xxv. 3.

5. ἔργα δαέντες: cf. Solon *fr.* 13. 49 ἄλλος Ἀθηναίης τε καὶ Ἡφαίστου πολυτέχνῳ | ἔργα δαείς, Theocr. xvii. 81 βροτῶν ἔργα δαέντων, of civilized men.

6. τελεσφόρον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν, "for the full year"; the adjective no doubt means properly "bringing (the seasons) to completion." The phrase occurs in T 32, *h. Ap.* 343, and several times in the *Odyssey*, M. and R. on δ 86.

8. For the ending cf. xv. 9.



## XXI

## Εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα

Φοῖβε, σὲ μὲν καὶ κύκνος ὑπὸ πτερύγων λίγ' αἶδει,  
 ὄχθη ἐπιθρόσκων ποταμὸν πάρα δινήεντα,  
 Πηνειόν· σὲ δ' αἰδὸς ἔχων φόρμιγγα λίνειαν  
 ἡδυεπὴς πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον αἶεν αἶδει.  
 καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, ἄναξ, Ἰλαμαι δέ σ' αἰδιῇ.

5

TITULUS.—εἰς ἀπόλλωνα xD: εἰς τὸν ἀπόλλωνα p 2. παρὰ libri: corr.  
 Ilgen 5. Ἰλαμαι HDp: Ἰλασμαι ET

1. ὑπὸ πτερύγων: cf. Arist. *An.* 771 (κύκνοι) συμμιγῇ βοήν ὁμοῦ πτεροῖς κρέκοντες ἱακχον Ἀπόλλω . . . ὄχθῃ ἐφεζόμενοι παρ' Ἑβρον ποταμόν. Clearly Aristophanes means that the voice (βοήν) of the swan blended (συμμιγῇ) with the accompaniment of the flapping wing. This sense would suit ὑπό, which is used from Hesiod onwards for "accompanying" music; see exx. in L. and S. s.v. A 5. But it was commonly believed that the swan's "song" was made by the noise of the actual wings: cf. Pratin. ap. Athen. 617 C οἱ δὲ τὸν κύκνον ἄγοντα ποικιλόπτερον μέλος, Anacr. vii. 8 ἄτε τις κύκνος Καῦστρῳ | ποικίλον πτεροῖσι μέλπω | ἀνέμῳ σύναυλος ἤχη. ὑπὸ πτερύγων therefore = πτερύγεσσι, rather than *inter volatum*, as Ebeling explains (s.v. πτέρυξ); cf. *h. Pan* 15 δονάκων ὕπο, which = δοναξι, as Pan could not sing while piping. The music of the swan's wings may have been a conception due to a similar (and correct) belief that the cicada's or grasshopper's "song" was caused by the wings: Hes.

*Op.* 583 καταχεύετ' αἰδιῇ πυκνὸν ὑπὸ πτερύγων, imitated by Alcaeus *fr.* 59; cf. *Anth. Pal.* vii. 192. 1 and 4, 194. 1, 195. 4, 197. 2, 200. 1.

Gemoll's view, that the passage in Aristophanes, quoted above, is the origin of the present line, is most unlikely.

References to the swan's song are collected by Voss *Myth. Br.* ii. p. 112, and Thompson *Greek Birds* p. 104 f. Aelian (*V. H.* i. 14) is incredulous.

3. ΠΗΝΕΙΟΝ: a literary reference to one of the places famed for the cult of Apollo. In the same connexion Aristophanes (*l.c.*) mentions the Hebrus, Callimachus (*h. Del.* 249) Pactolus and Delos, Moschus (*id.* iii. 14) the Strymon, etc.

4. ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ὙΣΤΑΤΟΝ: i.e. "all his song is of thee." In xxix. 5 πρώτη πνύματῳ τε the meaning is different. With the present passage cf. I 97 ἐν σοὶ μὲν λήξω, σέο δ' ἀρξομαι (imitated by Verg. *Ecl.* viii. 11), Hes. *Theog.* 34, 48, *fr.* 132, Theocr. xvii. 3, *h. i.* 18, Aratus 14.



## XXII

### HYMN TO POSEIDON

THE hymn appears to be rather a prayer for safety at sea (cf. 7) than an ordinary prelude, although the phrase ἄρχοι' αἰδεῖν suggests a rhapsodist. It should be compared with *Hom. Ep.* vi, which, however, is more personal in tone, and refers to a special occasion, whereas πλώουσιν ἄρηγε may be quite general.



## XXII

## Εἰς Ποσειδῶνα

Ἄμφι Ποσειδάωνα, θεὸν μέγαν, ἄρχομ' αἶδειν,  
 γαίης κινητῆρα καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης,  
 πόντιον, ὃς θ' Ἑλικῶνα καὶ εὐρείας ἔχει Αἰγᾶς.  
 διχθὰ τοι, Ἐννοσίγαιε, θεοὶ τιμὴν ἐδάσαντο,  
 ἵππων τε δμητῆρ' ἔμεναι, σωτῆρά τε νηῶν.  
 χαῖρε, Ποσεΐδαον γαίηοχε, κυανοχαῖτα,  
 καί, μάκαρ, εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχων πλώουσιν ἄρηγε.

5

TITULUS.—εἰς ποσειδῶνα xD : εἰς τὸν ποσειδῶνα p 1. θεῶν p : μέγαν  
 θεὸν Hermann 3. Ἑλίκην τε Martin || αἰγᾶς ed. pr. : αἰγᾶς libri 6.  
 ποσειδάων N

1. ἀμφί: see on vii. 1.

3. ἙΛΙΚΩΝΑ: cf. T 404 Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ  
 ἀνακτα. Commentators, both ancient  
 and modern, have doubted whether the  
 adjective refers to Helice in Achaea, or  
 to Helicon, the Boeotian mountain.  
 Aristarchus (ap. E. M. 547. 16) takes  
 the latter view, ἀπὸ Ἑλικῶνος . . . ἐπεὶ  
 ἡ Βοιωτία δὴν ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνος; the schol.  
 A on T l.c. prefers Helice, and this is  
 strongly supported by Θ 203, where  
 Helice and Aegae are mentioned together  
 as sacred to Poseidon (for Helice cf. B  
 574, for Aegae N 21). The two towns  
 were close neighbours on the Corinthian  
 gulf. Leaf on T l.c., comparing this  
 passage, suggests that Helicon was another  
 form of Helice, and distinct from the  
 Boeotian mountain. There is, however,  
 no authority for Helicon=Helice. The  
 proper epic adjective from Helice would  
 presumably be Ἑλικήϊος (see E. M. l.c.);  
 it is, however, possible that the author of  
 T intended Helice, but used the wrongly  
 formed Ἑλικώνιος which had a familiar

sound; the hymn-writer translated the  
 adjective into Ἑλικῶνα, regardless of Θ  
 203; so Hom. Ep. vi. 2 εὐρυχόρον μεδέων  
 ἡδὲ ζαθέον Ἑλικῶνος (of Poseidon), a  
 passage which disposes of Martin's Ἑλικὴν  
 τε here. In later times the worship of  
 Heliconian Poseidon was connected with  
 Helice (see Paus. vii. 24. 5 f., Strabo  
 384); the cult was also famous among  
 the Ionians at Panionium (Herod. i. 148),  
 and at Athens (Frazer on Paus. l.c.,  
 Harrison M. M. A. A. p. 231). Helice  
 was destroyed by an earthquake in 373  
 B.C. For Poseidon Ἑλικώνιος cf. Ditten-  
 berger Sylloge 603, 637.

5. Poseidon, ashorse-tamer and saviour  
 of ships, is akin to the Dioscuri (see  
 xxxiii).

7. Hermann's *Orpheum audire videaris*  
 is rightly refuted by Baumeister; the  
 hymn is "Homeric" in spirit, although  
 the language of this line suggests *Orph. h.*  
 lxiv. 12 f. ἀλλά, μάκαρ . . . εὐμενὲς ἦτορ  
 ἔχων (quoted by Gemoll).



## XXIII

### HYMN TO ZEUS

IN this hymn Baumeister sees Orphic influence, comparing *Orph. h.* lxii. 2 (of Δίκη), ἡ καὶ Ζηνὸς ἀνακτος ἐπὶ θρόνον ἱερὸν ἵζει, | οὐρανόθεν καθορώσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων. But the close connexion of Zeus with Dike or Themis is frequent in Greek poetry, and this hymn appears to be not less "Homeric" than its predecessors (xx—xxii).

The introduction of Themis gives the keynote of the hymn; the poet entreats for the favour of Zeus, the god of Law and Righteousness. For the Homeric conception of Themis see O 87, T 4, β 68. Her relation with Zeus is prominent in later myth and cult. In Hesiod (*Theog.* 901) she is the wife of Zeus; cf. Pind. *fr.* 30 (this was the Theban belief; cf. Paus. ix. 25. 4). At Aegina she was worshipped as Διὸς ξενίου πάρεδρος, Pind. *Ol.* viii. 21 (the title πάρεδρος is applied by Bacchyl. xi. 51 to Hera as the wife of Zeus). Cf. also Aesch. *Supp.* 360, Soph. *El.* 1064; Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 475 f.

It is a question whether Themis is here the wife or merely the adviser of Zeus. In the latter case her position would be similar to that of Dike in Hesiod, who sits by the side of Zeus and complains when men work injustice (Hes. *Op.* 258, cf. *Orph. h.* lxii quoted above). But the passage in the *Theogony* and the language in line 3 suggest the former interpretation.



## XXIII

### Εἰς Δία

Ζῆνα θεῶν τὸν ἄριστον αἰέσομαι ἡδὲ μέγιστον,  
 εὐρύοπα, κρείοντα, τελεσφόρον, ὃς τε Θέμιστι  
 ἐγκλιδὸν ἐξομένην πυκινούς δάρους δαρίζει.  
 Ἴληθ', εὐρύοπα Κρονίδη, κύδιστε, μέγιστε.

TITULUS.—εἰς ὕπατον κρονίδην α: εἰς ὕπατον κρονίδην ἢ δία D: εἰς τὸν δία p 2. θέμιστι libri: corr. Barnes

2. **τελεσφόρον**, the "fulfiller"; the exact sense of this word varies according to the τέλος required in each context; it is applied to Μοῖρα, Aesch. *P. V.* 511, to Dike, Soph. *Aj.* 1390, to Gaea, Dittenberg *C. I. G. (Septentr.)* i. 2452. Here, as Zeus is closely connected with Themis, the τέλος must be the fulfilment of Law or Justice; cf. τέλειος L. and S. s.v. ii.

**Θέμιστι**: the unmetrical Θέμιστι is probably due to the ligature στ, often in good minuscule mistaken for τ. The schol. on

Pind. *Ol.* x. 28 expressly read the form in O 87, where there is no trace in the Homeric MSS.

3. **ἐγκλιδόν**: bending towards, or leaning on, Zeus. The editors compare Apoll. *Arg.* A 790, Γ 1008, of looking "askance" or aside.

**δάρους**: in early epic the word and its cognates do not necessarily imply the talk of lovers; cf. N 291, P 227, τ 179, *h. Herm.* 170; but they are often used in that connexion; Ξ 216, X 126, *h. Apoll.* 249, *h. Herm.* 68.



## XXIV

### HYMN TO HESTIA

HESTIA is here invoked to make her home, with Zeus, in a building, the nature of which cannot be determined. According to Baumeister, it was probably a private house or a palace, in which rhapsodists recited epic at a feast. But there is weight in Gemoll's criticism, that Hestia and Zeus would not be invoked into a private house with so much solemnity. The occasion is rather to be sought in the dedication of a temple.

No stress can be laid on the words *Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ*, which certainly need not imply that the hymn was Delphian; the reference is, as often, literary, being due to the fame of Hestia's connexion with Delphi and the Pythian Apollo. There was a Hearth at Delphi in the Prytaneum, at which a perpetual fire was kept up by widows (see references in Frazer on Paus. viii. 53. 9). The allusion in the present passage is, however, to a hearth actually in the temple at Delphi, which is frequently mentioned; cf. Aesch. *Choeph.* 1038; *Eum.* 282; Soph. *O. T.* 965; Eur. *Ion* 462; Paus. x. 24. 4 etc.

In view of the abrupt style, many commentators believe it to be a fragment from a longer hymn; Matthiae marks a lacuna after 3. A lacuna is also probable after 4; but we need not suppose that the original form of the hymn was widely different from the present tradition.



## Εἰς Ἑστίαν

Ἑστίη, ἥ τε ἄνακτος Ἀπόλλωνος ἑκάτοιο  
 Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ ἱερὸν δόμον ἀμφοτελεύεις,  
 αἰεὶ σὼν πλοκάμων ἀπολείβεται ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον·  
 ἔρχεο τόνδ' ἀνὰ οἶκον, ἐπέρχεο θυμὸν ἔχουσα  
 σὺν Διὶ μητιόεντι· χάριν δ' ἅμ' ὄπασσον ἀοιδῇ.

5

TITULUS—εἰς Ἑστίαν xD: εἰς τὴν Ἑστίαν p 4. ἐπέρχεο] ἐνῆα aut εὐφρονα  
 Barnes: ἐπεργέα Pigen: ἐπέρχεο εὐμενέουσα Schneidewin: ἐπεργέα seu εὐεργέα  
 Matthiae: ἐπίφρονα Gemoll 5. versum in textu omissum add. in margine E

1. Ἑστίη: for the form see on *h. Arhr.* 22 (Solmsen p. 213 f.). Ἰστίη is of course correct for true Ionic; but the pseudo-Ionic Ἑστίη (influenced by the common Ἑστία) may be allowed to stand in the present hymn, and in xxix. Compare Ἰστίη in the *Odyssey* with ἐφέστιος, γ 234, η 248, ψ 55.

2. Cf. *orac.* ed. Hendess 32. 2 Πυθῶ τ' ἡγαθέην (quoted by Ephorus) and 45. 1 ὅς ἐμὸν δόμον ἀμφοτελεύει. ἡγάθεος is common with Πυθῶ; cf. θ 80, Hes. *Theog.* 499, Πυθοῖ ἐν ἡγαθέῃ, Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 77, Bacchyl. iii. 62, v. 41.

3. ἀπολείβεται ὑγρὸν ἔλαιον = η 107 (also with genitive). For the transference of the Greek use of unguents to the gods the editors compare Callim. *h. Ap.* 38 f. αἰ δὲ κόμαι θύοντα πέδω λείβουσιν Ἑλαία· | οὐ λίπος Ἀπόλλωνος ἀποστᾶζουσιν ἔθειραι, | ἀλλ' αὐτὴν πανάκειαν. It is improbable that the present passage suggested itself to Callimachus, who at all events gives a less material significance to the oil (as πανάκειαν).

The line is abrupt and frigid, unless there was some peculiar propriety in the mention of the oil. Baumeister thinks that the reference may be to an actual statue of Hestia, which was sprinkled with oil by the worshippers. Oil was often poured on sacred stones; cf. Paus. x. 24. 6, Lucian *Alexand.* 30, Apul. *Flor.* 1. 1 etc. In the case of a statue, a dressing of oil was part of the κόσμος, like the decoration with jewels etc.; cf. Artemid. *oneir.* ii. 33 θεῶν ἀγάλματα . . .

ἀλείφειν. There were statues of Hestia (e.g. in the Prytaneum at Athens Paus. i. 18. 3), but as a rule her cult was aniconic, at least in early times. Possibly the line is merely an anthropomorphic description of a sacred hearth or lamp, which maintained a perpetual oil-fed flame (αἰεὶ). Probably every Greek city had a perpetual fire in its Prytaneum; this was sometimes in a lamp (Theocr. xxx. 36, Athen. xv. 700 D; see Frazer on Paus. viii. 53. 9 and his article in *J. P.* xiv. p. 145 f.).

4. ἐπέρχεο θυμὸν ἔχουσα: since θυμὸν ἔχουσα is meaningless, at least in regard to Hestia, an epithet to θυμὸν must be supplied; cf. *h. Arhr.* 102 (εὐφρονα), vii. 49 (σαόφρονα), xxii. 7 (εὐμενὲς ἦτορ ἔχων) etc. It is usual to assume that ἐπέρχεο is corrupt, and conceals εὐφρονα or the like. As the adjective in this formulaic expression seems regularly to precede θυμὸν, very probably this view is correct. On the other hand ἐπέρχεο would be sound, if a lacuna were made after the line. The repetition of the verb has force, and the compound following the simple verb has many parallels (Soph. *El.* 850, Eur. *Iph. T.* 984, Arist. *Ran.* 369, *Anth. Pal.* v. 161. 3 οἶχον' ἔρωτος δάωλα διοίχομαι. Steph. Byz. s.v. Σύβαρις quotes εὐδαίμων, Συβαρίτα, πανευδαίμων σὺ μὲν αἰεὶ).

5. χάριν δ' ἅμ' ὄπασσον ἀοιδῇ: the words do not necessarily imply that a rhapsodist to follow; Gemoll remarks that ἀοιδῇ may refer to the present hymn.



## XXV

### HYMN TO THE MUSES AND APOLLO

THE prelude is a mere cento from Hesiod: 1 is suggested by *Theog.* 1, 2-5 = *Theog.* 94-97, while 6 is modelled on *Theog.* 104. The old view, that the lines *Theog.* 94 f. are borrowed from the hymn, is no longer entertained. It is rightly pointed out that ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες is motiveless in the hymn, while it is quite suitable to the context of the *Theogony*. But although later than Hesiod, the abstract was doubtless made in ancient times, for purposes of epic recitation (cf. 6, 7). Guttman's arguments for his theory of Byzantine compilation are worthless (see Gemoll p. 346).

For references to the joint worship of Apollo and the Muses see on *h. Herm.* 450.



## Εἰς Μούσας καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα

Μουσάων ἄρχωμαι Ἀπόλλωνός τε Διός τε·  
 ἐκ γὰρ Μουσάων καὶ ἐκηβόλου Ἀπόλλωνος  
 ἄνδρες ἀοιδοὶ ἔασιν ἐπὶ χθονὶ καὶ κιθαρισταί,  
 ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες· ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὃν τινα Μοῦσαι  
 φίλωνται· γλυκερὴ οἱ ἀπὸ στόματος ῥέει αὐδὴ. 5  
 χαίρετε, τέκνα Διός, καὶ ἐμὴν τιμήσατ' ἀοιδήν·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμέων τε καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' ἀοιδῆς.

TITULUS. — εἰς μούσας καὶ ἀπόλλωνα xD: εἰς μούσας ἀπόλλωνα καὶ δία p  
 1. ἄρχωμαι libri: corr. Stephanus 2. ἐκ γάρ τοι Μουσέων schol. Pind. *Pyth.*  
 iv. 313, *Nem.* iii. 1, qui hos duo vv., incertum utrum ex Hesiodo *Theog.* 94, 95 an  
 ex hymno, citat. 3. χεῶνα Hes. *Theog.* 95 5. φιλεῖνται plerique codd. Hes.  
*Theog.* 97

3. ἐπὶ χθονί: in Hesiod ἐπὶ χθόνα; 69, *h. Dem.* 305. The dative ἐπὶ χθονί  
 for the accusative in Hesiod cf. *Theog.* 187, *Op.* 11; it is also Homeric, as in ψ  
 371 (especially in the *Odyssey*); *h. Ap.*  
 is commoner, A 88 etc. Even ἐπὶ χθονός  
 is found in xx. 3.



## XXVI

### HYMN TO DIONYSUS

THE occasion for this hymn was no doubt some festival of Dionysus; the singer hopes to be present for many successive years. It can hardly have been recited at the Brauronia, as Baumeister supposes, for this festival was held every four years, whereas ἐς ὥρας naturally implies an annual rite (see on 12).



## XXVI

## Εἰς Διόνυσον

Κισσοκόμην Διόνυσον ἐρίβρομον ἄρχομ' αἰεῖδεν,  
 Ζηνὸς καὶ Σεμέλης ἐρικυδέος ἀγλαὸν υἱόν,  
 ὃν τρέφον ἡύκομοι νύμφαι παρὰ πατρὸς ἄνακτος  
 δεξάμεναι κόλποισι καὶ ἐνδυκέως ἀτίταλλον  
 Νύσῃς ἐν γυάλοις· ὁ δ' ἀέξετο πατρὸς ἔκκητι 5  
 ἄντρῳ ἐν εὐώδει μεταρίθμιος ἀθανάτοισιν.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τόνδε θεὰ πολύνυμον ἔθρεψαν,  
 δὴ τότε φοιτίζεσκε καθ' ὑλήεντας ἐναύλους,  
 κισσῷ καὶ δάφνῃ πεπυκασμένος· αἱ δ' ἅμ' ἔποντο  
 νύμφαι, ὁ δ' ἐξηγεῖτο· βρόμος δ' ἔχεν ἄσπετον ὕλην. 10

TITULUS.—Εἰς Διόνυσον αD: εἰς τὸν Διόνυσον p 5. ΝΥΣΣΗΣ libri: corr.  
 Barnes || ἔξετο II punctis praefixis 10. ἄσπετος coni. Baumeister

1. ΚΙΣΣΟΚΟΜΗΝ: of Dionysus *inser. gr. ined.* (Ross) 135, of a Satyr *Anth. Pal.* vi. 56. 1. Cf. *κισσοχαίτης* Ephant. *fr.* 3, Pratin. *fr.* 1. 42, Delphic paeon (*B. C. H.* xix. 147). On the ivy in connexion with Dionysus see Roscher *Lex.* i. 1060.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΝ: the "Attic" form for the epic Διώνυσος (except λ 325). For the various forms see Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 664. In the hymns Διώνυσ' occurs in *h.* i. 20, while the author of *h.* vii is indifferent (Διώνυσον 1, Διώνυσος ἐρίβρομος, as here, 56).

ἐρίβρομον; as Βρόμος (a title confined to poetry).

3. For the nurses of Dionysus (Διώνυσοιο τιθῆναι Z 132) cf. Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 663, and Roscher *Lex.* (s.v. "Mainaden") ii. 2244.

5. ΝΥΣΣΗΣ: see on *h.* i. 8.

6. ἄντρῳ ἐν εὐώδει: see on *h. Herm.* 231.

7. τόνδε: for τὸν γε in Homer (Hermann).

8. φοιτίζεσκε: only in late epic (Apoll. *Arg.* Γ 54, Callim. *fr.* 148).

10. ἄσπετον ὕλην = B 455; the emendation ἄσπετος is therefore to be rejected.



καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαίρει, πολυστάφυλ' ὦ Διόνυσε·  
 δὸς δ' ἡμᾶς χαίροντας ἐς ὥρας αὐτὶς ἰκέσθαι,  
 ἐκ δ' αὖθ' ὥράων εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς.

11. **πολυστάφυλ'**: not elsewhere of Dionysus. For the order of the words see on *h. Ap.* 14.

12. **δὸς δ' ἡμᾶς χαίροντας**: so in the paeon to Asclepius (Ziebarth *Comm. Philol. Monach.* 1891, p. 1, v. 15) δὸς δ' ἡμᾶς χαίροντας ὁρᾶν φάος ἡελίοιο.

**ἐς ὥρας**: Baumeister tries to prove that this phrase does not necessarily imply "for a year." In *ι* 135 *eis ὥρας* may be indefinite "as the seasons come," but generally a definite year seems intended. Gemoll compares Plato *Epr.* vii. p. 346 μένε . . . τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦτον, *eis* δὲ ὥρας ἀπιθί. Add (for Attic) Arist. *Thesm.* 950 ἐκ τῶν ὥρων εἰς τὰς ὥρας

"year in, year out," *Nub.* 562, *Ran.* 381, and (for other dialects) Theocr. xv. 74 *eis ὥρας κῆπειτα*, "for next year and ever," a passage similar to the present. For the idiom generally cf. Plutarch *Lycurg.* 6 ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας, Isyllus in *C. I. Pel. et Ins.* i. 950 B 25 ὥρας ἐξ ὥρων νόμον αἰεὶ τόνδε σέβοντας, Theocr. xviii. 15 κείς ἔτος ἐξ ἔτους, Aeschines i. 63 χρόνους ἐκ χρόνων, *Anth. Pal.* xii. 107 *eis ὥρας αἰθῆς ἀγοίτε*.

13. **εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς**: so inscr. Dittenberger *Sylloge* 607 ἐβόησεν ὁ δημος· πολλοὺς ἐτεσι τοὺς νεωκοροῦς; *ib.* 737. This is the modern R. C. Latin "ad multos annos."



## XXVII

### HYMN TO ARTEMIS

THE hymn to Artemis, which gives a pleasing picture of the youthful goddess returning from the chase to take part in the dance at Delphi, seems to belong to a good period. The writer was almost certainly influenced by the hymn to Apollo; Gemoll compares lines 5 f. with the opening scene of that hymn, and 15 f. with *h. Ap.* 189 f. It does not, however, follow as a matter of course that the writer knew the hymn to Apollo as an undivided document, for he might have borrowed from two separate hymns. The prelude may have been used at Delphi, where portions of ancient poetry, bearing on Delphi and the god, were recited (Dittenberger *Sylloge* 663); but it is very possible that the scene at that place (13 f.) is simply introduced for literary effect.



## XXVII

### Εἰς Ἄρτεμιν

Ἄρτεμιν αἰίδω χρυσηλάκατον κελαδεινήν,  
 παρθένον αἰδοίην, ἐλαφιβόλον, ἰοχέαιραν,  
 αὐτοκασιγνήτην χρυσαόρου Ἀπόλλωνος,  
 ἥ κατ' ὄρη σκιόεντα καὶ ἄκριας ἡνεμοέσσας  
 ἄγρη τερπομένη παγχρύσεια τόξα τιταίνει,  
 πέμπουσα στονόεντα βέλη· τρομέει δὲ κάρηνα  
 ὑψηλῶν ὀρέων, ἰαχεῖ δ' ἐπὶ δάσκιος ὕλη  
 δεινὸν ὑπὸ κλαγγῆς θηρῶν, φρίσσει δέ τε γαῖα  
 πόντος τ' ἰχθυόεις· ἡ δ' ἄλκιμον ἦτορ ἔχουσα  
 πάντῃ ἐπιστρέφεται, θηρῶν ὀλέκουσα γενέθλην.  
 αὐτὰρ ἐπὴν τερφθῇ θηροσκόπος ἰοχέαιρα,  
 εὐφρήνῃ δὲ νόον, χαλάσας· εὐκαμπέα τόξα  
 ἔρχεται ἐς μέγα δῶμα κασιγνήτοιο φίλοιο,

5

10

TITULUS.—εἰς ἄρτεμιν αD: εἰς τὴν ἄρτεμιν p 4. ὄρεα Ilgen 7. ἰάχει  
 Hermann || ἐπιδάσκιος libri: corr. Hermann (ἐπὶ Stephanus) 8. ἐθρῶν] τόπων  
 Barnes: νευρῶν Ruhnken: κήλων Slothower 11. ἐθροκτόνος Barnes 13.  
 μετὰ κασιγνήτοιο αD

1. χρυσηλάκατον κελαδεινήν: see on *h. Aphr.* 16.

2. παρθένον: the common Greek conception of Artemis (as "Queen and Huntress, chaste and fair") is here brought out, but παρθένον probably also suggests the youth of Artemis; it need not refer to her cult-name Παρθένος, as in xxviii. 2 of Athena.

ἐλαφιβόλον: not Homeric as a title of Artemis; on the epithet see Farnell *Cults* ii. p. 433; cf. Anacr. i. 1, Soph. *Trach.* 214.

4. ὄρη: for the late form cf. Μουσῶν 15.

5. ἄγρη τερπομένη: as ἀγροτέρα; cf. Φ 470 πότνια θηρῶν, | Ἄρτεμις ἀγροτέρη,

ξ 105 τερπομένη κάπροισι καὶ ὤκεινς ἐλάφουσιν. On the title ἀγροτέρα see references in Farnell *Cults* p. 562 f., and add to his list Bacchyl. v. 123.

παγχρύσεια: of the chariot of Artemis, ix. 4.

τόξα τιταίνει: cf. *h. Ap.* 4.

7. ἰαχεῖ: for the form see on *h. Dem.* 20.

8. κλαγγῆς ἐθρῶν: cf. xiv. 4.

11. ἐθροκτόνος: of Artemis, Bacchyl. xi. 107.

13 f. The lines do not prove that the writer had any idea of a common cult of Apollo and Artemis at Delphi. The goddess simply visits her brother to take part in the chorus of Muses and Graces



Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος, Δελφῶν ἐς πίονα δῆμον,  
 Μουσῶν καὶ Χαρίτων καλὸν χορὸν ἀρτυνέουσα. 15  
 ἔνθα κατακρεμάσασα παλίντονα τόξα καὶ ἰοὺς  
 ἡγείται, χαρίεντα περὶ χροῖ κόσμον ἔχουσα,  
 ἐξάρχουσα χορούς· αἱ δ' ἄμβροσίνην ὅπ' ἰεῖσαι  
 ὑμνεῦσιν Λητῶ καλλίσφυρον, ὥς τέκε παῖδας  
 ἀθανάτων βουλῇ τε καὶ ἔργμασιν ἔξοχ' ἀρίστους. 20  
 χαίρετε, τέκνα Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς ἡϋκόμοιο·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμέων τε καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

14. εἰς αDN 18. ἐσανέχουσα Pierson || ἄμβροτον ὕσαν ἰεῖσαι Hermann  
 22. τε om. libri: add. Barnes

(see ix Introd. and *ib.* note 5). Artemis, however, has some connexion with Delphi, although she is not mentioned in the earliest myths of the oracle and temple. This connexion gave her the cult-names *Δελφινία* (Attica, Thessaly) and, in imperial times, *Πυθίη* (Miletus). At Delphi itself, as Farnell (*Cults* ii. p. 467) remarks, we have few traces of her cult; an inscr. (379 B.C.) records an Amphictyonic oath to Apollo, Leto, and Artemis (*C. I. G.* 1688), and slaves (? female) were sometimes emancipated in the name of Apollo and Artemis (Collitz *Dial. Inscr.* 1810). The eastern pediment of the Delphian temple represented Apollo, Artemis, Leto, and the Muses, but no trace of this sculpture has been discovered.

In extant art, the most familiar re-

presentation of Artemis at Delphi is the archaistic relief in the Villa Albani. In this Artemis stands by Leto, while Nike pours a libation to Apollo as Citharoedus. The Delphian temple in the background gives a setting to the scene. In the majority of representations of the two deities the connexion is simply mythological, with no bearing on the Delphian cult.

15. The Muses and Graces take the place, at Delphi, of the nymphs who usually accompany Artemis (§ 105). The passage may have been suggested by *h. Ap.* 189-206, where the scene is on Olympus.

16. Cf. *h. Ap.* 8.

20. *ἔργμασιν*: first in Hes. *Op.* 801, xxix. 12, xxxii. 19.



## XXVIII

### HYMN TO ATHENA

THE style of this hymn is so similar to that of the preceding, that Gemoll confidently attributes both to the same composer. For coincidences of language he points to 3, 10 in this hymn (see notes). More striking is the fact that the influence of the hymn to Apollo is probably to be seen here, as in the hymn to Artemis. Gemoll compares 15 with *h. Ap.* 7, and 16 with *h. Ap.* 12.

According to the earliest detailed version of the myth (*Hes. Theog.* 886–900), Zeus swallowed Metis, who was already pregnant with Athena. The goddess then sprang from the head of Zeus (*ib.* 924–926). Hesiod says nothing of the agency of Hephaestus (or other god who assisted Zeus<sup>1</sup>) nor of an armed Athena. The schol. on *Apoll. Arg.* Δ 1310 remarks that Stesichorus (whose poem is lost) first mentioned the panoply of the goddess at her birth. The scholiast passes over the hymn, of whose existence he was probably unaware, as he could hardly have had enough critical acumen to place a “Homeric” hymn later than the time of Stesichorus. The myth next appears in Pindar (*Ol.* vii. 38), who describes the agency of Hephaestus, and the terror of Heaven and Earth at the loud cry of Athena.

For later accounts of the birth see Pauly-Wissowa s.v. “Athena” 1895 f.; Farnell *Cults* i. p. 280 f., and (from the “anthropological” standpoint) Lang *Myth Ritual and Religion* ii. p. 242 f. It seems clear that the mention of the panoply, which is elaborated in the hymn (5, 6, and 15), is not part of the primitive myth; but this early became prominent in literature and art (cf. *Luc. dial. deor.* 8: *Philostr. imag.* ii. 27). On archaic vases, down to the time of Pheidias, the usual type represents Zeus as sitting

<sup>1</sup> As Prometheus, *Eur. Ion* 452.



in the midst of gods, while Athena, a small armed figure, issues from his head (see vases in Brit. Mus. B 147, 218, 244, 421, E 15, 410). Pheidias probably represented Athena as already born, either standing by the side of Zeus, or moving away from him, as in the well-known relief at Madrid (reproduced by Baumeister *Denkm.* fig. 172, and Frazer on Paus. i. 24. 5, where references to the recent literature on the subject are given). See Gardner *Handbook Gk. Sculpture* ii. p. 279 f.



## XXVIII

### Εἰς Ἀθηνᾶν

Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην, κυδρὴν θεόν, ἄρχομ' αἶδειν,  
 γλαυκῶπιν, πολύμητιν, ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσιν,  
 παρθένον αἰδοίην, ἐρυσίπτολιν, ἀλκῆεσσιν,  
 Τριτογενῇ, τὴν αὐτὸς ἐγείνατο μητίετα Ζεὺς  
 σεμνῆς ἐκ κεφαλῆς, πολεμήϊα τεύχε' ἔχουσιν·  
 χρύσεια παμφανόωντα· σέβας δ' ἔχε πάντας ὀρώντας  
 ἀθανάτους· ἡ δὲ πρόσθεν Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο  
 ἐσσυμένως ὥρουσεν ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο καρήνου,  
 σείσας ὄξυν ἄκοντα· μέγας δ' ἐλελίζετ' Ὀλυμπος  
 δεινὸν ὑπὸ βρίμης γλαυκώπιδος, ἀμφὶ δὲ γαῖα

TITULUS.—Εἰς ἀθηνᾶν αD: εἰς τὴν ἀθηνᾶν p 4. τριτογενέα Barnes 10.  
 ὑπ' ὀμβρίμης αD: ὑπ' ὀβρίμης cet.: ὑπὸ βρίμης corr. Ruhnken: βρίμης Ilgen

2. ἀμείλιχον ἦτορ ἔχουσιν=I 572 (of Erinnyes).

3. παρθένον αἰδοίην: of Artemis, xxvii. 2.

ἐρυσίπτολιν: see on xi. 1.

4. ΤΡΙΤΟΓΕΝῆ: Barnes' Τριτογενέα is unnecessary in this hymn; so τεύχη 15 (but τεύχε' 5); cf. xxvii. 4. The form Τριτογενῆς is not Homeric.

αὐτός: cf. E 880 ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς ἐγείναο παῖδ' αἰδῆλον (the only reference in Homer to the birth of Athena); Hes. Theog. 924 αὐτὸς δ' ἐκ κεφαλῆς γλαυκώπιδά γείνατ' Ἀθῆνῃν. Cf. h. Ap. 314, 323.

7. πρόσθεν: proleptic; "she sprang before Zeus, from his immortal head"; Διὸς is to be taken both with πρόσθεν and καρήνου. The poet may have had in mind representations of the scene after the type of the Madrid relief (see Introd.). The actual process of the birth is not described; and this, as Gemoll

notes, may account for the omission of Hephaestus with his axe.

9 f. For the terror of all Nature at the birth cf. Pind. Ol. vii. 38 Οὐρανὸς δ' ἔφριξέ νιν καὶ Γαῖα μάτηρ. The upheaval of Nature is simply due to this stupendous scene. Later Greek rationalists gave a physical explanation of Athena's birth, and some modern mythologists (of the school of Preller, Max Müller, and Roscher) interpret Athena as a personification of thunder or lightning, or some other natural phenomenon; but it is certain that Hesiod, Pindar, and the hymn-writer have no idea of reading a physical interpretation into the myth (see Farnell l.c.). Compare the fear inspired by Artemis in the chase, xxvii. 6 f. Adami (p. 231) collects other examples.

10. ὑπὸ βρίμης: the manuscript reading ὑπ' ὀβρίμης is scarcely defensible, as ὀβριμος has always a short. It is true



σμερδαλέον ἰάχησεν, ἐκινήθη δ' ἄρα πόντος  
 κύμασι πορφυρέοισι κυκώμενος, ἔσχετο δ' ἄλλη  
 ἑξαπίνης· στήσεν δ' Ὑπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱὸς  
 ἵππους ὠκύποδας δηρὸν χρόνον, εἰσότε κούρη  
 εἴλετ' ἀπ' ἀθανάτων ὤμων θεοεῖκελα τεύχη  
 Παλλὰς Ἀθηναίη· γήθησε δὲ μητίετα Ζεὺς.

15

καὶ σὺ μὲν οὕτω χαῖρε, Διὸς τέκος αἰγιόχοιο·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

12. ἔκχυτο pro ἔσχετο Baumeister || δ' N ed. pr. : ε' libri 14. εἰς ὃ κε ed. pr.  
 15. τεύχεα Barnes

that certain adjectives have a medial lengthening on the analogy of *ὄπωρυνός ἰφθίμος* (Schulze *Q. E.* p. 473), but there is no authority for extending the list, with Ilgen's obvious correction to hand. Agar believes that *ὀβρίμης* is the strict grammarian's correction of *ὀβρίμοο*; but it is improbable that the genitive in -oo was known to the author of this hymn. *βρίμη* does not occur in early epic, but cf. Apoll. *Arg.* Δ 1676 *ὑπβείξε δαμῆναι* | *Μηδείης βρίμη πολυφαρμάκων* (schol. *τῇ ἰσχύϊ*); so *Βριμῷ, βριμῶδης*, which seem to shew that *βρίμη* is not mere 'strength,' but connoted the idea of terror inspired by Athena; Hesych. also explains by *ἀπειλή*. For *δεινὸν ὑπὸ βρίμης* Gemoll compares xxvii. 8 *δεινὸν ὑπὸ κλαγγῆς*. On the derivation of *ὀβρίμος* etc. see Johansson *I. F.* iii. 239 n.

12. *ἔσχετο*: Baumeister's objection to this word, which he thinks a contradiction of *ἐκινήθη*, is unfounded; *ἔσχετο* is defended by *στήσεν . . . ἵππους*. Nature was first upheaved by terror at the coming of Athena, and then her regular course was stopped; the sea was "stayed," and no longer beat on the shore.

13. At the birth of Athena represented

on the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, Helios and his horses were sculptured at one end, and Selene in her chariot at the other. This scheme became common, e.g. on the base of the statue of Olympian Zeus depicting the birth of Aphrodite (Paus. v. 11. 8). But the presence of the Sun and Moon gives only a local or temporal frame to these scenes; in the hymn the Sun stops miraculously, from terror. In Σ 241 f. Hera sends the Sun to Ocean before his time; so Athena prolongs the night, ψ 243 f. Cf. also the Sun's threat to disturb the course of nature, μ 383.

In *E. M.* p. 474 s.v. *Ἰππία* the following explanation of the title is given: *ἐκλήθη οὕτως ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, ἐπεὶ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διὸς μεθ' ἵππων ἀνήλατο, ὡς ὁ ἐπ' αὐτῇς ὕμνος δηλοῖ*. It is, however, plain that the lexicographer does not allude to the present hymn, as the horses belong to the Sun. Baum. notes that hymns to Athena were not uncommon; cf. Arist. *Nub.* 967 schol.

14. The ms. reading *εἰσότε* is defended by Fuch *die Temporalsätze mit den Konjunctionen "bis" und "so lang als"* Würzburg, 1902, p. 41. For the variant cf. ω 134.



## XXIX

### HYMN TO HESTIA

ALTHOUGH primarily addressed to Hestia, the hymn is equally in honour of Hermes. If the order of lines 9 f. is correct, Groddeck's inference is probably right, that *ναίετε δώματα καλά* alludes to the cult of the two deities in a common temple. Gemoll further supposes that here, as in xxiv, the hymn was sung at the dedication of a new temple. Baumeister's view, that the occasion was a feast in a private house, depends on the adoption of Martin's order of the lines, by which *δώματα καλά* is joined to *ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων*; but see on 9 f.

For the close connexion of Hestia and Hermes see Preller-Robert i. p. 423, Roscher *Lex.* i. 2649 f. Pheidias represented them as a pair on the basis of Olympian Zeus (Paus. v. 11. 8). There was a hearth (*ἑστία*) in front of a statue of Hermes at Pharae, on which incense was offered before Hermes was consulted for omens (Paus. viii. 22. 2 f.).

The origin of this connexion is not very clear; Preller sees a link in their relation to human life, Hestia representing quiet family life at home, while Hermes is the patron of the streets and ways, a god of active pursuits. According to others (e.g. Campbell *Religion in Greek Lit.* p. 119), the connexion is mainly local: Hermes, as the god of boundaries, is akin to the goddess of the house.

It is difficult to see why Gemoll should call the style of the hymn more lyric than epic; his theory of strophic arrangement (in stanzas of four lines) is also very dubious, and indeed breaks down, if we assume a lacuna after 9.



# XXIX

## Εἰς Ἑστίαν

Ἑστίν, ἥ πάντων ἐν δώμασιν ὑψηλοῖσιν  
ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων τ' ἀνθρώπων  
ἔδρην αἰδίου ἔλαχες, πρεσβηίδα τιμήν,  
καλὸν ἔχουσα γέρας καὶ τιμήν· οὐ γὰρ ἄτερ σοῦ  
εἰλαπῖναι θνητοῖσιν, ἵν' οὐ πρώτη πυμάτῃ τε

5

TITULUS. — εἰς ἑστίαν αD: εἰς τὴν ἑστίαν p 2. ἐρπομένων Barnes  
3. ἔλαχες p: ἔλαχε est.: λέλαχες Franke 4. τιμήν] γαίαν Ernesti: ἀγνήν  
Matthiae: τίμιον Franke: πῖνον Gemoll 5. θνητοῖς· σοὶ δὲ Martin: θνητοῖς·  
ἵνα σοὶ οὐ Davis: πᾶς δ' Barnes

1-3. Cf. *h. Aphr.* 31, 32. For the form Ἑστίν see on *h. Aphr.* 22, xxiv. 1.

2 = E 442. χαμαὶ ἐρχομένων = ἐπι-  
χθονίων, hence τε stands as third. The  
MSS. in Homer do not support Barnes'  
ἐρπομένων.

3. αἰδίου: for the word see on xxxii.  
1. There is of course no objection to the  
lengthening of the final syllable by the  
ictus.

ἔλαχες is clearly right, between the  
vocative in 1 and σοῦ in 4. φέρβει in  
xxx. 2 is no parallel, being preceded by  
the accusative γαίαν. ἔλαχε is due to  
the relative and its effect; cf. Γ 277,  
where for ἥελιος δὲ πάντ' ἐφόρῳ καὶ πάντ'  
ἐπακούεις rap. *Brit. Mus.* 126 has ἐφορα  
—επακούει.

πρεσβηίδα τιμήν: Hestia was the  
eldest daughter of Cronos, but Gemoll  
is no doubt right in understanding this  
as simply "high honour"; cf. *h. Aphr.*  
32 παρὰ πᾶσι βροτοῖσι θεῶν πρέσβειρα  
τέτυκται.

4. τιμήν: the repetition of the word  
in 3, 4 is in itself insufficient to warrant  
change at either place; but there is  
a further objection to the spondee at the  
pause in 4, where a bucolic diaeresis

would be regular. The second τιμήν  
may therefore have ousted an adjective,  
as Baumeister and Gemoll suppose.

There is no difficulty in σοῦ, though  
followed in the same sentence by Ἑστίν;  
the proper name gives dignity, and also  
suggests the actual word used in the  
libation (6).

5. πρώτη πυμάτῃ τε: the first libation  
was regularly offered to Hestia; hence  
the proverb ἀφ' Ἑστίας ἀρχεσθαι, schol.  
on Arist. *Vesp.* 846, who quotes Soph.  
*Chrys.* (fr. 653) ὦ πρόφα λοιβῆς Ἑστία  
(so schol. on Pind. *Nem.* x. 6), and  
Plat. *Euthyphro* 3A; cf. also Plat.  
*Crat.* 401B and D. Cf. Zenob. i. 40.  
The word πυμάτῃ is more difficult, as  
Hestia was not honoured in the last  
libation, at least in secular feasts. But  
εἰλαπῖναι no doubt includes sacrificial  
feasts, at which the last, as well as the  
first, libation was poured to Hestia; cf.  
Cornut. *de nat. deor.* 28 ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις οἱ  
Ἕλληνες ἀπὸ πρώτης τε αὐτῆς ἤρχοντο  
καὶ εἰς ἐσχάτην αὐτὴν κατέπαυσαν. See  
Preuner *Hestia-Vesta* p. 3f and his art.  
in Roscher *Lex.* i. 2605f. In Rome, of  
course, Vesta had the last libation;  
Preuner thinks that the variation points



Ἔστίη ἀρχόμενος σπένδει μελιηδέα οἶνον  
καὶ σύ μοι, Ἀργειφόντα, Διὸς καὶ Μαιάδος νιέ,  
ἄγγελε τῶν μακάρων, χρυσόρραπι, δῶτορ ἑάων,  
ναίετε δώματα καλά, φίλα φρεσὶν ἀλλήλοισιν

ἵλαος ὦν ἐπάρηγε σὺν αἰδοίῃ τε φίλῃ τε 10  
Ἔστίη· ἀμφότεροι γὰρ ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων  
εἰδότες ἔργματα καλὰ νόφ θ' ἔσπεσθε καὶ ἦβη.  
χαῖρε, Κρόνου θύγατερ, σύ τε καὶ χρυσόρραπτις Ἑρμῆς.  
αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμέων τε καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

6. Ἰστὶν praeter DQ libri: puncta praemittit II || εὐχόμενος Pierson || μελιηδέα  
οἶνον] φίλα φρονέοντ' ἀλλήλοισι Ernesti 8. ἑάων libri: corr. Stephanus  
9. φίλαι Martin || v. post 11 posuit Martin 11. ἰστὶν praeter D libri 12. ε'  
ex τ' Α: τ' Π: τ' cet. || ἔργα τε καλά, νέοις Martin: νόον ε', ἔσπεσθε καὶ ἡμῖν  
Gemoll

to an indefiniteness in early "Aryan" custom: the Italian branch of the race chose the last place for their goddess, while the Greeks continued the Aryan practice, sometimes assigning both places to Hestia, but more often the first exclusively.

6. ἀρχόμενος σπένδει: Gemoll's objection to this is unfounded; for the omission of *τις*, which is eased by the presence of the participle, cf. n. on *h. Herm.* 202.

9f. Martin's arrangement, by which 9 is transferred to follow 11, is accepted by several editors, but it involves several difficulties: (1) the translation is unmotivated palaeographically; (2) the apodosis, which should include both Hestia and Hermes, is thus in the singular (*ἐπάρηγε*); (3) the sense becomes "you both dwell in the fair houses of men"; this hardly suits Hermes, who, though *προπύλαιος* etc. is not essentially a god of (in) the house. (4) The clause *ἔργματα καλά κτλ.* is left with an asyndeton, for θ', after the third word, can hardly be a copula to the clause. In the Oxford text

a lacuna was assumed after 9, beginning with *εἰδότες*.

There is no great difficulty in *ναίετε* following *σύ*; the construction is *ad sensum*, Hestia being logically, though not grammatically, included in the subject of the verb.

12. εἰδότες ἔργματα καλά: the deities give grace to all noble deeds; *εἰδότες*, like *συνεἰδότες*, implies "share in" or "give a τέλος to" the work. Baumeister compares (for Hermes) *Orph. h.* xxviii. 9 *ἐργασίας ἐπαρωγέ*.

The following words are obscure, and possibly corrupt. *ἔσπεσθε* is presumably a gnomic aorist, although in form it might be imperative (*ἐσπέσθαι* for *σε-σπ-έσθαι*, a redupl. aor., cf. Leaf on E 423). The translation might be "you follow (men) with wisdom and strength (dat. of accompaniment); or perhaps "you follow their wisdom" etc., i.e. "watch and give increase to," an amplification of *εἰδότες*. No reasonable correction has been proposed; Gemoll's *νόον θ'*, *ἔσπεσθε καὶ ἡμῖν* is supported in sense by xxvii. 20, but is too violent.



### XXX

## HYMN TO EARTH THE MOTHER OF ALL

GRODDECK'S theory that this hymn is Orphic has rightly met with no support, except from Crusius (*Philolog.* xlvii. p. 208, 1889), who compares *Orph. h.* xxvi. It is a genuine prelude in the Homeric style. There are absolutely no indications of date or place; we may, however, infer that it is of no great antiquity, as the writer seems to have borrowed from the hymn to Demeter; Gemoll compares 7, 12, and 18, 19 (see on *h. Dem.* 486). The hymn resembles the two following in length, and seems to belong to the same age and perhaps to the same workmanship (Crusius *l.c.*).



# XXX

## Εἰς Γῆν μητέρα πάντων

Γαῖαν παμμήτειραν αἰείσομαι, ἡϋθέμεθλον,  
 πρεσβίστην, ἣ φέρβει ἐπὶ χθονὶ πάνθ' ὀπόσ' ἐστίν.  
 ἡμὲν ὅσα χθόνα διὰν ἐπέρχεται, ἡδ' ὅσα πόντον,  
 ἡδ' ὅσα πωτῶνται, τάδε φέρβεται ἐκ σέθεν ὄλβον.  
 ἐκ σέο δ' εὐπαιδὲς τε καὶ εὐκαρποὶ τελέθουσι,  
 πότνια, σεῦ δ' ἔχεται δοῦναι βίον ἡδ' ἀφελέσθαι  
 θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν· ὁ δ' ὄλβιος, ὃν κε σὺ θυμῷ  
 πρόφρων τιμήσης· τῷ τ' ἄφθονα πάντα πάρεστι.  
 βρίθει μὲν σφιν ἄρουρα φερέσβιος, ἡδὲ κατ' ἀγροῦς  
 κτήνεσιν εὐθηνεῖ, οἶκος δ' ἐμπίπλται ἐσθλῶν.  
 αὐτοὶ δ' εὐνομήσιν πόλιν κἀτα καλλιγύναικα  
 κοιρανέουσ', ὄλβος δὲ πολλὸς καὶ πλούτος ὀπηδεῖ.

TITULUS.—εἰς γῆν μητέρα πάντων αD: εἰς τὴν γῆν p: imaginem terrae  
 praebent APQ, solis L<sub>2</sub> 1. εὐρυσεμέθλον Barnes 2. φέρκει II punctis  
 appositis 3. ὑπέρχεται D: ἀπέρχεται Π 8. τιμήσεις libri: corr. Franke ||  
 πάρεστι familiae p plerique: περ ἐστι E: περ ἐστι DHP<sub>2</sub>NP: πάρεστι B 10.  
 κτήνεα Ernesti 11. κατὰ libri: corr. Abel

1. παμμήτειραν: a late form for  
 παμμήτωρ (of Earth Aesch. P. V. 90).  
 On the epithet see Roscher Lex. i.  
 1570 f.

ἡϋσεμέθλον: only here.

5. The omission of the subject to  
 τελέθουσι is not harder than the omission  
 of τις in xxix. 6, where see note. Εἰς  
 ἀνθρώποις is to be supplied from 7.

εὐπαιδὲς: in allusion to Γῆ κουροτρόφος;  
 Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 635 f.

εὐκαρποὶ: cf. the Dodonaean hymn  
 (Paus. x. 12. 10) Γῆ κάρπους ἀνεί, δι' ἧ  
 κλήζετε ματέρα Γαῖαν.

ἀφελέσθαι: i.e. as a Chthonian deity.

7. ὁ δ' ὄλβιος κτλ.: cf. h. Dem. 480,

and 486 μέγ' ὄλβιος ὃν τιν' ἐκείναι |  
 προφρονέως φίλωνται.

8. τῷ τ' ἄφθονα κτλ.: cf. h. Ap. 536 τὰ  
 δ' ἄφθονα πάντα πάρεσται. But the sub-  
 stitution of δ' for τ' is here not required.

9. σφιν: probably the singular, as in  
 h. Pan 19, where see note.

10. εὐθηνεῖ: the subject is ὁ ὄλβιος,  
 not ἀρουρα, which would not suit κατ'  
 ἀγροῦς (Gemoll).

11. καλλιγύναικα has emphasis; men  
 (αὐτοί), women, and children (13 f.) are  
 alike blessed.

12. ὄλβος κτλ.: from h. Dem. 489  
 Πλούτων δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἀφένος θνητοῖσι  
 δίδωσιν.



παῖδες δ' εὐφροσύνη νεοθηλεῖ κυδιώσι,  
 παρθενικαὶ τε χοροῖς φερεσανθέσιν εὐφρονι θυμῷ  
 παίζουσαι σκαίρουσι κατ' ἄνθεα μαλθακὰ ποίης,  
 οὓς κε σὺ τιμήσης, σεμνὴ θεά, ἄφθονε δαῖμον.

15

χαῖρε, θεῶν μήτηρ, ἄλοχ' Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,  
 πρόφρων δ' ἄντ' ὥδῃς βίοτον θυμήρε' ὄπαζε·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ καὶ σείο καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

13. ἢ πάντες margo E || ἀδροσύνη Matthiae 14. περεσανθέσιν xD: παρ' εὐανθέσιν p: περ εὐανθέσιν Steph.: πολυανθέσιν aut περιανθέσιν Barnes: φερεσανθέσιν Ernesti: εὐανθέσιν Hermann: περιγέσιν Waardenburg: φερεσανθέσιν  
 Lobbeck: πολυανθέσιν Abel 15. παίζουσι χαίρουσι libri (παίζουσι Γ): παίζουσαι ed. pr.: σκαίρουσι Ruhnken: χαίρουσι servat Franke || μαλακὰ libri: corr. Stephanus 16. τιμῆσεις libri: corr. Franke: ἄφθιτε Matthiae

14. φερεσανθέσιν: this correction, though Solmsen (p. 20 n. 1) disapproves, is clearly indicated by x's περεσανθέσιν; for the form cf. φερέσβιος, φερεσσίπωνος, Hes. *Scut.* 13 φερεσσακέας, Stesich. *fr.* 26 λιπεσάνορας; φερανθῆς is also found (Meleager, *Anth. Pal.* ix. 363. 2), whence Lobbeck preferred φερεανθέσιν; for this form cf. also φερεανγέα *Anth. Pal.* ix. 634.

15. σκαίρουσι: Ruhnken's emendation is brilliant and certain.

17. θεῶν μήτηρ: the confusion, or

identification, of Gaea and Rhea as mother of the gods is early; cf. Soph. *Phil.* 391 παμβῶτι Γᾶ μάτερ αὐτοῦ Διός, Solon *fr.* 36 μήτηρ μεγίστη δαιμόνων Ὀλυμπίων. As wife of Uranus she was in strict Hesiodic mythology the mother of the Titans and Cronos; but the simple θεῶν is no doubt meant to include all the gods.

18. βίοτον θυμήρε' ὄπαζε: cf. *Orph. h.* xxviii. 11, and lxvii. 8 βίοτου τέλος ἐσθλὸν ὄπαζε.

18, 19 = *h. Dem.* 494, 495.



## XXXI

### HYMN TO HELIOS

THE resemblance of this and the following hymn is striking. If the two are not the work of a single author, as Gemoll and (less confidently) Baumeister suppose, the writer of one hymn must have taken the other as his model. The description of the bright Sun is closely parallel to that of the Moon, and the language is in several places identical; cf. 10, 13, and see further on 15 f. In both hymns there appears to be a search after recondite mythology (Euryphaessa 2, Pandia xxxii. 15). The concluding formulae of the hymn shew that they were preludes to recitation. There are no distinctive marks of date, except the mention of Selene as winged, in xxxii. 1. This literary conception seems to belong to the decadence of mythology, perhaps not before the Alexandrine period; cf. the winged Dioscuri in xxxiii. 13. The two hymns, though rather turgid in style, are written in the "Homeric" manner; Baumeister has no reason in attributing them to the Orphic school of Onomacritus, and they have nothing in common with the extant Orphic hymns (viii and ix) to the same deities.

The place of composition cannot be recovered; the cult of Helios was widespread, especially in the Peloponnese, and was of course famous at Rhodes; see Preller-Robert i.<sup>2</sup> p. 429 f.



## XXXI

## Εἰς Ἥλιον

Ἥλιον ὑμνεῖν αὐτε Διὸς τέκος ἄρχεο Μοῦσα  
 Καλλιόπη, φαέθοντα, τὸν Εὐρυφάεσσα βοῶπις  
 γείνατο Γαίης παιδὶ καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·  
 γῆμε γὰρ Εὐρυφάεσσαν ἀγακλειτὴν Ὑπερίων,  
 αὐτοκασυγνήτην, ἣ οἱ τέκε κάλλιμα τέκνα, 5  
 Ἡὼ τε ροδόπηχυν, εὐπλόκαμόν τε Σελήνην,  
 Ἥελιόν τ' ἀκάμαντ', ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν,  
 ὃς φαίνει θνητοῖσι καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν  
 ἵπποις ἐμβεβαῶς· σμερδνὸν δ' ὃ γε δέρκεται ὄσσοις  
 χρυσέης ἐκ κόρυθος, λαμπραὶ δ' ἀκτῖνες ἀπ' αὐτοῦ 10

TITULUS.—Εἰς Ἥλιον αD: εἰς τὸν Ἥλιον p: imaginem solis exhibent APQR<sub>1</sub>R<sub>2</sub>  
 2. εὐρυφάεσσα Barnes 4. ἀγακλειτὴν D: ἀγακλυτὴν cet. 5. οἷν pro ἢ οἱ BF  
 7. ἀριδείκετον Matthiae: ἐπιήρανον Bothe 10. χρυσαῖς libri: corr. Barnes

1. Ἥλιον: the later form, in Homer, only θ 271. In the hymns also Ἥελιος is regular. For the invocation to Calliope cf. Aleman *fr.* 45 (Smyth 18) Μῶσ' ἄγε, Καλλιόπα, θύγατερ Διός, | ἄρχ' ἐρατῶν ἐπέων, Bacchyl. v. 176 etc.

αὐτε, "now"; the word does not imply other hymns. Baumeister compares Terpander *fr.* 2 ἀμφὶ μοι αὐτε ἀναχθ' ἐκαταβόλον κτλ.

2. Εὐρυφάεσσα: only here. In Hesiod *Theog.* 371, Theia is the mother of the Sun, Moon, and Dawn; cf. Pind. *Isthm.* iv. 1. See Roscher *Lex.* ii. 3160.

7. The line is apparently borrowed from A 60 ἦθεόν τ' ἀκάμαντ', ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν, which disposes of conjectures in place of ἐπιείκελον (Gemoll). Franke's explanation that the two last words refer to the sun's inferiority compared with the Olympians, requires some modification. The Sun, with Selene and Eos,

is mentioned with the Olympian gods in Hes. *Theog.* 8; in any case he was certainly ἀθάνατος. The poet may have drawn a distinction between the visible gods of nature and the invisible ἀθάνατοι, such as Hermes or Athena. More probably he borrowed ἐπιείκελον ἀθανάτοισιν without troubling to consider its propriety; he knew ἀκάμαντα as an epithet of the Sun (Σ 239, 484).

8. Cf. γ 2.

9. ἵπποις in its Homeric use of a "chariot and horses"; but the conception of the Sun as a driver is not Homeric (*h. Dem.* 63, 88, *h. Herm.* 69); see Rapp in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1998 and 2005. In Homer the Dawn has horses, ψ 224 f.

10. χρυσέης: the mss. have χρυσῆς; in the parallel passage xxxii. 6 χρυσέον ἀπὸ στεφάνου, all except p have the open form, which may be restored here.

ἀπ' αὐτοῦ: cf. xxxii. 3 ἦς ἀπο.



αἰγλήεν στίλβουσι, παρὰ κροτάφων τε παρειαὶ  
λαμπραὶ ἀπὸ κρατὸς χαρίεν κατέχουσιν πρόσωπον  
τηλαυγές· καλὸν δὲ περὶ χροῖ λάμπεται ἔσθος  
λεπτουργές πνοιῇ ἀνέμων, ὑπὸ δ' ἄρσενες ἵπποι·  
ἐνθ' ἄρ' ὃ γε στήσας χρυσόζυγον ἄρμα καὶ ἵππους

15

θεσπέσιος πέμπησι δι' οὐρανοῦ Ὀκεανόνδε.

χαῖρε, ἄναξ, πρόφρων δὲ βίον θυμήρε' ὅπαζε·  
ἐκ σέο δ' ἀρξάμενος κλήσω μερόπων γένος ἀνδρῶν  
ἡμιθέων, ὧν ἔργα θεοὶ θνητοῖσιν ἔδειξαν.

11. περὶ κροτάφοις τ' ἔθειραι Pierson: παρὰ κροτάφων δέ τ' ἔθειραι Matthiae  
14. ἵπποι· Π: lacunam hic statuit Hermann || λεπτουργές· πνοιῆς δ' ἀνέμων  
ὑπὸ εἰσσεύοντες ἵπποι Valckenār 15. post h. v. lacunam indicavimus || εὐτ' ἂν  
στεύλας Matthiae || στήσας] στεύλας Matthiae: ἰούσας Gemoll 16. θεσπεσίους Stepha-  
nus: ἐσπερίους Ruhnken || πέμπησιν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ Baumeister 19. θεαὶ Matthiae

11. παρειαί: this must be corrupt unless it means "cheeks of a helmet" (Hermann), for which there is no authority; the sense would thus be "from his temples the bright cheek-pieces enclose his beautiful, far-shining face, from the head (downwards)." There is no objection to παρὰ κροτάφων=ἀπὸ κρατὸς. Matthiae's παρὰ κροτάφων δέ τ' ἔθειραι would give an easier sense, and is at least better than περὶ κροτάφοις τ' ἔθειραι.

13. τηλαυγές: cf. xxxii. 8, where εἴματα ἐσσαμένη=ἔσθος here.

14. The line, though undoubtedly difficult, is not of necessity corrupt. λεπτουργές is certainly sound, and πνοιῇ ἀνέμων may be taken (with Matthiae) as depending in sense on λάμπεται, "the fair fine-spun garment on his body shines in the wind." Το ὑπὸ δ' ἄρσενες ἵπποι we may supply λάμπονται or merely εἶσιν, cf. *Orac.* ed. Hendess 54. 4 Τυνδαρίδας δ' ἐποπιδόμενοι Μενέλαν τε καὶ ἄλλους | ἀθάνατους ἥρωας οἱ ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ δῖη, rather than assume a lacuna after this line, with Hermann. Valckenār's emendation (see crit. n.) is too far removed from the Mss.

15, 16. Here a lacuna seems necessary owing to the sense and to the mood of πέμπησι, which must be subjunctive; Gemoll objects that the body of the hymn should have 16 lines only, to match xxxii. But the correspondence between the two hymns is in any case imperfect, as the concluding verses are unequal in number. Although 16 is a favourite

number (suggesting four quatrains; cf. hymns xxviii, xxx, xxxii), the hymn to the Dioscuri (xxxiii) has 17 verses. The lacuna can only be avoided by the assumption that ἐνθ' ἄρ' is corrupt, as well as στήσας, which is inconsistent with πέμπησι in the present context. If a line has fallen out the sense may be, "then, having stopped his golden car and horses (he rests at the topmost point of heaven, until he again) sends them wondrously through heaven to ocean." στήσας would refer to the sun's apparent halt at mid-day, before he begins his descent; cf. Shelley (*Hymn of Apollo*) "I stand at noon upon the peak of Heaven." The description of the sun's brightness is most appropriate, if noon is meant; cf. the parallel hymn, where Selene is brightest as she comes to the full (xxxii. 11 f.).

16. θεσπέσιος: for the adverb cf. *h. Herm.* 103 ἀμῆτες δ' ἵκανον. The more difficult nominative is not to be corrected into θεσπεσίους; nor is it likely that ἐσπερίους would have been corrupted (cf. xxxii. 11).

18. κλήσω: on the form cf. Schulze *Q. E.* p. 281 n. 3.

19. ἡμιθέων: sc. ἡρώων, as in M 23, Hes. *Op.* 158.

θεαί: Gemoll adopts Matthiae's θεαί (Muses), to correspond with xxxii. 20. This is not impossible, although with θεοί the sense is satisfactory, "whose deeds the gods shewed to mortals," i.e. the gods taught the heroes divine deeds.



## XXXII

### HYMN TO SELENE

ON this hymn see Introduction to xxxi, and on the mythology of Selene see Roscher *Selene und Verwandtes* 1890, with *Nachträge* 1895, and his art. in *Lex.* ii. 3119 f.



# XXXII

## Εἰς Σελήνην

Μήνην αἶδειν τανυσίπτερον ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι,  
ἥδυεπεῖς κοῦραι Κρονίδεω Διός, ἱστορες ᾧδῆς·  
ἥς ἄπο αἴγλη γαῖαν ἐλίσσεται οὐρανόδεικτος  
κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, πολὺς δ' ὑπὸ κόσμος ὄρωρεν  
αἴγλης λαμπούσης· στίλβει δέ τ' ἀλάμπετος ἀῆρ  
χρυσέου ἀπὸ στεφάνου, ἀκτῖνες δ' ἐνδαίονται,

5

TITULUS.—εἰς σελήνην IID : εἰς τὴν σελήνην ETp : imaginem lunae exhibent AQR<sub>1</sub>R<sub>2</sub>, eandem cum signis quattuor lunae phasium P 1. σελήνην pro μήνην Γ || εὐεῖδα pro αἶδειν Bothe : αἶδει R<sub>1</sub> || ἔσπεται EΠ : ἔσπετε cet. : corr. Baumeister 3. ἥς αἴγλη περί γαῖαν Hermann 4. κόσμον DEΠ 5. δ' ἀλάμπετος libri : στίλβης ἀλάμπετος Aldina : δέ τ' ἄλ. Barnes : θε μελάντατος ἀῆρ Pierson : στίλβη δ' ἐπιλάμπεται Ruhnken : ἀπολάμπετος Hermann : στίλβησι δ' ἀλάμπετος Franke : εὐλάμπετος Baumeister 6. χρυσοῦ p || ἀκτῖνες p : ἀκτῆρες xAtD || ἐνδαίονται Roscher

1. αἶδειν and ἔσπετε seem incompatible; but the parallel with xxxi. 1 (ὕμνῳ ἀρχεο) suggests that ἔσπετε may be used irregularly for "follow," i.e. "go on to" sing. The sense would be very appropriate, if the two hymns were not only the work of one poet, but were recited on the same occasion, as might well be the case; cf. Aristot. *Eth. Nic.* iii. 1. 2 ἔσπεται διελθεῖν. Ebeling's translation *dicite ut canam* does violence to the Greek. Most editors accept Bothe's εἰδειδῆ, but this would not be corrupted to αἶδειν. If there is any corruption, αἰδῆν may be suggested: if the alternative form αἰδῆν were written, αἶδειν would easily result as a metrical correction. αἰδῆος is of two terminations in Hes. *Scut.* 310, xxix. 3, but of three *Orph. h.* x. 21, lxxxiv. 6. ἔσπετε, at all events, is sound; for its regular use cf. xxxiii. 1, B 484 etc.

ΤΑΝΥΣΙΠΤΕΡΟΝ: the epithet seems to imply lateness of composition. There

appears to be no other example of a winged Selene in literature, and the type is very uncertain in art; Roscher (*Lex.* ii. 3140) doubtfully identifies a winged goddess on a gem (Müller-Wieseler ii. 16, 176a) as Selene-Nike. The attribution of wings to Selene is rather due to a confusion with Eos than with Nike. Even when she drives a car, Eos is regularly represented as winged.

2. ᾧδῆς: for the form cf. *h. Dem.* 494.

3. ἐλίσσεται with direct accusative is remarkable. Franke translates *in terram volvitur (funditur)*; Gemoll's suggestion "surrounds" (for ἐλίσσει) is better.

4. κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο = A 530.

5. Barnes' correction of the metre by inserting τ' is simpler than any of the emendations of ἀλάμπετος.

6. χρυσέου: the epithet "golden" is at least as common as "silver" in classical allusions to the moon; cf. Pind.



εὐτ' ἂν ἀπ' Ὀκεανοῖο λοεσσαμένη χροά καλόν,  
 εἴματα ἔσσαμένη τηλανγέα διὰ Σελήνῃ,  
 ζευξαμένη πώλους ἐριαύχενας, αἰγλήεντας,  
 ἔσσυμένως προτέρωσ' ἐλάσῃ καλλίτριχας ἵππους, 10  
 ἔσπερήν, διχόμηνος· ὃ τε πλήθει μέλας ὄγκος,  
 λαμπρόταταί τ' αὐγαὶ τότ' ἀεξομένης τελέθουσιν  
 οὐρανόθεν· τέκμωρ δὲ βροτοῖς καὶ σῆμα τέτυκται.  
 τῇ ῥά ποτε Κρονίδης ἐμίγη φιλότῃτι καὶ εὐνῇ·  
 ἥ δ' ὑποκουσσαμένη Πανδείην γείνατο κούρην, 15  
 ἐκπρεπὲς εἶδος ἔχουσαν ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι.  
 χαῖρε, ἄνασσα, θεὰ λευκώλενε, διὰ Σελήνῃ,  
 πρόφρον, εὐπλόκαμος· σέο δ' ἀρχόμενος κλέα φωτῶν  
 ἄσομαι ἡμιθέων, ὧν κλείουσ' ἔργματ' αἰοδοί,  
 Μουσάων θεράποντες, ἀπὸ στομάτων ἐροέντων. 20

10. προτέρω Peppmüller 11. ὃ δὲ Baumeister || πλῆθην *p* (*praeter B*) ||  
 ὄγκος] ὄγκος Gemoll 12. τελέθουσιν libri: corr. Barnes

*Ol.* 3. 20, *Eur. Phoen.* 176, *Anth. Pal.* v. 15. 1, *orac.* ap. Jo. Lyd. p. 94, *Nonn. Dion.* 44. 192, and other references in *Roscher Lex.* ii. 3130, 3136. On the στέφανος see *ib.* 3133.

ἀκτίνες: the last syllable is lengthened by position; see on *h. Dem.* 269, and cf. *h. Dion.* 1. 18.

ἐνδιόονται: the verb has been accepted, although the middle is not found elsewhere, and it is difficult to see how ἐνδιάω (= *sub divo sum* or simply *versor in*) is appropriate to the rays of the moon. The usual translation "are diffused" cannot fairly be extracted from the word. The writer may intend it to mean "are as bright as day." The rarity of the verb is an argument for its genuineness; otherwise Roscher's ἐνδαλονται might be received.

9. πώλους: of the horses of Eos ψ 246, and Selene Theocr. ii. 103. On the car of Selene see *Roscher Lex.* ii. 3134 f., 3174 f.

10. προτέρως: Homer has only προτέρω (with hiatus I 199, δ 36); for the later προτέρωσε cf. *Apoll. Arg.* A 306, 1241.

11. διχόμηνος: i.e. at the full. Another form is διχόμηνις, for which cf. *Pind. Ol.* iii. 19 διχόμηνις . . . Μῆνα, *Apoll. Arg.* A 1231.

11 f. ὃ τε πλῆθει: this may be accepted, with τελέθουσιν (for τελέθωσιν which is due to ἐλάσῃ 10). But ὃ δὲ (Baumeister) would be the epic usage.

ὄγκος, "orbit"; cf. *Aratus* 749 μέγαν ὄγκον ἐλαύνων, *Nicand. Ther.* 571 (of the sun). Gemoll's ὄγκος is therefore unnecessary, although supported by *Parmen.* 102 σφαίρης ἐναλγικὸν ὄγκω, "mass," "bulk."

13. τέκμωρ κτλ.: i.e. men compute periods of time by the full moon (Baumeister); for τέκμωρ or τέκμαρ of the heavenly bodies cf. *Eur. Hec.* 1273, *Apoll. Arg.* A 499, Γ 1002 etc.

15. Πανδείην: elsewhere unknown as a daughter of Selene; the point of her introduction here is not apparent. Hermann's πανδίην would make the mythology even more obscure. The daughter of Selene seems to be merely an abstraction of the moon herself; cf. *Ulpian* on *Dem. Mid.* 517 οἱ δὲ Πανδίαν τὴν Σελήνην νομίζουσιν, *Orph. h. fr.* 11 πανδία Σεληναίη, *Maximus (περὶ καταρχῶν)* 22, 281, and 463. The Attic festival Πανδία was not connected with the goddess (*Preller-Robert* i.<sup>3</sup> p. 445 n. 1).

18. πρόφρον: here a true adjective, "benevolent"; in xxx. 18, xxxi. 17 the word is used predicatively with a verb, as in Homer (*A* 543 etc.).

19, 20. Cf. a 338 and for the phrase Μουσάων θεράπων *Hes. Theog.* 100-102, *Theognis* 769, *Margites* i. 2, *Epig. gr.* *Kaibel* 101. 3, *Orac.* ed. *Hendess* 77. 3 and (b) 1, *Inscr. gr. metr.* ed. *Preger* 248 (of *Linus*), *Ar. Av.* 909, 913.

κλείουσ': on the form see *Schulze Q. E.* p. 281.



### XXXIII

## HYMN TO THE DIOSCURI

ALTHOUGH placed last in the collection, this hymn is no doubt older than xvii, which seems merely an abstract of it. The poem is a vigorous piece of writing, and may well belong to a period at least as early as the fourth or third century B.C. The reference to the Dioscuri as winged (13) seems a mark of lateness; on the other hand the hymn appears to be pre-Alexandrine, for there is little doubt that it was imitated by Theocritus,<sup>1</sup> whose description of the storm lulled by the Dioscuri is more elaborate than the simple language of the hymn (*idyl.* xxii, see on 6, 15).

In this hymn, as often, the Twin Brethren are identified with the lights (of an electric nature) which appear on the masts or sails of a ship during a storm; cf. Eur. *Or.* 1636 f.; Plin. *N. H.* ii. 101, Diod. iv. 43, Plut. *de def. or.* 30; Lucian *dial. deor.* xxvi. 2: Seneca *Q. N.* 1. 1. 13; Ov. *Fast.* v. 720. Two lights were a sign of safety; a single light (identified with Helen = ἑλένας) betokened the worst. From the middle ages the lights have been called the fire of St. Elmo (Telmo). Frazer on Paus. ii. 1. 9 gives references for the mediaeval and modern belief.

The editors do not notice the similarities of language between this hymn and vii (to Dionysus); cf. 1 (ἀμφί) = vii. 1; 8 ἀπὸ νηῶν = vii. 6 ἀπὸ νηός (a rare use); 12 ἐφάνησαν = vii. 2 ἐφάνη; 14 ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων = vii. 24 ἀργαλέους ἀνέμους; 16 σήματα = vii. 46; 16 οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες = vii. 42; see also on 10. These resemblances, taken singly, are slight; but their number suggests the possibility that this hymn was influenced by that to Dionysus, which is probably much older.

<sup>1</sup> Of recent editors, Baumeister, see also Crusius in *Philolog.* xlviii. Gemoll, and Abel agree on this point; (1889) p. 202.



# XXXIII

## Εἰς Διοσκούρους

Ἄμφι Διὸς κούρους ἑλικώπιδες ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι,  
 Τυνδαρίδας, Λήδης καλλισφύρου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα,  
 Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ ἀμώμητον Πολυδεύκεα,  
 τοὺς ὑπὸ Ταυγέτου κορυφῇ ὄρεος μεγάλοιο  
 μιχθεῖς ἐν φιλότῃ κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι 5  
 σωτήρας τέκε παῖδας ἐπιχθονίων ἀνθρώπων  
 ὠκυπόρων τε νεῶν, ὅτε τε σπέρχωσιν ἄελλαι  
 χειμέριαι κατὰ πόντον ἀμείλιχον· οἱ δ' ἀπὸ νηῶν  
 εὐχόμενοι καλέουσι Διὸς κούρους μεγάλοιο  
 ἄρνεσσιν λευκοῖσιν, ἐπ' ἀκρωτήρια βάντες 10  
 πρύμνης· τὴν δ' ἀνεμός τε μέγας καὶ κύμα θαλάσσης

TITULUS.—εἰς διοσκούρους xD : εἰς κάστορα καὶ πολυδεύκεν p 1. ἑλικώ-  
 νιδες Heringa || ἔσπετε DN 4. κορυφῆς Barnes 11. πρέρης pro πρύμνης  
 Kämmerer || μέγας] με II : omisso spatio με superscribitur E

1. ἄμφι: see on vii. 1.
2. Τυνδαρίδας: according to λ 299 they were sons of Leda and Tyndareus; here and in xvii they are called sons of Zeus, but also Tyndarids from their putative father; so Castor is Τυνδαρίδης (Theocr. xxii. 136), but in the next line both are called Διὸς υἱό. Some poets reconciled the apparent discrepancy by making Castor the son of Tyndareus, and Polydeuces the son of Zeus, *Cypria* fr. 4, Pind. *Nem.* x. 80 (who, however, calls them Tyndarids, 38).
3. Cf. Γ 237, λ 300, *Cypria* fr. 6. 6.
4. Ταυγέτου: the mss. have the form in α here and in xvii. 3, for the Ionic in η (ξ 103, *Cypria* fr. 6. 2).
6. σωτήρας: in Theocr. xxii. 6 f. the Dioscuri are saviours of horses, as well as of men and ships. They bear the title

ΣΩΤΗΡΕΣ on coins of the city Tyndaris (Head *Hist. Num.* p. 166 f.); cf. Eur. *Electra* 992 βροτῶν ἐν ἀλὸς βοθίοις | τιμὰς σωτήρας ἔχοντες.

8. ἀπὸ νηῶν: cf. vii. 6.

10. ἀκρωτήρια: in Herod. viii. 121 ἀκρωτήρια νηὸς is a ship's beak, and Kämmerer would read πρέρης for πρύμνης, on the ground that the images of the ship's patron-deities were placed in the bows. But ἀκρωτήρια means any "upper part" or "end," and is here clearly equivalent to "deck," ἵκρια. As there were decks fore and aft (see M. and R. App. I., Torr *Ancient Ships* p. 57) πρύμνης is added to limit the word. Gemoll wrongly takes πρύμνη=νηὸς. The sailors crowd to the stern for safety from the waves, as in vii. 48 (for a different reason).



θῆκαν ὑποβρυχίην, οἱ δ' ἐξαπίνης ἐφάνησαν  
 ξουθῆσι πτερύγεσσι δι' αἰθέρος αἰξάντες,  
 αὐτίκα δ' ἀργαλέων ἀνέμων κατέπαυσαν ἀέλλας,  
 κύματα δ' ἐστόρεσαν λευκῆς ἁλὸς ἐν πελάγεσσι,  
 ναύταις σήματα καλά, πόνου† σφισιν· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες  
 γήθησαν, παύσαντο δ' οἰζυροῖο πόνουιο.

15

χαίρετε, Τυνδαρίδαι, ταχέων ἐπιβήτορες ἵππων·  
 αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν ὑμέων τε καὶ ἄλλης μνήσομ' αἰοιδῆς.

13. **ΞΑΝΘΙ** Stephanus 14. **ἀέλλαι** *p*: **ἀνέμους** in textu ET: in marg. *γρ.*  
**ἀέλλας** 16. **πλόου** pro **πόνου** Matthiae || **κρίσιν** pro **σφισιν** Baumeister: **λύσιν**  
 Abel || **πόνου ἀπονόσφισιν** omissio **ναύταις** Bury 19. **τε** om. libri: add. Barnes ||  
 ad calcem h. hymni est versus *δευρὶ πέλας λάχε τῶν ἐς δαίμονας ὕμνων ὁμήρου* in codd.  
 ABCFL<sub>3</sub>L<sub>3</sub>NPQR<sub>1</sub>R<sub>2</sub> (non in V): in ed. pr. *τέλος τῶν τοῦ ὁμήρου ὕμνων*: epigramma  
*eis ξένους* additur in DETC ed. pr.

12. **ΘΑΚΑΝ ὑποβρυχίην**: cf. ε 319.

15. **ΛΕΥΚΗΣ**, "calm," as in *λευκή*  
*γαλήνη* κ 94. Cf. Theocr. xxii. 19 *αἶψα*  
*δ' ἀπολήγουσ' ἄνεμοι, λιπαρὰ δὲ γαλάνα* |  
*ἄμ πέλαγος.*

16. **πόνου σφισιν**: one of these words  
 is necessarily corrupt; Matthiae's **πλόου**  
*σφισιν* fails to account for *σφισιν* satis-  
 factorily, so that the latter word seems

to require emendation. The substitu-  
 tion of *κρίσιν*, *λύσιν*, *σχέσιν*, or *σβέσιν*  
 (Oxford Text) has been suggested; of  
 these only the last two are graphically  
 probable. Bury's **πόνου ἀπονόσφισιν**  
 (*C. R.* 1899, p. 183) is also formally good  
 (omitting *ναύταις*, which might have  
 been inserted metrically when *ἀπονο-*  
*ν* had been dropped after *πόνου*).



## APPENDICES

### I.

#### *Delos*

THE island of Delos has been of late years thoroughly and successfully explored by the French School of Athens, and the results of their labours are recorded in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, vols. i to xxiii (M. Homolle's account in vol. i is dated March 31, 1877). Unfortunately M. Homolle and his colleagues have not as yet (1903) produced any single definitive publication upon the island as a whole, and the inquirer has still to have recourse to the excellent description of Delos published immediately before the last series of excavations began—*Recherches sur Délos*, par J. Albert Lebègue, Paris 1876. This book recapitulates the older literature, collects the classical references, and supplies a useful map of the island. Lebègue's own achievement was the excavation and identification of the first shrine of Apollo.

The want of a comprehensive work upon Delos is in some measure met by various recent publications, based in some cases on the French material as discovered up to their date, in others on personal impression, viz. G. Attinger *Beiträge zur Geschichte von Delos bis auf Ol. 153.* 2, V. von Schöffer *de Deli insulae rebus* 1889, Jebb *J. H. S.* i. p. 7 f., Tozer *Islands of the Aegean* p. 6 f., Dyer *Gods in Greece* p. 355 f., C. Diehl *Excursions in Greece* (tr. Perkins) p. 128 f., and the articles by Homolle (*Delia*) in Daremberg and Saglio, and by Büchner and von Schöffer in Pauly-Wissowa.

Delos is an island of about six kilometres long by three across at its broadest, and lies N. and S. between Rheneia and Myconos. The centre is taken up by Mt. Cythnus, a granite hill of no great height (118 metres), but, as Tozer rightly remarks, "very conspicuous from every point in the neighbouring sea." On the east side this mountain descends steeply into the sea, but on the W. there is a strip of low ground between it and the water, and here, facing Rheneia, the ancient town with its harbour and temples lay. The mountain is pierced by a deep ravine (5-6 on Lebègue's map) at the bottom of which flowed a stream which fell towards the town. This was identified with the Inopus by an inscription discovered in 1883 (*B. C. H.* vii. p. 329, S. Reinach *L'Inopus et le sanctuaire des Cabires*). The conjecture of the German traveller Ross (*Griechische Inseln* i. 31) was therefore justified; other explorers



(Lebègue p. 115 f.) had wished to see the Inopus in a channel running from a spring in the extreme NE. of the island, which was thought to feed the wheel-shaped pond.

In historical times the *sagri luoghi* of Delos were all close to the harbour, and convenient for the inspection of pilgrims. A very considerable mass of buildings has been uncovered and identified; see the plan of the neighbourhood of the harbour in the *Guide Joanne Grèce* vol. ii by Homolle and Nénot, reproduced in Pauly-Wissowa. The most celebrated of the sights were the temple of Apollo; the colossal statue set up by the Naxians (with the well-known inscription του αλυτου λιθου εμυ, etc., for which see Röhl *I. G. A.* 409, Hoffmann *Ion. Dial.* p. 20); the oval pond (first in Theognis 5 Φοίβη ἀναξ ὅτε μὲν σε θεὰ τέκε πότνια Δητῷ | φοίνικος ῥαδινῆς χερσὶν ἐφαπαμένη, | ἀθανάτων κάλλιστον ἐπὶ τροχοειδέϊ λίμνῃ, then in Aesch. *Eum.* 7 λιπὼν δὲ λίμνην [τὴν στρογγύλην schol.] Δηλίαν τε χοιράδα, Herod. ii. 170 λίμνη τε ἐστὶ ἐχομένη λιθίνῃ κρηπιδί κεκοσμημένη καὶ ἐργασμένη εἰς κύκλῳ καὶ μέγας ὡς ἐμοὶ ἐδόκεε ὅση περ ἡ ἐν Δήλῳ ἢ τροχοειδῆς καλεομένη; Eur. *Ion* 161, 170, *I. T.* 1103, Callim. *Del.* 261, *Apoll.* 59; the temple leased the fish, *B. C. H.* xiv. 392), and the altar of horns (βωμὸς κεράτινος or κερατῶν; this does not occur in literature earlier than Callim. *h. Ap.* 58; after which cf. Polyb. xxvi. 10. 12, Plutarch *Theseus* 21, *de soll. an.* 983 E, Ovid *Heroid.* xxi. 81 sq., Martial *Spectac.* i. 4). These four sites have all been identified. The actual remains of the temple of Apollo date from s. iv. B.C. (Homolle *Les Fouilles de Délos*, Monuments grecs 1878 p. 33); the relics of the κερατῶν were discovered in 1884 (*B. C. H.* viii. 417 f.). The oval walled pond has attracted the notice of every traveller; Tozer p. 12 describes it as "an oval basin, about 100 yards in length, forming a kind of pond, the sides of which were banked in by a casing of stone-work; it is usually dry, but at this season contained a small quantity of water." Near the temple and the pond in the post-Theognidean legend was the tree, olive or palm, which Leto laid hold of in her labour.

None of these wonders are mentioned in the Homeric hymn, which only knows Cythnus, the Inopus, a palm-tree, and an "oracle" (81), and states (17) that Apollo was born upon the hill-side. A cavern popularly known as the cave of the dragon (no. 3 in Lebègue's map), above the ravine of the Inopus and approached by an ancient road, was excavated by Lebègue (p. 49 f. with plan and sketch at the end; the latter is reproduced by Prof. Jebb). This place when excavated was found to be clearly a building and not a natural cave; a base of a statue was found on the floor. Lebègue and Burnouf held, as appears probable, that this was the birthplace and original shrine and oracle of Apollo; the inscription however in which a reference was found to an ἀρχαῖος νεὺς (Lebas 242 = *C. I. A.* ii. 818) is now differently read.

As in the *Odyssey* § 162 Odysseus saw at Delos the young shoot of a palm coming up by the altar of Apollo, it is thought (by Lebègue *l.c.* and S. Reinach *B. C. H.* vii. 352) that the original holy sites will have consisted of the χρηστήριον or birthplace on the hillside, with a palm beside it, and perhaps an altar, as at Cirrha and elsewhere, at the landing-place and a τέμενος in which the ἀγών was held; and that with



the institution of the panegyris and the coming of pilgrims from both sides of the Aegean, the sacred story was given a new and more convenient home to the north of the harbour. There we find it firmly established by the time of Theognis (cf. also Cic. *in Verrem* Act. ii. lib. i. § 46). An inference may hence be made to the date of a document like the Homeric hymn which is unaware of these later conditions. It may be suggested that the influence of Pisistratus or of Polycrates is a likely period for the building of the first temple by the harbour and the systematisation of the story—the same period at which the first historical temple at Delphi was erected.

The mimicry of the *Δηλιάδες* (v. 162) is interpreted by Lebègue p. 13 and 257 and Homolle *B. C. H.* xiv. 501, 502 to mean that they sang in dialect and with the national music of the pilgrims. It was doubtless intended to save pilgrims the trouble of bringing their choir with them, as the Messenians (Paus. iv. 4. 2) did, to sing Eumelus' *προσόδιον*. D'Orville, to whom this suggested the gift of tongues (*fere idem praedicatur de Apostolis in Actis*), might better have thought of the international confessionals at St. Peter's. The accomplishments of the Delian women suggest the almost equally remarkable powers of Helen (δ 278 f.).

The loss of a good deal of antiquarian literature upon Delos (see Busolt i. 211 n. 3) deprives us of further details about this interesting pilgrim centre; Athenaeus, however (172 E), has preserved the statement of Apollodorus that cooks and *maîtres d'hôtel* were provided for their reception (*μαγείρων καὶ τραπέζοποιῶν παρέιχοντο χρείας τοῖς παραγινομένοις πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας*).

The period at which the Apolline worship in Delos may have begun is impossible to ascertain: Pausanias' story (iv. 4. 2) of Eumelus' *προσόδιον* appears to refer to the eighth century. It has been called in question by several recent critics (e.g. by Diels ap. v. Schöffer *de Deli insulae rebus* p. 8) but without necessity. The dedication of the Naxian colossus, which posits an established celebrity for the worship, is not dated later than 600 B.C. Two other archaic inscriptions appear to be of the same date (Hoffmann *l.c.* nos. 30, 31).



## II.

### *The Subject and Motive of the Hymn to Hermes*

IN the rest of the longer Hymns the unity of the subject is evident, and leaves no doubt as to the motive of each poem. The Delian and Pythian parts of the *Hymn to Apollo* are homogeneous; the *Hymn to Demeter* treats of a single episode, the "Wrath of Demeter"; and the *Hymn to Aphrodite* is solely concerned with the love of the goddess for Anchises. In the *Hymn to Hermes*, at least three distinct episodes are described: (1) the invention of the cithara, (2) the theft of the cows, (3) the reconciliation of Hermes with Apollo, and their exchange of gifts. It has generally been assumed that one main idea connects these apparently separate threads and gives unity to the story. According to some commentators (as Ilgen), this theme is the cunning of the new-born Hermes in acquiring honours;<sup>1</sup> according to others, it is the glorification of the god in his thievish aspect. Baumeister, again, laying stress on 116, 172, argues that the drift of the whole composition is to shew how Hermes aspires to the honours of Apollo; and Gemoll, following up this view, thinks that all the episodes combine to indicate Hermes' determination to win his place as a great Olympian deity. When Hermes starts on his expedition *κρειῶν ἐρατίζων* (64), Gemoll notes that the god desires *sacrificial* meat: if the words referred merely to natural hunger, the flocks at Cyllene were ready to hand (232). This argument supposes a minute accuracy which we have no right to demand from the hymn-writer; but it is true that, when Hermes divides the slaughtered cows into twelve parts (128 f.), he is contemplating a sacrifice to the twelve Olympian gods, and to himself among their number. He will not be *ἀδώρητος καὶ ἄλιωτος* (168); he claims all the prerogatives of his birth-right (166–173). But, although Hermes' aspiration to high Olympian rank is a prominent feature of the hymn, it cannot be admitted that all the main incidents have been introduced to fit this single theme. Such an interpretation is too narrow, when the hymn is viewed as a whole. The passage which describes the invention of the cithara (24 f.) may, indeed, be explained to suit the theory: Gemoll points out that Hermes utilises his instrument in making peace with Apollo, which is a preliminary to full Olympian honours. But the episode need not owe its existence to any such intention in the poet's mind. He wished to record a legend (on the origin of the cithara), which was no doubt already well-

<sup>1</sup> See Ludwich *Hymn. Hom. Merc. Germanice versus* p. 33.



known; he also wished to give, at the outset of his hymn, a striking example of Hermes' precocity. This, in fact, is a feature in the character of the god to which special attention is drawn throughout the hymn. Hermes is the chief representative, in classical literature,<sup>1</sup> of the precocious children who are commonly found in folklore. Such children are Krishna, in India; the boy Cadi, in the *Arabian Nights*; the divine child Seragunting among the Dyaks; Vali, in Norse legend, who goes forth to avenge the death of Balder the first night after his birth.<sup>2</sup> While, however, rejecting Gemoll's interpretation as inadequate to explain the hymn, we cannot substitute the motive of a precocious thief as the sole theme.<sup>3</sup> And, as a matter of fact, the theory of complete unity for each hymn (first postulated by Matthiae) rests on arbitrary aesthetic criticism, and can be disproved for at least one other hymn in the collection. Matthiae's canon holds good, as has been observed above, for the rest of the greater hymns, and for the *Hymn to Dionysus* (vii); but the *Hymn to Pan* (xix) is a distinct exception to the rule. This poem, consisting of only 49 lines, falls into two well-marked divisions. The first part (1-25) deals with the woodland life of Pan; the second half recounts the birth of the god. The subject could only be described in the vaguest terms as "the praise of Pan." (See Introd. to the hymn.) We may fairly argue that the analogy of the short hymn bears on the much longer composition, in which a strict adherence to unity of motive is far less to be expected. Greve (*de h. in Merc. Homer.* p. 10) admits that many poets collected a series of myths, relating to a deity, into one poem; but he holds that the fashion was set by Callimachus. This arbitrary conclusion is quite unwarranted, and is disproved by the evidence of the early *Hymns to Hermes and Pan*. Aristophanes has suffered from the same preconceived rigidity of criticism. The majority of his plays have, in each case, a single and obvious motive; the *Birds* alone has resisted all attempts to find a unity of purpose; and, since the time of Vögelin, it has been generally conceded that the analogy of the other plays is misleading, and that no single political or philosophical design pervades the extravaganzas.

If these arguments are accepted, we need not have recourse to the conclusion reached by Greve (*op. cit.* p. 14 f.), who after criticising various theories as to the unity of the hymn, finally decides that it is a *farrago fabularum*, and cannot be the work of a single author. On the contrary, there seems nothing in the hymn which is not justified by the unity of time: the poet takes, as it were, a "Day in the Life" of Hermes; he explains how, in a few hours, the new-born babe precociously shewed his versatile genius, becoming a musician, a cattle-lifter, and a diviner, proving himself a match for the great Apollo, and finally, in the teeth of opposition, winning his rightful place on Olympus.

<sup>1</sup> So Apollo, *h. Ap.* 127; cf. note on 214.

<sup>2</sup> These examples are taken from an interesting article on the legends of Krishna by W. Crooke in *Folk-Lore* xi. p. 9 f.

<sup>3</sup> Lang's explanation (p. 36) that the theme is "the triumph of astuteness over strength (a triumph here assigned to the infancy of a god)" is the truth, but scarcely the whole truth.



### III.

#### *Hymn to Hermes 552-563 : the Thriae.*

THE identification of the "three sisters" with the Thriae is due to Hermann, from the account of Apollodorus (see on 552) and Zenob. *proverb. cent.* v. 75 Φιλόχορος φησιν ὅτι νύμφαι κατεῖχον τὸν Παρνασσόν, τροφοὶ Ἀπόλλωνος τρεῖς, καλούμεναι Θριαί, ἀφ' ὧν αἱ μαντικαὶ ψῆφοι θριαὶ καλοῦνται. The personified Thriae are merely the mythological explanation of the θριαί, or divining pebbles, for which cf. Callim. *h. Ap.* 45 κείνου δὲ θριαὶ καὶ μάντιες, with schol. μαντικαὶ ψῆφοί εἰσιν αἱ θριαί. λέγεται δὲ αὐτὰς εὐρῆσθαι ὑπὸ τινῶν τριῶν νυμφῶν· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ θριαὶ ὠνομάσθησαν, οἷον ἐν τριαί; so *E. M.* p. 455. 34, Hesych. s.v., Lobeck *Agl.* ii. p. 814 f. The real etymology is unknown. Divination by stones etc. is of course world-wide, and must have existed in Greece from time immemorial; see Frazer on Paus. vii. 25. 10, Schoemann *Griech. Alt.* ii. p. 302 f., and Bouché-Leclercq *Divination dans l'antiquité* i. p. 192 f., who remarks that the Apolline religion found the θριοβολία established at Pytho. Schoemann infers from Cic. *de divin.* i. 34 that similar divination preceded the oracle at Dodona. One of the explanations of θριαί in Hesychius (αἱ πρῶται μάντιες) also attests the antiquity of this method. A trace of the older method survived in the term ἀναιρεῖν, which Lobeck rightly understood to mean originally *sortes tollere*; and at Delphi the θριοβολία was allowed to remain as subsidiary to the oracle, e.g. to decide the order of inquirers (Bouché-Leclercq *l.c.*). According to Suidas s.v. Πυθώ, *Mythogr. Graec.* ed. Westermann p. 384, there was a bowl on the Delphian tripod ἐν ᾗ αἱ μαντικαὶ ψῆφοι ἤλλοντο καὶ ἐπῆδον ἡνίκα ὁ Ἀπόλλων τὴν μαντείαν ἐξέφερε (see Schoemann p. 337, Roscher i. 2380).

The hymn-writer's conception of the nature of the Thriae is vague, or at least vaguely expressed. They appear to be in part anthropomorphic (παρθένου), and are white-haired. This, at all events, is Matthiae's natural explanation of πεπαλαγμέναι ἄλφιστα λευκά; the words savour of the oracular style, but the idea is not rare in comedy; cf. Arist. *Ecol.* 732, from which it appears that the κανηφόροι had their hair actually powdered with ἄλφιστα; so Hermipp. ap. schol. Arist. *An.* 1551 ὥσπερ αἱ κανηφόροι | λευκοῖσιν ἄλφίτουσιν ἐντετριμμένοις, Hesych. ἄλφιτόχρως· λευκή, πολιά, Eustath. 868 and 976, Arist. *fr.* 453. The Thriae appear therefore to be aged virgins, as well becomes their character of teachers of prophecy. But they undoubtedly partake also of the nature of bees; and Lobeck apparently thought that the hymn-writer conceived of them



as completely metamorphosed *sub apum specie* (*l.c.* p. 817). This view is adopted by Mr. A. B. Cook in an article on "The Bee in Greek Mythology" (*J. H. S.* xv. p. 1 f.). He suggests that the words πεπαλαγμέναι ἄλφειτα perhaps describe pollen-covered bees in terms which are meant to recall the ἀλφειτομάντεις (for divination by barley etc. see Lobeck p. 815; for its probable survival in mediaeval times see Rouse in *Folk-Lore* x. p. 552). Mr. Cook's reference to the pollen is perhaps fanciful, and need not be preferred to Matthiae's interpretation; but he rightly insists that the *nature* of the three sisters (whom he hesitates to identify with the Thriae, retaining Μοῖραι) is essentially that of the bee, which is often thought to be endowed with prophetic power. Miss Harrison (*Prolegomena* p. 443) takes a view similar to that of Mr. Cook, seeing in the Thriae "honey-priestesses inspired by a honey-intoxicant."

It is therefore uncertain whether the poet thinks of the Thriae as aged goddesses (or nymphs) who can, at will, metamorphose themselves completely into the form of bees; or whether they are winged females with the bodies of bees. The latter view suits the language of the hymn, and is justified by two archaic representations of a winged female, with the body of a bee from the waist (on plaques from Camirus in Rhodes; *Arch. Zeit.* 27, p. 111; figured by Cook p. 12, Harrison p. 444).







## I.—INDEX OF GREEK WORDS

This index aims at giving (1) all proper names, (2) the less common epithets of gods and heroic persons, (3) non-Homeric words, (4) other words for any reason remarkable. The complete vocabulary of the *Hymns* will be found in the *Index Homericus*. *Appendix Hymnorum vocabula continens, composuit Augustus Gekring*, Lips. 1895, which, in spite of defects in execution (see the review by Eberhard, *N. Phil. Rundschau*, 1895, 289 f., and cf. *C. R.* 1895, 415 f.), is indispensable.

Non-Homeric words or forms are marked by a \*; a † implies a corruption; conjectures are within brackets.

\*ἀβλαβέως, iv. 83  
 \*ἀβλαβίησι, iv. 393  
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THE END



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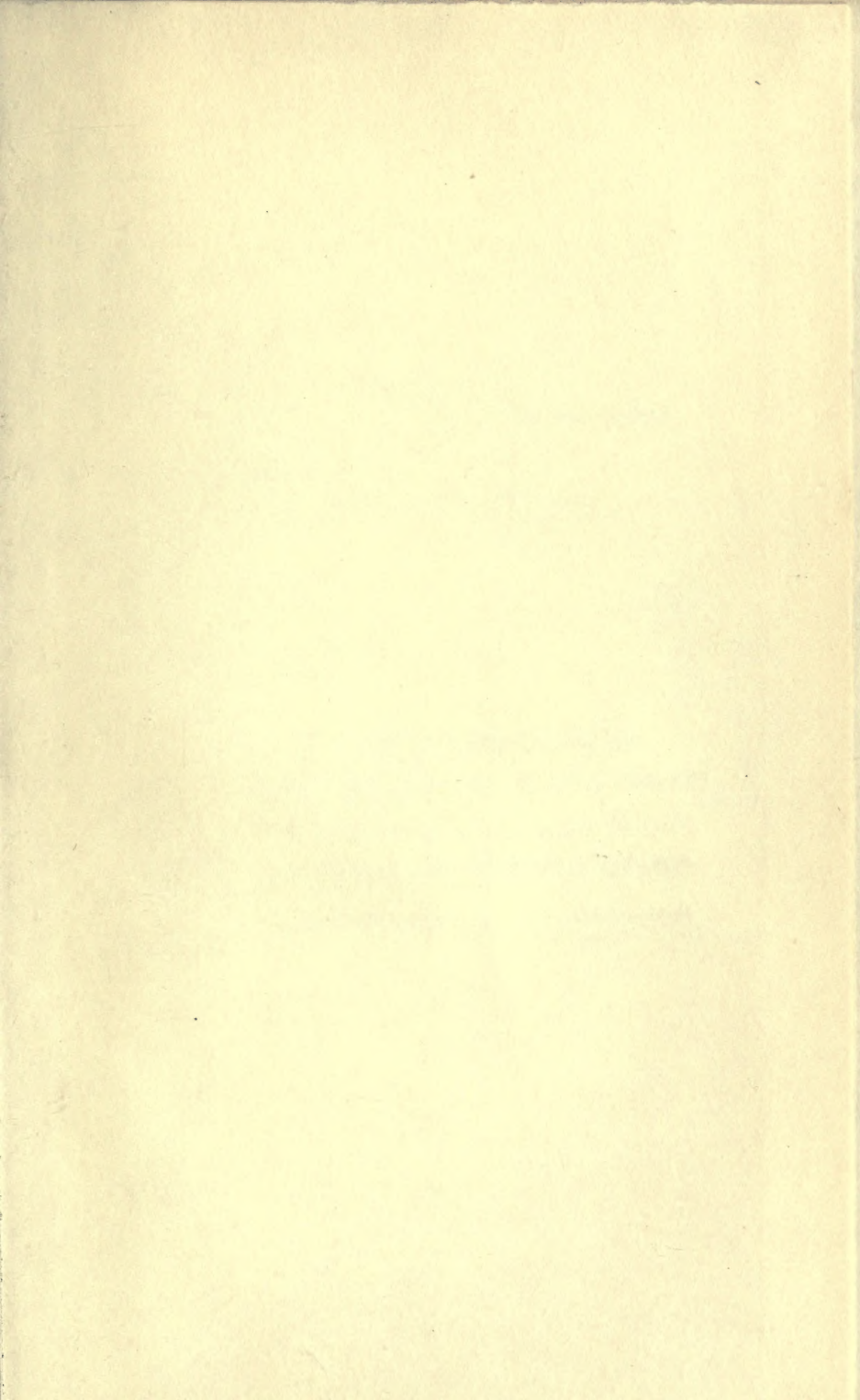


















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